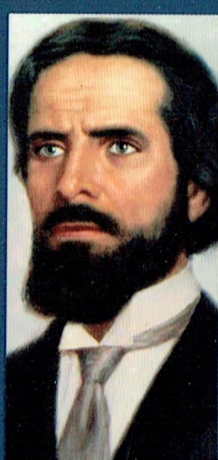


HISTORY OF TUNISIA

HABIB BOULARÈS

THE MOST IMPORTANT DATES



FROM PREHISTORY TO THE REVOLUTION

CÉRÈSÉDITIONS

Habib Boularès (1933 - 2014)

Journalist, writer and politician.

Throughout his life, Boularès sustained a keen interest in Tunisian history, from Antiquity to the modern period.

This passion led him to write two historical plays entitled *Murad III* and *Le Temps du Bouraq*. He is also the author of the first biography of *Hannibal* written from the African standpoint (Paris, Perrin-Tunis, Cérès éditions, 2000).

Habib Boularès is one of the greatest representatives of the Tunisian humanist school, for whom knowledge was meant to be shared and ideas meant to be applied. This *History of Tunisia* through its key dates, a monument of erudition within every reader's reach, is the perfect illustration of this commitment.

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The history of Tunisia is a story told in many tongues, embracing not just Afro-Asiatic languages such as Punic, Berber and Arabic but also the Indo-European family (including Latin and various other European languages) together with Turkic, an Altaic language. As this book is not intended for specialists, no particular transliteration system has been prioritised. When transcribing proper names, the author has employed spelling that corresponds as closely as possible to the pronunciation, with the exception of terms widely established through use or that have changed over time.

INTRODUCTION

What should an *honnête homme* — an educated, cultivated individual - living in the twenty-first century know about the long history of Tunisia ? The answers spring to mind thick and fast: the founding of Carthage in 814 BC and the Punic Wars against Rome ; Hamilcar's time in Spain and Hannibal crossing the Alps ; Scipio laying waste to Carthage in 146

Ancient Tunisia sometimes appeals to individuals who do not even know where the country is situated.

BC and Rome's triumph in Africa ; the Arabs in Ifriqiya and the Normans on the Mediterranean coast. And then there is the crusade of St Louis, the Spanish, the corsairs and the Beys, followed by French colonisation, independence and, more recently, the revolution. But how can we divorce key dates and events from their context, and how can we avoid being trapped in a chronological sequence ? Because it is not only dates that are of significance ; the whys and wherefores often assume a particular importance, bringing to life figures that have,"become iconic. Hannibal, his family and Carthage may serve as an example : many people across the world - especially those of Latin, Hispanic or Italian origin - bear the names Hannibal, Annibal or Amilcar, and many are the cities called Carthage or Cartagena. Ancient Tunisia sometimes appeals to individuals who do not even know where the country is situated. We also find sociologists who admire the great Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun or the still-vivid memory of the Shia Ismaili. And who can forget that the Fatimid dynasty first took root in Tunisia ? And what of the crusade of St Louis ? Why did it take place, and how ? So many events combine to focus the attention of so many

different audiences on Punic Carthage, Roman Africa, Arab Ifriqiya and the corsairs, not to mention the country's odalisques and harems. We soon realise, then, that these quick and easy responses simply will not do.

This book reads like an atlas, dictionary or directory. The chapters take the form of articles on the events that helped shape a country and its people step by step. Each date forms an item with its particular context. On occasion, however, a date fades into the background and a historical theme takes precedence as priority is given to the development of a specific phenomenon. Roman Africa, for instance, was not an independent nation tussling with other countries but a space where sociological, cultural and religious shifts were at work. It is not the dates that hold our attention but the unfurling of exceptional events over centuries. When, as sometimes happens, the actual dates are important but reflect concomitant events, they need to be grouped together. During the colonial period, for example, the national liberation movement evolved in parallel with the actions of the dominant power and their mutual struggle. There is no way of separating the two, as happens when the history of the liberation movement is told in isolation. The events take place on many levels and interact with one another.

Writing history involves asking questions about noteworthy events from the past. It also means promulgating a global vision of these events, interpreting the deeds and acts of monarchs and generals, cliques, clans and peoples — all in conjunction with economic changes or climatic shifts, migrations, dominions, ambitions and disappointments. In short, the entire human adventure. No two genera-

tions, no two countries have ever written history from the same standpoint nor, for that matter, has the winning or the losing side. Even in the context of a

*book reads like an atlas,
dictionary or directory.*

united front such as the European Union, the French, Czechs, Germans and Polish do not recount the history of the Napoleonic Wars in the same manner. As for us, in our quarter of the African continent, the Maghreb, we know little about the real history of the Berbers. Thanks to the Greeks and Romans, we are familiar with the story of Carthage and its inhabitants but are lacking in the history of the Vandals. The Arab conquest was told to us by the conquerors. Even in the contemporary era, with its wealth of documents and testimonies, we find it difficult to separate facts from interpretation.

The professional historian is faced with the onerous task of mining this seam, casting aside anything that is of little value and replacing it with a structure that is built to last. But the seam itself has already been remodelled, influenced by developments in scientific methods (the role of the *Annales* school or Marxism, for example) or under the weight of ideology (religion, racism, colonialism, etc.). It falls to the reader of history, therefore, to choose his or her perspective. He or she may make a commendable effort to become familiar with all the relevant arguments, try to reconcile opposites and attempt to summarise the facts, but the final choice will be the reader's alone.

This book has been penned by someone with a deep interest in politics ; more precisely, it is the work of an author who has asked himself the following pivotal question, without regard for religious, partisan or ethnic considerations : Why and how has Tunisia become the country she is today physically, socially and culturally ? The answer is based on solid documentation that draws from specialised historians, professionals to whom this author pays tribute, even when his conclusions are

Thanks to the Greeks and Romans, we are familiar with the story of Carthage and its inhabitants but are lacking in the history of the Vandals. The Arab conquest was told to us by the conquerors.

different from theirs. These historians have carried out in-depth research, while the author of this book acts as a commentator. “Fact is fact, comment is free”, as they say in the English-speaking world.

Based on this fundamental decision — the answer to the above question - a choice had to be made between

Why and how has Tunisia become the country she is today physically, socially and culturally ?

a seamless narrative or concentrating on selected dates; it is the latter approach that guides this book from start to finish. It follows that, out of necessity, some events are over-

looked, and that there are some

gaps in the telling of Tunisia’s history. This does not, however, prevent the selected dates from being placed in their proper context inasmuch as the context has played a decisive role in their occurrence. The intention is not to tell a story as though on a conveyor belt nor to demonstrate only the grandeur of a particular regime or the brilliance of a particular era. This is not a book that needs to apologise - we have moved beyond that stage in the 21st century. There was once a time when our dignity was denied. Our writers tried to defend us, showing in their work that we had been a nation for three thousand years. On the other side of the Mediterranean, European authors used to write that the Islamisation of the Maghreb marked the beginning of obscurantism and decadence. This was countered by a movement that extolled the Arab-Muslim era to excess - even going so far as to refuse to take the preceding centuries into account. Colonisation restored the honour of the Roman period and put Punic Carthage and its civilisation in the shade. Historians of every age, though we may respect them for their knowledge, have advanced their own points of view. The only thing that counts for Roman historians is Roman Africa. Only the Arab conquerors deserve consideration in the eyes of Islamic historians. And Ibn Khaldun alone has rendered justice to the

Amazigh people, those Berbers whom political Arabism today wants to portray as the descendants of Yemenites !

Notwithstanding these different perspectives, we must ask ourselves a further question : How did this land, whence major cities such as Carthage, Kairouan, Mahdia and Tunis once extended their power westwards across the Maghreb as far as Andalusia, and eastwards to the Gulf of Sirte, how did this land - the Tunisia we know today - come to be reduced to its current size ? How could this region that has marked the history of the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta and - above all - Sicily, how could it, with its close relationship to the sea, the Mediterranean sea that has shaped its civilisation and its culture, how could it become a rural land that does not look beyond its oases, olive groves and fields of wheat ? How could a vast expanse once known as Africa lose its name to an entire continent ? There is no sense of longing in these words, simply the desire to understand the birth of history. And on another note, has Tunisia been so susceptible to radicalisation that it has rushed headlong into Donatist Christianity, Arian Christianity and Kharijite Islamism, at times in all their excesses ? Or is it naturally moderate, to the point of ensuring the triumph of Catholicism in the time of Augustine, as well as Sunnism against Shiism, and Malikism against any other allegiance in Islam ?

With the approach adopted in this book, there are dates that are important regarding the expansion of power and dates for its withdrawal and retreat ; dates for the Carthaginian empire and dates for the Roman ; dates for Christianisation and dates for Islamisation ; dates for the Ottoman empire and dates for the colonial empire. We are no longer entitled, in our day and age,

How could this region that has marked the history of the Mediterranean sea bow could it become a rural land that does not look beyond its oases, olive groves and fields of wheat ?

to write history that focuses exclusively on the periods of glory. The dark pages of history are not to be ignored : they are full of lessons, they dictated developments, and they tell us how we have become what we are.

We are no longer entitled, in our day and age, to write history that focuses exclusively on the periods of glory. The dark pages of history are not to be ignored.

There is no avoiding the central question : Who are we ? A discerning visitor once told me the following : “I was talking to some of your fellow countrymen, and one of them said : ‘I am of Turkish origin,’

and another said : ‘I am of Andalusian descent,’ while a third said he was Arab. So, can you tell me this : Which of them is Tunisian ?” And I could have explained that they were all Tunisian ! But my reply would have been lacking because it assumes the existence of a nationalism or patriotism whose founding date needs to be determined. Before Carthage, the indigenous people belonged to a particular ethnic group : Mazaces or Amazigh, of the Baranes or Botr branch, the two Berber roots. Carthaginians called themselves Kenaani rather than Phoenicians, which is a Greek appellation. Subjects of the Roman Empire referred to themselves as Africans or Roman citizens. Africans conquered by the Arabs, when they converted, simply called themselves Muslims. I must confess that I do not know how the subjects of the Aghlabids or Hafsids saw themselves, nor the Sunni subjects of the Shia Fatimids. Curiously, it was when the Ottomans divided the Maghreb into three *pashaliks* (or *eyalets*) — Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli - that the inhabitants of each administrative division, driven by the quarrels of their rulers, identified themselves as Algerians, Tunisians and Tripolitans. Was this a form of nascent nationalism or regionalism retreating into defending its own backyard ? And what became of all the descendants of earlier conquerors who did not leave the country ? I have always found the answer

given by a native of the town of Gafsa amusing. Knowing that this region is inhabited by the Hilalian Hamami tribes, I asked him if he was Hamami. With great subtlety, he replied : “You know, here there are descendants of the Turks, Hamama and Gafsi ! The Turks are the descendants of the Ottoman Janissaries, the Hamama are the descendants of the Hilalians, and the Gafsi are descended from the people who used to live behind the city walls.” In other words, they were the descendants of all the other peoples who had taken refuge inside the city during each successive invasion ! It was a fine answer, and one that is equally valid for Tunis, Kairouan, Mahdia, Kef, Sfax and Sousse - and every town that once boasted robust ramparts.

When people claim that Tunisia lies at the cross-roads of civilisations (as the tourist slogans repeatedly say), it does not tell us very much. A crossroads is a meeting place, where people bump into each other before going on their way. “Crucible” is a more accurate term, a crucible in which various elements are mixed together to form a distinct alloy which, although it may look like its constituent parts, cannot be identified with any single part. Herein lies the unique spirit of openness and adaptability that we find in people who are not shackled by their alleged ethnic origins. A cursory glance at a Tunisian telephone directory will show you that the Zenati, Zouaoui and Hawari rub shoulders with the Dridi, Bellil and Riahi as well as the Sancho, Kortobi, Malki and even Bortkise! All are Tunisian, since borders one day enclosed a land that became their true homeland, where marriages and regional migration did the rest to conceive the citizens of today’s republic.

When people claim that Tunisia lies at the crossroads of civilisations, it does not tell us very much. A crucible in which various elements are mixed together to form a distinct alloy which, although it may look like its constituent parts, cannot be identified with any single part.

The way nationalities are shaped is fascinating, as it is the product both of chance and free will, of liberating struggles and the refusal to be assimilated. The key is to be found in identity, which reflects how we see ourselves much more than our origins do, a choice dic-

A cursory glance at a Tunisian telephone directory will show you that the Zenati, Zouaoui and Hawari rub shoulders with the Dridi, Bellil and Riahi as well as the Sancho, Kortobi, Malki and even Borkise !

tated by constraints that crystallise an inheritance or give it a different meaning. The Hilalians, on arriving in what is modern-day Tunisia, were Arabs and declared themselves as such. Whether they stayed in Ifriqiya or were exiled by the Almohads to the central or western Maghreb, they later became

Tunisians, Algerians or Moroccans. Arabs remained Arabs for centuries in Andalusia, Berbers remained Berbers, and converted Iberians remained Mozarabs (from *musta`rab*, “Arabised”) with distinct neighbourhoods or villages. After they were driven out by the Catholic Reconquista, all were welcomed in the Maghreb as Andalusians. They stayed Andalusian in the eyes of the Beys, who saw them as being proud, and asserted themselves as Tunisian when faced with colonisation. Under the impact of Spanish and French colonisation, the different ethnic groups living together in North Africa became Muslim fighters against the cross, and their identity was Islam. Some Berbers declared themselves Arab, as a way on occasion of avoiding the attempts at Francisation that exploited ethnic differences. The very words “Tunisia” and “Algeria” appeared in the 19th century, based on the powers established in Tunis and Algiers. Tunis has, however, been the capital since the 12th century, and the Hafsid Kingdom was not called the Kingdom of Tunis but “Bilad Amir Al-Muminin” in the treaty signed after the crusade of St Louis. Nationality requires the emergence of a nation, which is the result of resistance and a collective awareness of a common

fate. As we list the key dates in Tunisia's history, we witness the birth of this sentiment. Ali Belhaouane, as well as being a leading figure in the events of April 1938, was a philosopher who specialised in Ghazali. He wrote a seminal treatise in the late 1940s : *Nahnu Umma* - "We Are a Nation !" The idea was that we should assert ourselves against colonialism. The word *umma* ("nation" or "national") was appended to our struggle for liberation, our people's organisations and even our industrial and commercial companies. With the emergence of Arabism in the Orient, the term was removed from organisations in every Arab country because the *umma* can only be the entire Arab nation. According to Arabists, a country's organisations can only be *Qutria* or *Wataniya* — territorial or regional - even if the adjective continues to be translated in European languages as "national". Today, for Islamist activists, the *Umma* can only be the *Umma of Islam*, whereas the word *Milla* was once reserved for religion (as we still find in Turkey). These are the signs of a growing awareness !

But are the younger generations aware of this alchemy ? For people of my age, nationality is of paramount importance. Tunisian nationalism gained momentum in 1930 when it opposed the burial of naturalised French citizens in Muslim graveyards. In opting for a nationality that was not their nationality of origin, such individuals had abandoned their community. They had "turned" — *mturin* ! — in other words, they had turned their skin inside-out like a turncoat ! Nowadays, in the eyes of many, nationality is a legal convenience, a passport that provides the opportunity to travel and settle anywhere in the world in the age of globalisation. If the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) agreement signed

The way nationalities are shaped is fascinating, as it is the product both of chance and free will, of liberating struggles and the refusal to be assimilated. The key is to be found in identity, which reflects how we see ourselves much more than our origins do.

in February 1989 had functioned properly, maybe all Mauritians, Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians and Libyans would today be citizens of the Maghreb and all borders would have been removed. But history does not come to a halt, and we must try to observe it in action.

The contemporary era has its own demands in terms of writing. Historians require a relatively long period in which to write : some of the documents they need may not be available, or there may not be enough distance to judge the success or failure of a particular policy. And how can they speak freely of historical factors that are still in the here and now without suspicion ? At the same time, how can they not talk about the present when it is so rich in events that alter the face of a country, the spirit of its people and its hopes for the future ? The struggle between national bodies to extend or limit the authority of a country in its surroundings is being replaced by the theme of develop-

The very words "Tunisia" and "Algeria" appeared in the 19th century, based on the powers established in Tunis and Algiers. Tunis has, however, been the capital since the 12th century, and the Hafsid Kingdom was not called the Kingdom of Tunis but "Bilad A m i r Al-Mum i n i n

ment in numerous areas : politics, economics, society, culture, ecology, IT and sport. Accordingly, we have adopted this thematic approach to speak briskly about the present, but with a broader spectrum than for the historical periods since we do not yet know what history will remember in a hundred years from now.

This book is intended for lay readers, and, as such, is not bound by the academic's obligation to justify every item of information or refer the reader to sources, except where there is an absolute necessity. It follows that our work is not burdened by a scholarly apparatus. At the same time, since it is not possible to read the history of some periods without referring the reader to certain authors, it will be enough to indicate the reference

incidentally. The following, naturally, are identified : Livy, Polybius and Appian for antiquity ; Gautier, Gsell and Charles-Andre Julien for post-antiquity ; and Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Abi Dhiaf and Taibi for the section on Arab history. Explicit references are sometimes provided when it seems indispensable. In any event, the works by these historians are masterpieces and no one can read the history of Tunisia without referring to them. For specific information or contentious issues, sources must be precisely cited, as is the case for writers such as Roger Casemajor and Pellegrin. Finally, do we need to state that, in the current context, it is appropriate to stick to the most important changes and to avoid becoming embroiled in developing biographies that have no place here ? If the reader feels encouraged to extend his or her knowledge by looking at other works, we will see it as a fitting reward for our efforts. An entire history cannot be told in a single volume, even a work of eight hundred pages.

I. PREHISTORIC TIMES AND THE PUNIC AND ROMAN AGES

2,000,000 BC

PREHISTORY DATING BACK TO THE ORIGINS OF MAN

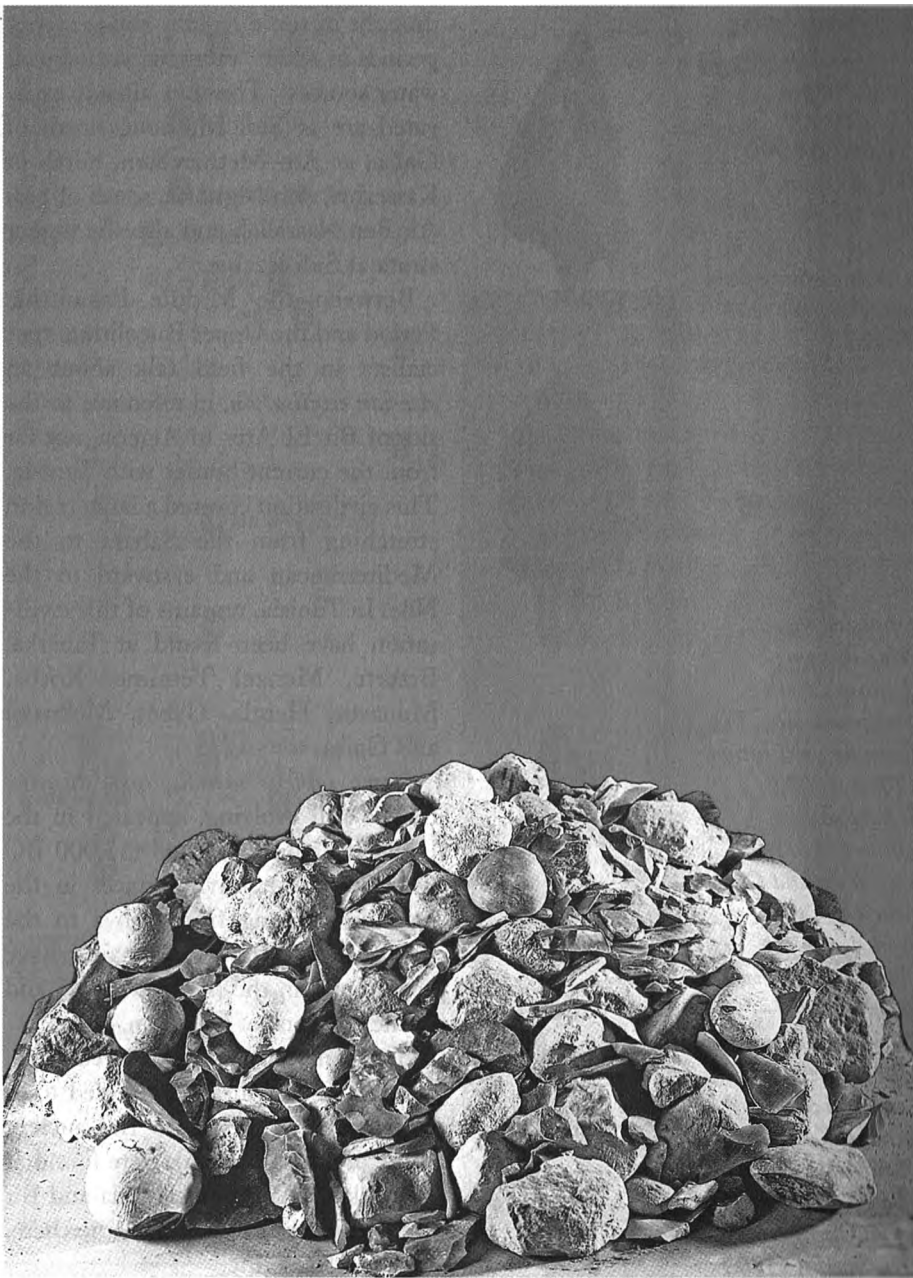
The more we study prehistory, the more we learn about the flora and fauna, the climate and habitat of the southern Mediterranean coast. In the Quaternary Period, it was host to *Homo habilis*, who was able to get food by using stones from riverbeds and making tools from them. Scientists use the term “puble culture” or pebble culture to describe this period. In the Tunisia of today, remains have been discovered near Kebili in the south, Gsar Lemsu in central Tunisia and Bir Bouregba in the Cap Bon. This is from two million years ago !

Hermaion of El Guettar (southeast of Gafsa). A cone-shaped pile of stones and animal teeth and bones. The site, which is dedicated to a spirit of the waters, is over 40,000 years old, with many historians considering it to be one of mankind's oldest religious monuments. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

Homo erectus left behind even more elaborate artifacts, dating back 600,000 years, at Metlaoui, Redeyef, Gafsa, Bir Mcherga and Bir Bouregba.

Ten kilometres from Le Kef at Sidi Ezzine, we have remarkable remains from *Homo sapiens*, originating from 80,000 to 100,000 years ago : three archaeological strata containing well-crafted and diverse stone tools as well as the bones of elephants, hippopotamuses, rhinoceroses, zebras, buffalos, gazelles, antelopes and bighorn sheep.

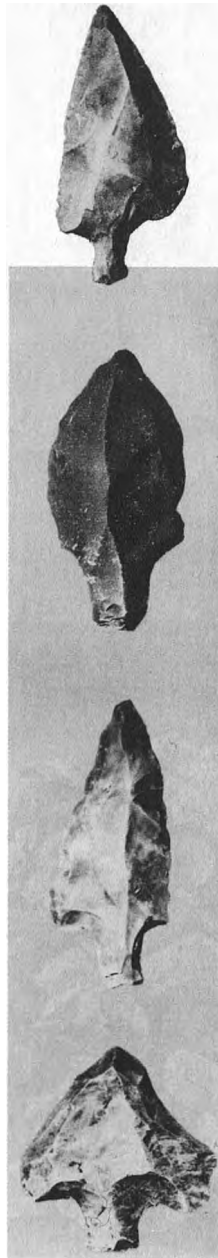
In the Middle Paleolithic Period (80,000 BC — 35,000 BC), there were changes of climate, with



Spearheads dating from the Aterian civilisation.

The Aterians (40,000-20,000 BC) are named after the site of Bir El-Ater in Algeria, a short distance from today's border with Tunisia.

Opposite page : Map showing Tunisia's main prehistoric sites. The Capsian civilisation (9000-4500 BC) is particularly evidenced in the region around Gafsa (ancient Capsa, from which the civilisation derives its name): El-Mektaa, Redeyef, Ain Soudes and Bir Oum Ali ; and around Kasserine : Ain Metherchem. (Based on the map by A. Guragueb, Tunis, Alif, 1978.)



drought in some regions and very wet periods in others. Humans settled near water sources. The sites already excavated are at Sidi Mansour, north of Gafsa, at Ain Metherchem, north of Kasserine, Ain Mghotta, south of Sidi Ali Ben Nasrallah and also the higher strata at Sidi Ezzine.

Between the Middle Paleolithic Period and the Upper Paleolithic, specialists in the field talk about an *Aterian civilisation*, in reference to the site of Bir El-Ater in Algeria, not far from the current border with Tunisia. This civilisation covered a large region stretching from the Sahara to the Mediterranean and eastward to the Nile. In Tunisia, remains of this civilisation have been found at Tabarka, Bizerte, Menzel Temime, Korba, Monastir, Hergla, Gabes, Meknassi and Gafsa.

Homo sapiens sapiens, our ancestor that is still evolving, appeared in the Upper Paleolithic Period (35,000 BC - 10,000 BC), leaving traces in the region stretching from Libya to the Atlantic. In Tunisia, remains have been found in the north at Nefza and in the environs of Cap Bon.

Between 7,000 and 5,000 years ago, remains of a civilisation referred to as *Capsian*, in reference to the ancient name of Gafsa (Capsa), were found at El-Mektaa, Ain Soudes, Lala and Bir Oum-Ali, as well as at Ain Metherchem, north of Kasserine.



1 Choppers

3 Mousterian

5 Iberomaurusian

2 Acheulean

4 Aterian

6 Capsian culture

7 Neolithic

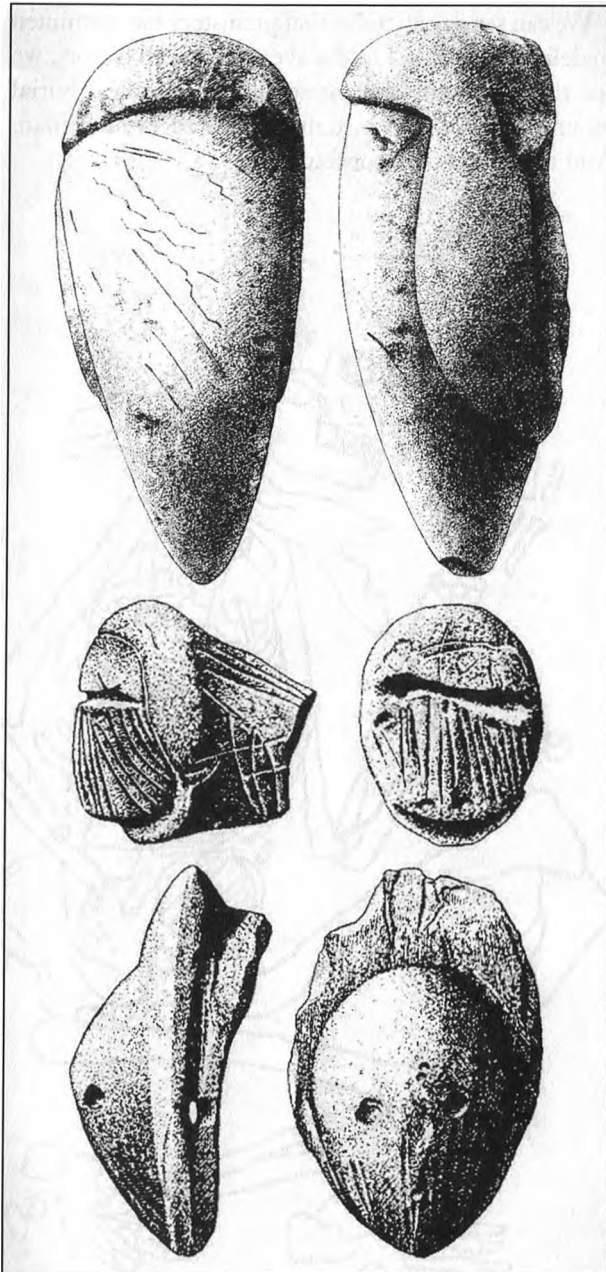
5,000 year ago

HISTORY BEGINS

The oldest human skeleton found so far in Tunisia was discovered at Ain Metherchem. It was that of a *Proto Mediterranean Homo sapiens sapiens*. The bones date from 5,000 years ago. Since then, many populations have left us evidence of their time on Earth : at Redeyef, Metlaoui, Sebkhet Al-Maleh to the south of Zarzis, at Kef a El-Agueb in the Jendouba region, as well as at Kef El-Karia between Makthar and Haffouz, and around the ancient lakes of Kelbia, Sidi El-Hani and Hergla.

*Hunting scene in a cave
in Ain Khanfous in the
Jebel Oueslat, one of
Tunisia's most important
sites for rock art.*

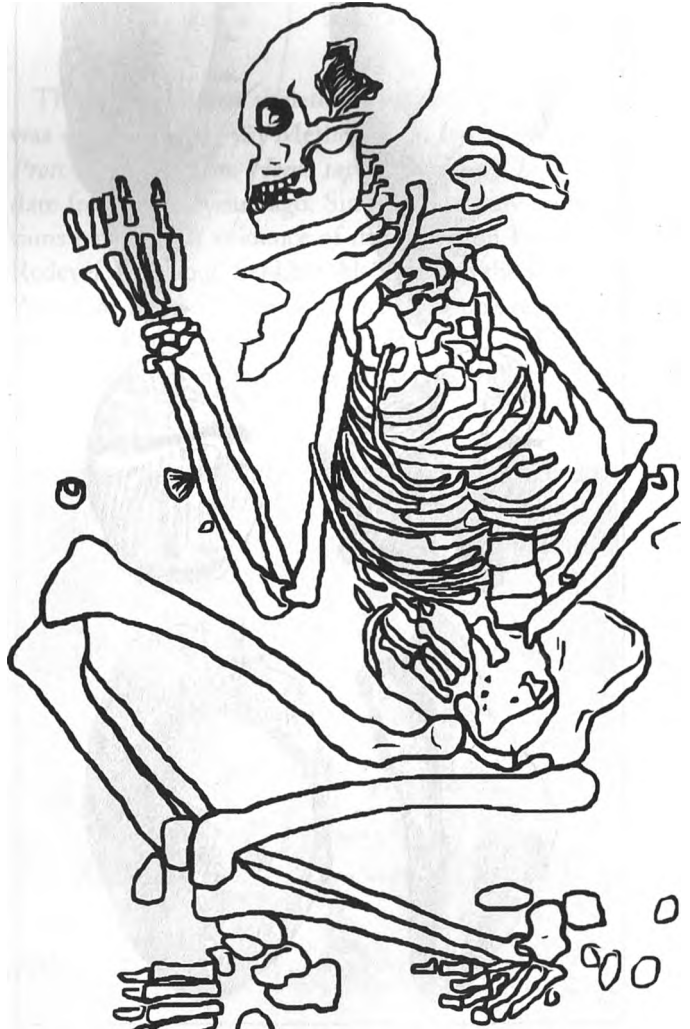




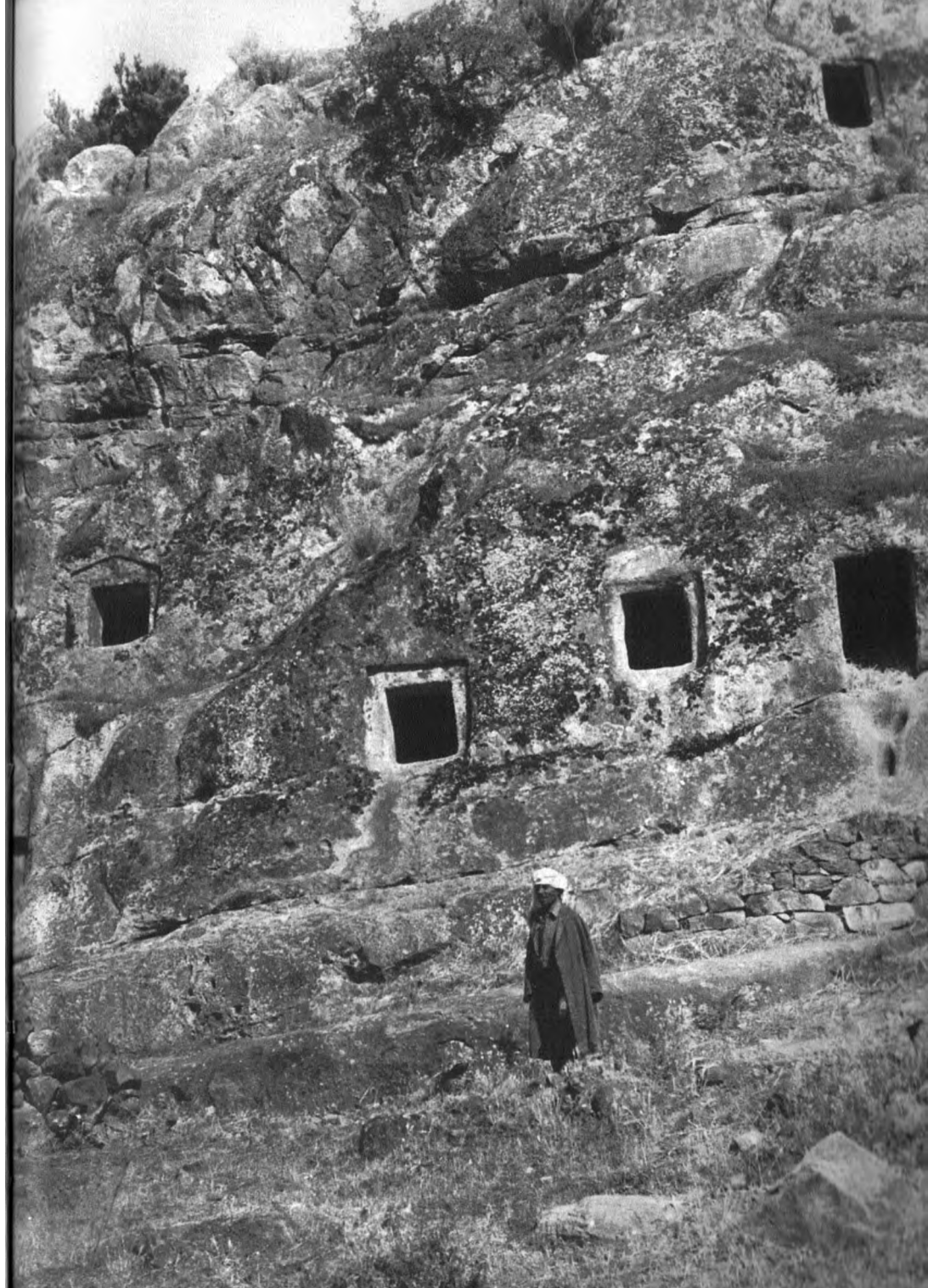
*Human figures in
limestone from the site of
El-Mektaa, near Gafsa.
(From Ernest Gohert.)*

We can see day after day that prehistory has continued to deliver us riches. On the eve of recorded history, we see three sorts of ancient sepultures : conical burial mounds called *bazines*, dolmen and caves at Sejnan. And the discoveries continue...

*Capsian skeleton.
Buried, according
to custom, in a
crouched position
and accompanied
by snail shells.*



*Opposite page:
Burial chambers
(known as baouanet)
in Debabsa in
Khroumire.*



1101 BC

THE FOUNDATION OF UTICA

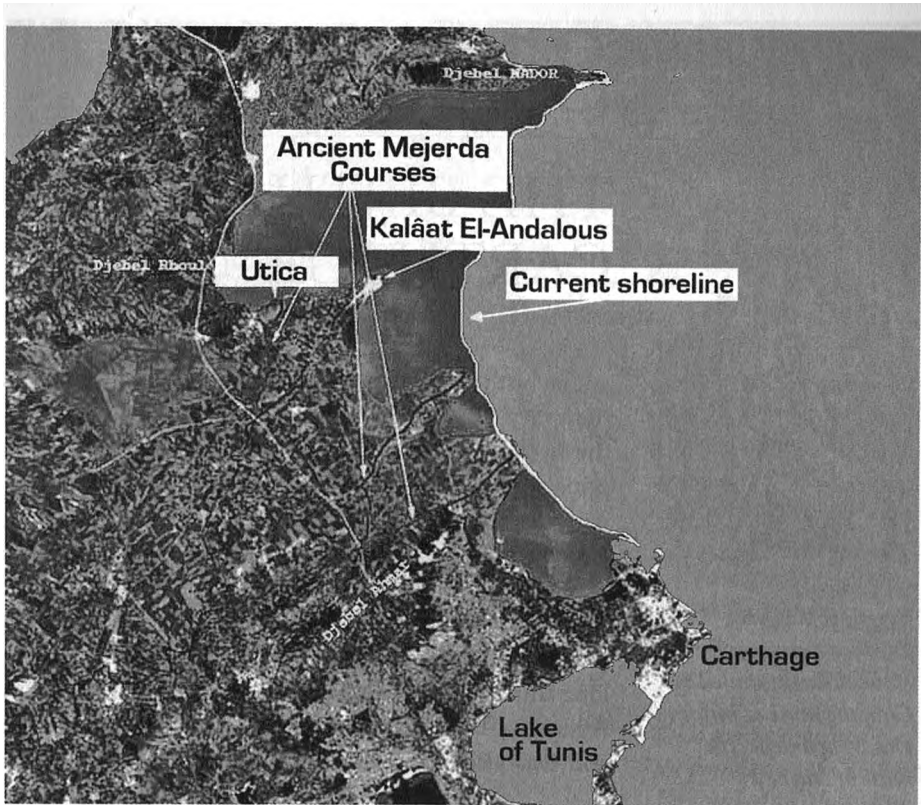


Prow of a ship on a Punic stele, 3rd century BC.

Well before the foundation of Carthage, at the end of the 12th century BC (1101 or 1100), the Phoenician town of Utica or Utiga was established in the north-east of Tunisia. It is located at the base of the hills leading to Cape Sidi Ali El-Mekki (Cape Apollo to the Romans). Utica was founded by Phoenicians from Tyre as were other towns before it: Lixus (Larache) in Morocco, and in Spain, Gades (Cadiz), Abdera (Adra, in the west of Almeria), Sexi (Almunecar), and Malaca (Malaga). Utica was a port before the Mejerda River (Bagradas or Macar) left its deposits all along the cape, totally transforming the physical geography of



Punic necropolis (embankment) in Utica.



the region, creating the plain that stretches to the south of Kalaat-El-Andalous. It was accessible by sea until Roman times. Little by little the sediment gained ground, and today, Utica is inland, far from the shore.

We know very little about its history. It was founded three centuries before Carthage and was a part of a trade route like other Phoenician colonies. They maintained their independence during the years that Carthage controlled the region. During the Punic Wars, Utica allied itself with the Romans. After the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, Utica became the capital of the Roman occupation until Emperor Augustus decided to rebuild Carthage.

The shifting shore lines. Alluvial deposits gradually gained ground, forcing Utica to retreat inland.

814 BC

THE BIRTH OF CARTHAGE



Virgil, holding the unrolled volumen of the Aeneid, accompanied by Clio, the muse of history, and Melpomene, the muse of tragedy.

This 3rd century mosaic, discovered in Sousse, is thought to be the oldest known representation of the Latin poet. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

« Aeneas tells Dido the misfortunes of the Trojan city ». Oil on canvas by Pierre Guérin, 1815. Louvre, Paris.





Troy, or Ilion. However, Aeneas, destined by the gods to found Rome, left, leaving Dido in despair, driving her to ascend a pyre and commit suicide.

According to the Roman historian Justin (AD 95-175), another legend has it that a local prince, Hiarbas or Hier-Baal, asked for the princess' hand in marriage. Refusing this proposal and not wanting to put her companions in danger in their new city, she lit a funeral pyre and set herself on fire. Two legends, two marriages not to be and two pyres !

Legends don't replace history, but embellish it. Carthage was founded by noblemen from Tyre, perhaps after something happened in their homeland that was governed by King Pum-Alyon (transcribed as Pygmalion). They brought women and treasures from Cyprus and chose to establish themselves at the base of a gulf sheltered by a cape, probably on the advice of their

Dido purchasing land for the foundation of Carthage. Engraving by Matthaus Merian the Elder in Historische Chronica, Frankfurt, 1630.

Overleaf (double page) : Dido and Aeneas have never ceased to intrigue artists through the centuries, including up to the present day. Portraits of the erstwhile lovers, painted enamel on copper, by Leonard Limousin, France, area 1530. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

AENEAS



LIBRO

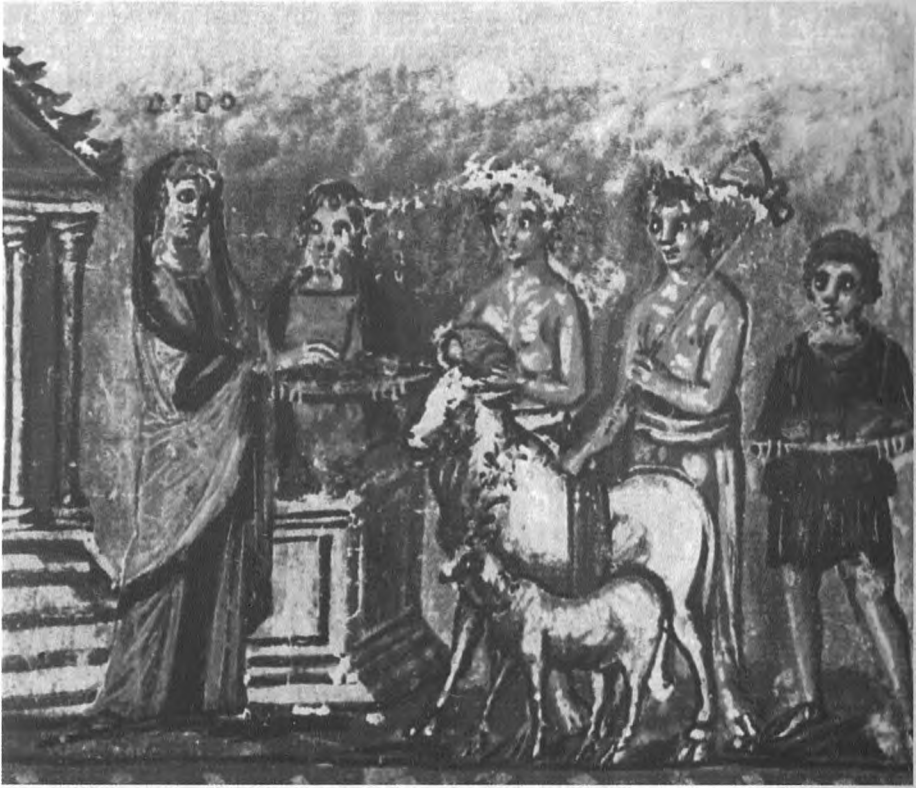




Aeneas' ship sets sail (top right). Dido, seated on a throne, is abandoned. She is accompanied by her sister Anna and a maid; to her right is a personification of Africa, recognisable by her elephant tusks. 1st century fresco found in Pompeii. National Archaeological Museum, Naples.

fellow citizens of Utica. It's possible that they were ruled by a princess named Elissa or Dido (the runaway), widow of the Tyrian, Zicher-Baal (Acerbas). The legend of the ox hide has its origins in the means by which the immigrants negotiated the purchase of land from the native inhabitants, the *Imazighen* (plural of *Amazigty* Berbers, sometimes named Lebu or Masakes by the Greek authors. Perhaps.

These legends have come to us from the pens of authors writing eight centuries after the fact. Undoubtedly, they used ancient sources that we are not aware of, but the extraordinary fate of this new city validates the royal, princely or noble origins of its founders. They



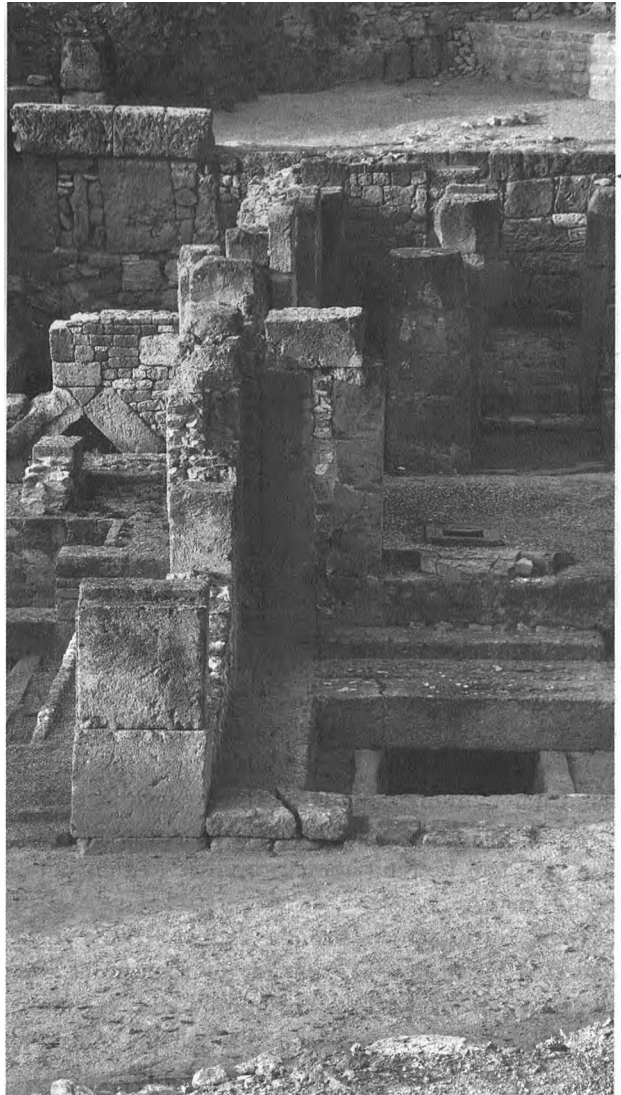
found a way to live with the natives and influence their culture for many centuries, to the point that the authors of the legends gave the name Hiarbas, a typically Punic name, to the Berber prince who asked for Elissa's hand. These immigrants surely didn't break with their homeland, continuing to honour their protector god, Melqart, and sending annual royalties to the central temple in Tyre.

Today, historians agree on the date of 814 BC as the date that Carthage was founded, three centuries after the fall of Troy, which makes Virgil's version impossible. But Virgil wanted to imply that the gods had already decided on the supremacy of Rome.

*Dido offering a sacrifice.
Illumination from a
manuscript of Virgil's
Aeneid, 4th century.
Vatican Apostolic
Library.*

We know very little about the first fifty years of this city. The oldest remains date only to the middle of the eighth century BC. But after this, history in the proper sense begins.

*Punic district on
Byrsa Hill, Carthage.*



*Opposite page:
The Suicide of Dido.
Dido stabs herself before
setting fire to herself.
Walters Art Museum,
Baltimore.*

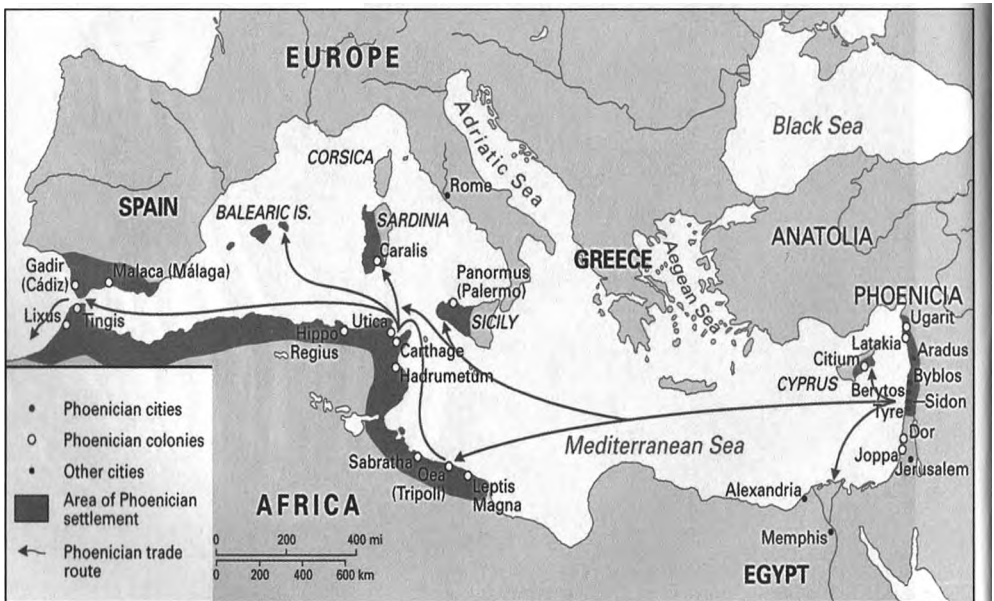


580 BC

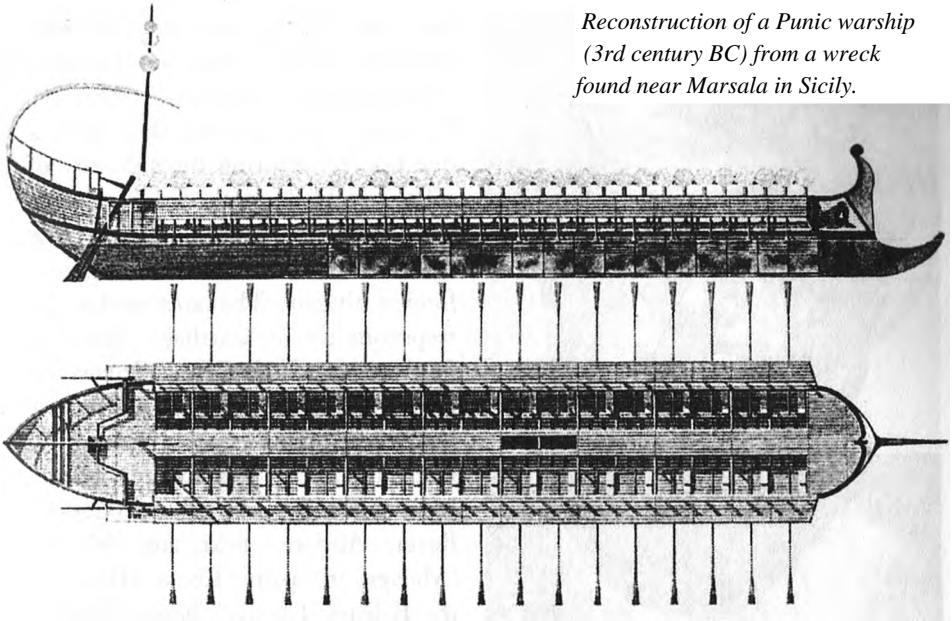
CARTHAGE HELPS TYRE

Map of Phoenician settlements together with maritime and trade routes. Carthage will gradually replace Phoenicia as master of the western Mediterranean and in establishing new trading posts.

In 580 BC Carthage came to the aid of Tyre. The eastern city-state, menaced by the Babylonians, could not come to the rescue of the colonies in the western Mediterranean. Carthage took over to drive the Greeks from the Tyrian establishment of Lilybaion (Marsala in Sicily). The Phoenicians had established trading posts all the way to the Atlantic well before the colonies created by the Greeks. However, in the eighth and seventh centuries BC the competition had become



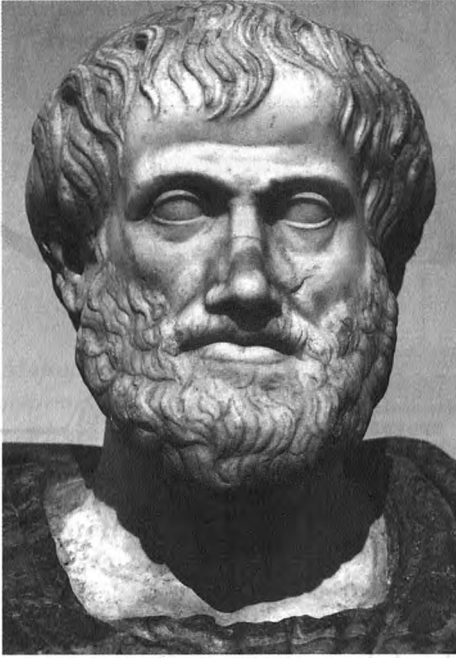
*Reconstruction of a Punic warship
(3rd century BC) from a wreck
found near Marsala in Sicily.*



fiercer between Tyre and the Greeks. Gradually, the eastern capital felt the constraints and handed over power to its western sister. In 573 BC Nebuchadnezzar II defeated Tyre. Carthage then became responsible for the western Phoenician settlements. This development necessarily implied changes in the Carthaginian government. It was not only a question of maintaining

*Coin from Selinunte
(known as a
tetradrachm) issued
in 409, the year the city
was captured by the
Carthaginians.*

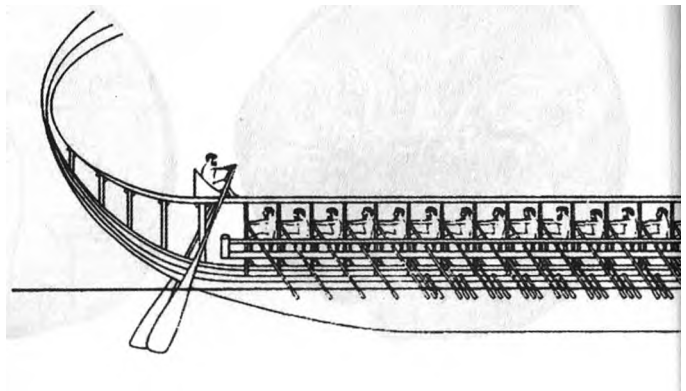




Aristotle tells us in his Politics about Carthage's reputation for having an excellent form of government "which differs from that of any other state in several respects... The superiority of the Carthaginian constitution is proved by the fact that the common people remain loyal to the constitution of their own free will. Furthermore, the Carthaginians have never had any rebellion worth speaking of, and have never been under the rule of a tyrant. "

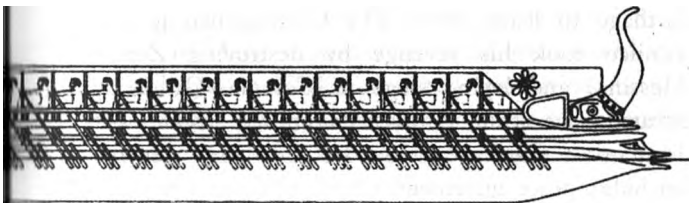
successful trading and friendly relationships with multiple partners (Phoenicians, Africans, Iberians, Etruscans and others), but also a question of ensuring the security of other establishments, trading posts and relay stations founded by the Tyrians to protect them against foreign threats. The area under the responsibility of Carthage stretched far from the Gulf of Tunis. It covered Lixus and Mogador in Morocco ; Rachgoun and the posts created by Carthage at Tipasa and Marsa Merdakh in Algeria ; Gades (Cadiz), Baria, Abdera, Sexi and Malaga (Malaga) in Spain ; Ebussi (Ibiza) in the Balearic Islands ; Nora, Tharros, Sulcis, Cagliari and the Carthaginian town of Monte Sirai in Sardinia ;

Lilybaeum (Marsala), Soluntum and the Carthaginian cities of Panorme and Selinunte in Sicily ; Malta, the island and its surroundings; and we cannot forget the towns on the Tunisian coast such as Hadrumetum and Lepcis all the way down to the Libyan Gulf of Sirte. It demanded a powerful army, a navy fit for war and a tough foreign policy. This was the job of the Magonid

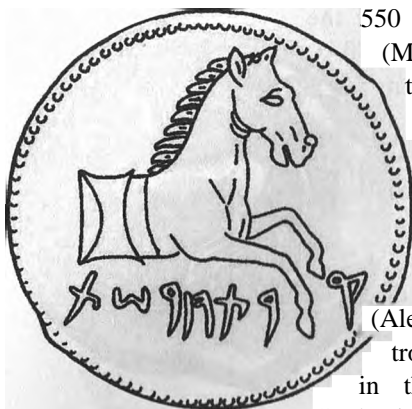


dynasty that managed the Carthaginian state at the end of the sixth century BC (509 BC ?) until 380 BC and provided a large-scale defence for its land and sea territories.

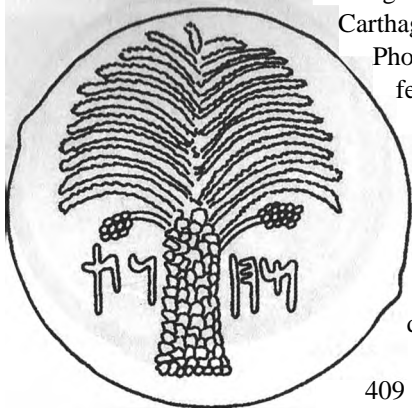
The Magonids possibly established a monarchy, or at least an oligarchy. The Carthage that Aristotle described in his work, *Politics*, did not result in a kingdom but in a democracy, balancing the power between the *Shopnet* (*Shophetim*), the judges in the Bible, the Senate (*kabir* in Phoenician and *gerousia* in Greek) and the peoples' assemblies (*Am* in Phoenician). Nevertheless, it is possible that in serious circumstances, notably after the defeat of Himera (see below), which there was a tendency toward a concentration of power appearing at the heart of the ruling class which was dominated by patrician families. From that point forward until the wars against Rome, Carthage found itself involved in enterprises that were no less than imperial. A true maritime empire was imposing its preeminence in the Mediterranean which stirred envy all the way to Persia and would ultimately cause its demise. The earliest confrontations took place with the *Punic coin* (*tetradrachm*) Greeks of Sicily. From 580 to 264 BC, Carthage went *from Syracuse*. to war nine times against the Greeks, who were often guided by Syracuse, a colony of Corinth.



*Reconstruction of a
4th-5th century BC
trireme.*



550 BC - War led by the Carthaginian Malchus (Mik or Melek) against the Greeks, supported by the Persians who also wanted control of the Mediterranean. Malchus then led a campaign against the Sardinians who contested the Carthaginian dominance in the heart of the island.



540 BC - The Phocaeans settled in Alalia (Aleria) in Corsica in 565 BC. This settlement troubled both the Etruscans, the masters of trade in this part of the Mediterranean, and the Carthaginians, their allies established in Sardinia. A Carthaginian-Etruscan alliance uprooted the Phocaeans in 540 BC despite the support of their fellow countrymen of Massalia (Marseille).

480 BC - Serious defeat for the Carthaginians at Himera in the north of Sicily. Carthage, which had lost its Sicilian territory, turned to Africa, to the interior of the country, to expand its territory so that it was not solely dependent on the sea.

409 BC - Revenge for the Carthaginians by destroying Himera and regaining Selinunte and Gela, plundering Acragas (Agrigento) and sieging Syracuse, saved by Dionysius I who was elected general. Dionysius I gave up half of Sicily to Carthage four years later.

Carthaginian coin minted in Sicily circa 410 BC. The inscription beneath the horse reads : "Carthage", and under the palm tree: "Army".

398 BC - Dionysius I of Syracuse united the Greek cities, took Motya, near Marsala, and gave notice to Carthage to leave Sicily. The Carthaginian general Himilco took his revenge by destroying Zancle (Messina) and laying siege to Catania. On being defeated once again, Himilco committed suicide. The oligarchy at Carthage demanded that their generals conclude a peace agreement.

383-76 BC - A new war against Syracuse and defeat at Cabala. General Mago was killed. His son, another Himilco, avenged his death in 376 BC while fighting the Greeks. Dionysius I abandoned the western third of the island to the Carthaginians.

Over the course of the next ten years of his life, from 376 to 367 BC Dionysius I tried for a third time in vain to expel the Carthaginians.

341 BC -Timoleon, the new head of Syracuse, sent by the metropole of Corinth, defeated the Carthaginians at Crimisos, a waterway near Segesta southwest of Trapani.

315 BC - Agathocles, the new leader of Syracuse, encroached upon the territories of Carthage, which reacted by laying siege to Syracuse. Five years later, Agathocles landed in Africa, at Cap Bon, burned Carthage's fleet and ravaged the country for four years.

278 BC - The Carthaginians blockaded Syracuse, which in turn called on Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus succeeded in reacquiring the Carthaginian conquests on the eastern part of the island, but with his departure in 269 BC, Carthage recovered her territory and returned to the region of Messina. And it was a disagreement between the inhabitants of Messina, which was divided between those supporting Carthage and those supporting Syracuse that led to Roman intervention and the start of the first Punic War in 264 BC.



Timoleon, victorious over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Crimisos in 341 BC.

540 BC

THE DISCOVERY OF BLACK AFRICA: THE PERIPLUS OF HANNO

In 540 BC after the Alalia affair, the rulers of Carthage, taking into account the competition in the Mediterranean, decided to extend their reach beyond the Pillars of Hercules. They were motivated after the disappearance of the kingdom of Tarsis (Tarsessos, in the south of Spain) which dominated the Atlantic routes. Two expeditions were entrusted to two great captains : Hanno and Himilco. While Hanno explored the African coast near Mogador, Himilco travelled the length of the Iberian Peninsula and headed towards Brittany, the British Isles and even, some say, the Netherlands.

However, it is Hanno's journey for which we have written records, preserved in Greek translation. His journey has an important place in history. It is the first time that we are aware of where sailors travelled this far down the western coast of the continent on the Atlantic, the ocean that the Arabs called the Sea of Darkness. This journey raised a number of questions that fed controversy. Understandably not wanting to give any useful information to adversaries, the Punic author who wrote the account did his utmost to make verification difficult. A number of scholars pondered



Map of Himilco's expeditions.

the question. Sceptics doubt whether the voyage really happened or not. What is certain is that the Phoenicians, and later their Carthaginian successors, knew the Atlantic maritime route to their own settlement of Mogador. Did they travel, as the text leads us to believe, all the way to the Gulf of Guinea ? In any case, the author of this account described the coast, the capes, the mountains and a volcano that, obviously, does not have the same name today.

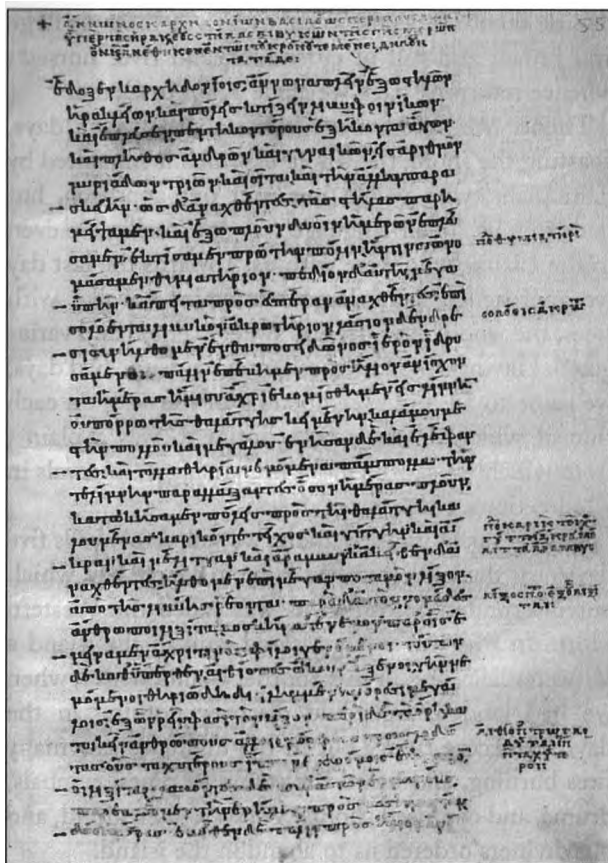
However, it is in fact the coast of western Africa at the mouth of the Niger, where Mount Cameroon is. Here is the text:

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phoenician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessities

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city which we named Thymiaterium. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Caricoticos, and Gytte, and Aera, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitae, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitae dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytae, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitae described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled



First page of Hanno's
Periplus (Codex
Palatinus Gr. 398),
Bibliotheca Palatina,
Heidelberg.

a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage ; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars, was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

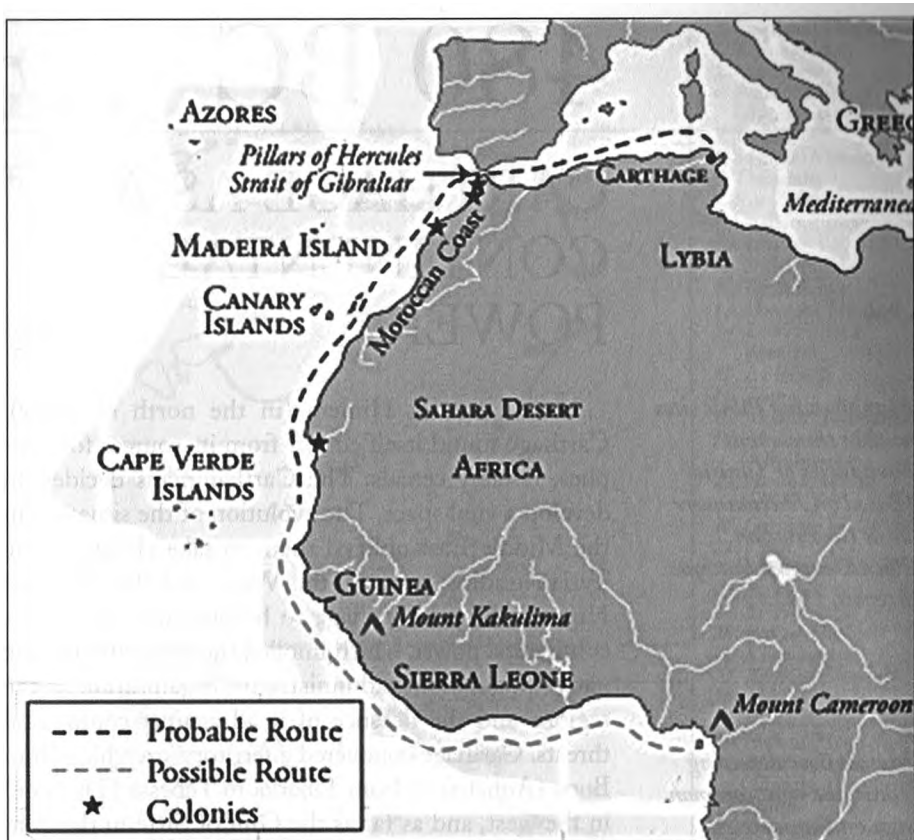
We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing.

Sailing thence we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles, and river horses ; whence returning back we came again to Cerne.

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitae who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea ; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain ; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn. In this was a large island, and in the island a saltwater lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the daytime except trees ; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island.

Sailing quickly away thence we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn ; at the bottom of which



lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillae. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

Hanno's Periplus.

480 BC

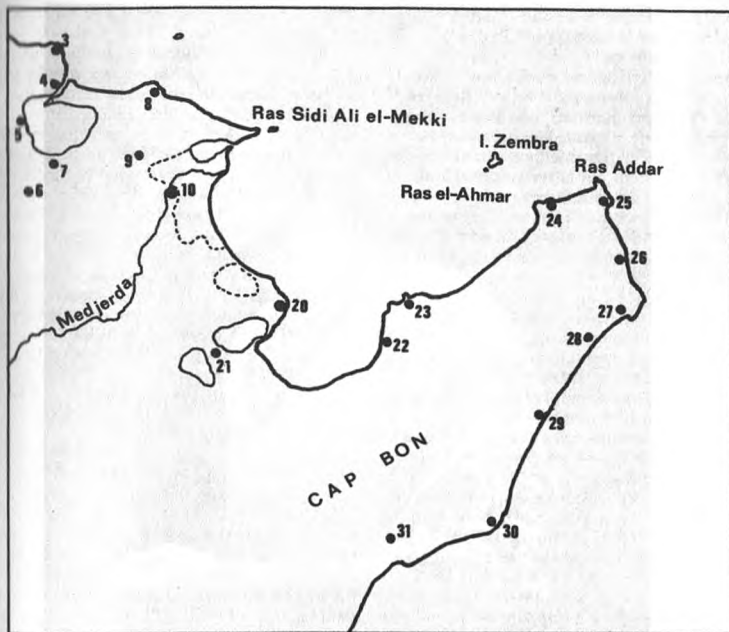
CARTHAGE AS A CONTINENTAL POWER

Map showing Punic sites within the current boundaries of Tunisia. (Based on Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phenicienne et Punique, Brepols, 1992.)

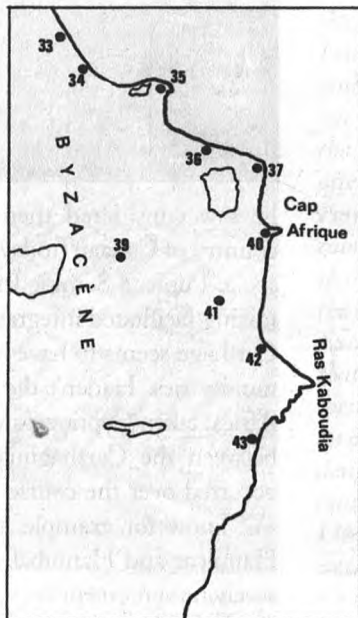
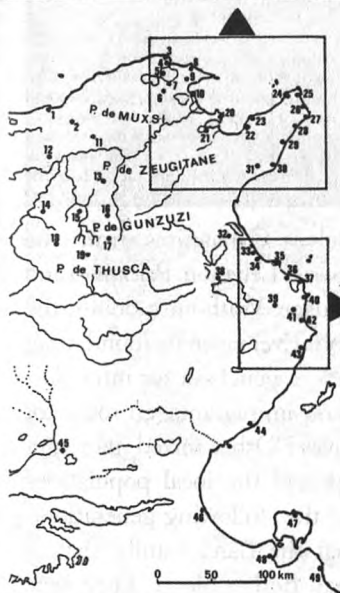
Mosaic floor depicting Tanit, the most common sign on Punic steles, which appeared in Carthage in the 5th century BC on cippi.



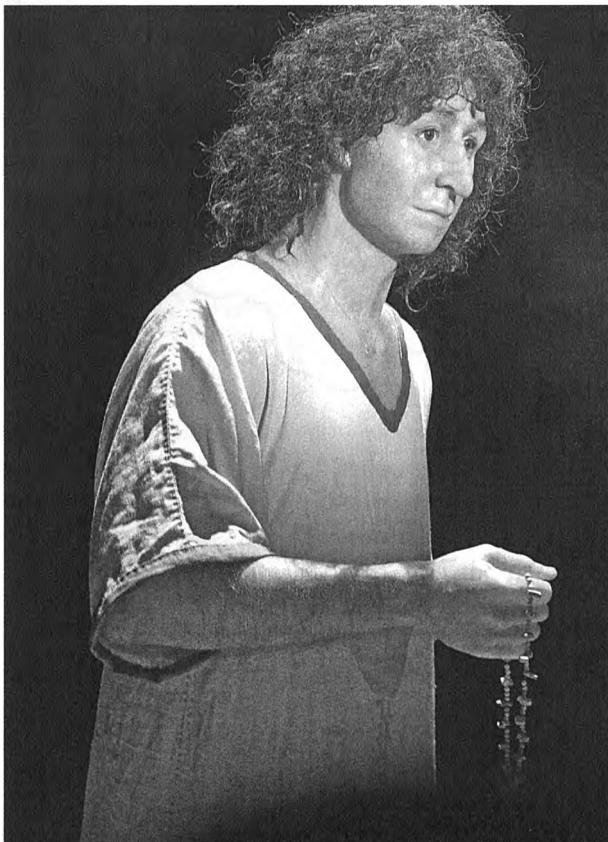
After defeat at Himera (in the north of Sicily), Carthage found itself cut off from its sources for supplies, notably cereals. The Carthaginians decided to develop a vital space. The evolution of the situation in the Middle East obliged them to take charge of the Tyrian trading posts in the West, and the defeat at Himera obliged Carthage to become the centre of a continental power, which implied the integration of the native populations, administrative organisation of the regions and the defence of it all against continental threats. Carthage conquered a territory stretching from Bona (Annaba) or from Tabarka to Tebessa (Theveste) in the west, and as far as the Gulf of Sirte in the east. This territory consisted of what we would know later as Roman Africa and Arab *Ifriqiya*. We do not know the details of the stages of this expansion. It is hard to believe that this was accomplished all at once because we observe that the integration was not consistent throughout the territory. The regions of the West and the South certainly were difficult for generals like Hanno, who was charged with “appeasing” the conquered lands. Carthage would profoundly influence the culture of the region. Mixed marriages appear to have been frequent, and numerous Berber princes had names that were typically Punic. Much later, in the fifth century, Saint Augustine would bear witness that the population that



1. *Tabarka* (Thabraca)
2. *Kef el-Bhida*
3. *Cap Blanc*
4. *Bizerte* (Hippo Dhiarventus)
5. *Tindja*
6. *Mateur* (Matara)
7. *Theudalis*
8. *Ras Zebib*
9. *Uzalis*
10. *Utique*
11. *Béja* (Vaga)
12. *Bulla Regia*
13. *Dougga* (Thugga)
14. *Le Kef* (Sicca Veneria)
15. *La Ghorfa*
16. *Zama*
17. *Maktar* (Mactaris)
18. *Medina* (Althiburos)
19. *Henchir Meded* (Mididi)
20. *Carthage*
21. *Tunis*
22. *Sidi Raïs* (Carpis)
23. *Ras el-Fortass*
24. *El-Haouaria*
25. *Ras ed-Drek*
26. *Kerkouane*
27. *Kélibia* (Clupea)
28. *Menzel Témime*
29. *Korba* (Curubis)
30. *Nabeul* (Neapolis)
31. *Bir bou Rekba* (Thinissut)
32. *Gurza*
33. *Sousse/Hadrumète* (Hadrumetum)
34. *El-Kénissia*
35. *Monastir* (Ruspina)
36. *Lemta* (Lepti Minus)
37. *Ras Dimass* (Thapsus)
38. *Sidi el-Hani*
39. *Smirat*
40. *Mabdia*
41. *Ksour Essaf*
42. *Salakta* (Sullecthum)
43. *Acholla*
44. *Bordj Yonga* (Macomades Minores)
45. *Gafsa* (Capsa)
46. *Gâbès* (Tacapes)
47. *Jerba* (Girba)
48. *Bou Grara* (Gigthis)
49. *Zarzis*



*The Byrsan Youth.
Lifelike dermoplastic
reconstruction based on
the skeleton of a
Carthaginian young
man aged 19 to 24. 6th
century AD ; 170 cm high.
Exhibition at Carthage
Museum, October
2010-March 2011.*

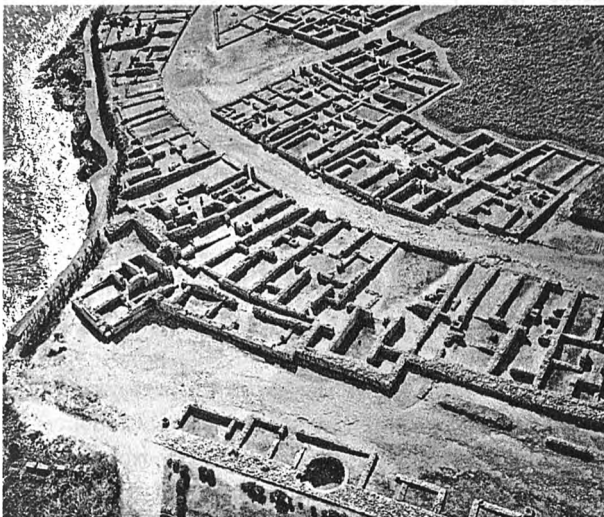


he saw considered themselves Canaanites, from the country of Canaan (today Syria, Lebanon, Palestine) and spoke Punic, a Semitic language. Without a doubt, the mixing facilitated integration. Ever since its foundation, Carthage seems to have had a penchant for intercommunity ties. Haden't the first immigrants, en route for Africa, taken Cypriots as wives ? Other mixed marriages between the Carthaginians and the local populations occurred over the course of the following generations. We know for example, that the Barca family, that of Hamilcar and Hannibal, had Berber blood. They were surely not an exception.

Nevertheless, the expansion of the Carthaginian domain involved a lot of hard work. In the beginning it was a question of military conquests that apparently were very difficult. Later, it was about policing the territory and exploiting the land and its mineral resources. There were uprisings. The assistance given by the population to the mercenaries, after the first war against Rome, would bear witness to the dissatisfaction of the population. There were also attacks by nomads at the borders of their territory. However, we have come to believe that the social policy of Carthage resulted in the birth of what historians of ancient cultures call the Libyco-Punic population. The integration is so complete that it is difficult to tell if the inhabitants of Kerkouane, Dougga or, for example, someone from Leptis Magna later on, like the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus, were Punic or Berber. When the name Africa was adopted later, we would most frequently call them Africans. The Arabs would also say Africa (the plural of *Ifriqi*). To distinguish them from their Numidian neighbours.



Punic coin minted in Carthage (241-221 BC).



Aerial view of the Punic site of Kerkouane.

Founded in the 6th century BC, the village is one of the few Punic sites that was not occupied after the 3rd century BC. Foreground: the outer ramparts and main street that separates them from the inner walls.

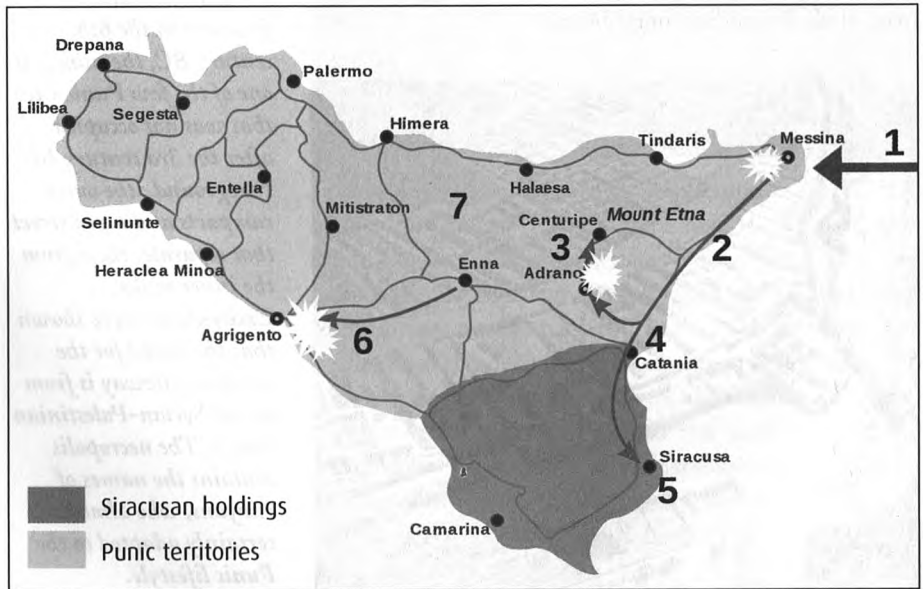
Excavations have shown that the model for the western gateway is from an old Syrian-Palestinian design. The necropolis contains the names of Libyans, who almost certainly adapted to the Punic lifestyle.

264 BG _____

THE FIRST WAR AGAINST ROME : THE WAR OF SICILY

What European historians call the *Punic Wars* began with this war in Sicily. It was at the end of this conflict that Carthage would lose Sicily for good, when until 278 BC its relationship with Rome had been that of an ally.

Map of Sicily. The area under Carthaginian control was dominant Mercenaries from Campania (the region of Naples), on the eve of the First Punic War.





Hiero II, King of Syracuse, on horseback; sitting, the scientist Archimedes. Engraving by Joseph Goupy based on Sebastiano Ricci (circa 1700).

Mars), who took Messina after having taken Rhegium, were attacked by Hiero II of Syracuse, who laid siege to Messina, hoping to drive out the “heathens” and become the head of all of eastern Sicily. The Mamertines, looking for serious support against Syracuse, divided into two camps : those who called Rome to come to the rescue and those who called Carthage.

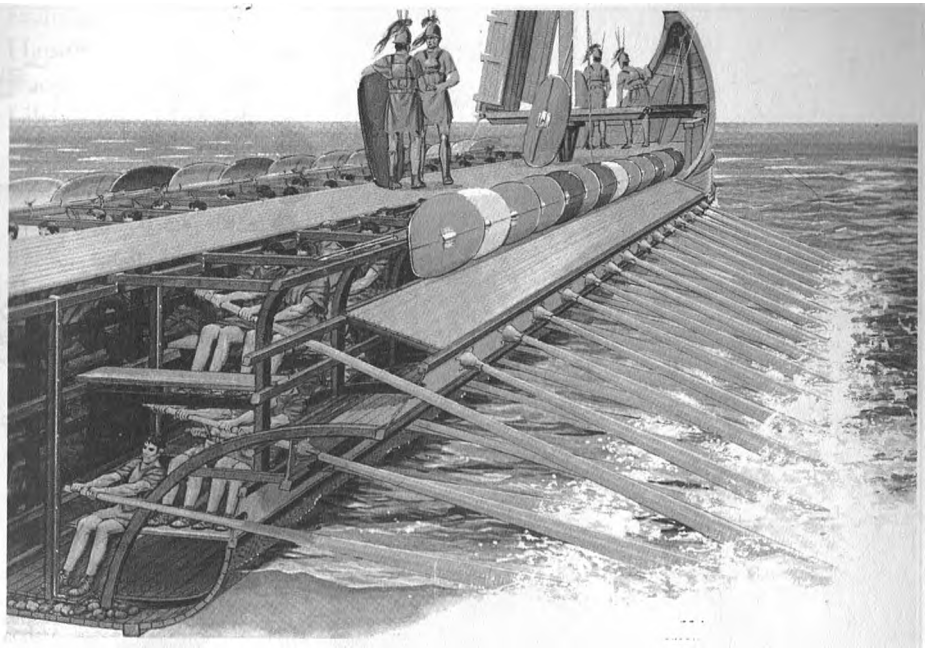
A Carthaginian general took over the citadel, but the pro-Roman group chased him off. Carthage, considering the general as having abandoned it, either because of stupidity or cowardice, crucified him. The Romans crossed the strait and stopped the siege begun by Syracuse. Carthage created a new army. The war continued amidst great confusion. The Syracusans changed alliances the following year, allying themselves with

Rome, with the intention of driving the Carthaginians from Sicily. The war for Messina transformed into a war to control the island. Carthage lost the island, but Syracuse lost its independence. Under the leadership of the Claudii, Rome demonstrated that its hunger for conquest would not stop with the Italian boot. The war lasted twenty-three years and wore down many generals, admirals and consuls. There were no fewer than eight Carthaginian generals, among whom were Hanno, Hasdrubal, Carthalo, Hannibal the Rhodian, Hamilcar Barca and another Hanno.

Rome, using the war as an opportunity to build a navy, was obliged to build its fleet four times, losing three times more boats than it had through marine disasters or defeats. In 256 BC one consul, Marcus Attilius Regulus, who believed he was replicating the exploits of

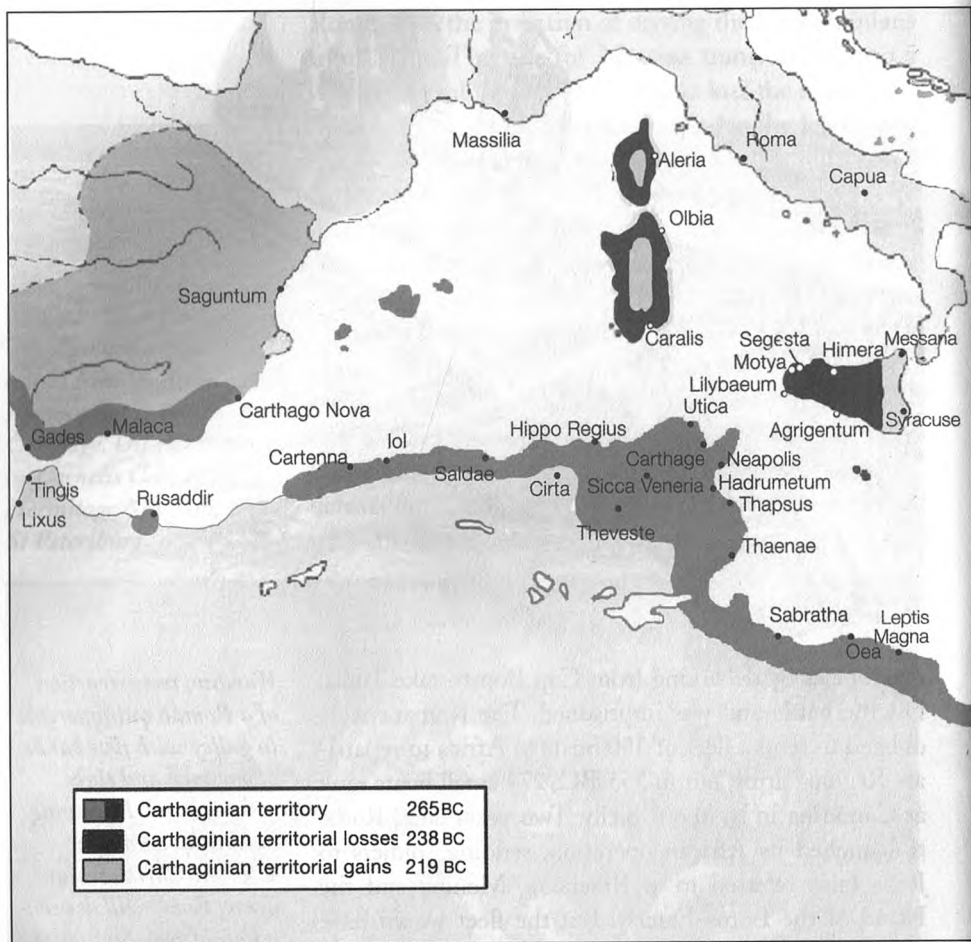
The Romans urge the consul Marcus Atilius Regulus not to return to Carthage. Oil on canvas by Cornelis Cels, 1791. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.





Agathocles by debarking from Cap Bon to take Tunis, lost the battle and was imprisoned. The Romans were obliged to send a fleet of 350 boats to Africa to repatriate Regulus' army, but in 255 BC, 274 small boats sank at Camarina in southern Sicily. Two years later, Rome re-launched its African operation, sending soldiers to Jerba (also referred to as Bracheon, Meninx and the Island of the Lotus-Eaters). But the fleet would have difficulties with the shallows and faced a devastating storm on its return to Sicily. The Romans were happier on land. They occupied many Sicilian cities and the combat, as of 254 BC, centred on those in the west : Palermo, Trapani, Marsala and Selinunte. When Hamilcar Barca was designated commander of the Carthaginian army in Sicily in 247 BC (the year his son Hannibal was born), he began by attacking the Roman army from behind Bruttium (Calabria), landing at Palermo and Mount Ercte (known today as Monte

Warship, reconstruction of a Roman quinquereme (a galley with five banks of oarsmen and three rows of oars). Following her initial encounter with the Carthaginian army, Rome will develop a fleet of warships for the first time. The Romans almost certainly drew on the model of the Carthaginian quinquereme.



Map of the battles fought during the First Punic War and the territorial losses incurred by Carthage.

Castellaccio) in the midst of the enemy, from where he harassed the Romans for four years. In 241 BC Rome took Trapani, and the fleet sent by Carthage to free the city was defeated in the Aegadian Islands, with 50 boats sunk and 70 captured. Carthage decided to declare peace and charged Hamilcar with negotiating the terms. Hamilcar, who had not been defeated in four years, concluded a treaty accepting that Carthage would leave Sicily without having to surrender its arms after an

exchange of prisoners. Hamilcar advanced his troops in good order to Lilybaeum (Marsala) and entrusted them to the commander there, Giskon. Hamilcar then returned home, most likely in the Tunisian Sahel. But Rome, while the treaty was being ratified by the Senate, made stricter demands for the evacuation of the Lipari Islands and took advantage of the difficulties faced by Carthage, by using mercenaries to definitively take control of Sardinia.

Understanding this episode at the end of the First Punic War is indispensable for understanding what happened next. Much has been said about the hatred the Hamilcar family had for Rome and the fact that they swore that their son, Hannibal, would never



Hamilcar and his son Hannibal, aged nine. Engraving by Henry Singleton, 1802.

be a friend to the Romans. Hamilcar was not defeated by the Romans. It was this from this position that he was able to negotiate an honourable treaty. If he evacuated his troops from Sicily, it was by order of his government and the Carthaginian Senate. However, he never forgave Rome for breaking its word and adding clauses to a treaty that had already been concluded. He considered that an unpardonable betrayal.

241 BC

THE WAR OF THE MERCENARIES



Salammbô Lithography
by Alphonse Mucha,
1896. British Museum,
London.

Made famous by the French novel *Salammbô* by Gustave Flaubert, the War of the Mercenaries, or the War of Africa, was a dramatic page in the life of Carthage after the end of the First War against Rome. In 241 BC Carthage, bled dry as a result of having lost its positions in Sicily and the surrounding islands, as well as having its business interests and cashflow disrupted by the hostilities, experienced real difficulties in paying its own mercenaries' salaries. This was despite the precautions taken by General Giscon (Ger-Sakun) to only send them back to Africa in groups. According to the historian Polybius, the Sicilian army counted among its ranks Iberians and Balearians, Gauls and Ligurians, Roman deserters, Greeks, Italians and a majority of Africans. The Carthaginian Senate began by asking them to wait for payment. But the sol-

diers' behaviour in the city was becoming intolerable for the citizens. The leaders then made a decision that would have very serious consequences, deciding to send the soldiers to Sicca (Le Kef) to wait for the balance of their pay. The mercenaries, who had risked their



The Mercenaries of Carthage (Les Mercenaires de Carthage). Oil on canvas by Gustave Surand, 1884 Salon.

lives to defend Carthage and only wished to be rewarded and return home, saw this as hostile and distrustful. As more and more time passed at Sicca, the more their desire for higher pay rose and they tried to outdo each other with their demands. Carthage then made a second error by sending General Hanno, who was not familiar with the Sicilian army, to ask them to accept a reduction in what they were owed. The mercenaries revolted and insisted on immediate, full payment for what they considered they should receive. They headed towards Carthage, camped at Tunis and began a terrible war that would last for three years and four months, leaving Carthage even weaker.

There were a number of developments during this war. Each side had strong personalities. Leaders of great stature would take command of the mercenaries. History has left us the names of some of them : Matho the Berber, Spendius the Campanian, a Roman deserter,



*The Defilé of the
Battle-Axe (Le Defilé de
la Hache). Oil on canvas
by Paul Buffet, 1894.
Musée d'Arts de Nantes.*

and Autarite the Gaul. On the side of Carthage there was Hanno the Great, triumphant at Theveste but unsuccessful at El Kef; Giscon, the last commander in Sicily, who Carthage sent to Tunis too late ; Hamilcar, called on to head a new army in conjunction with that of Hanno ; Narr'Havas, the Berber chief who, because he was a great admirer of Hamilcar, came with his cavalry to the service of his idol.

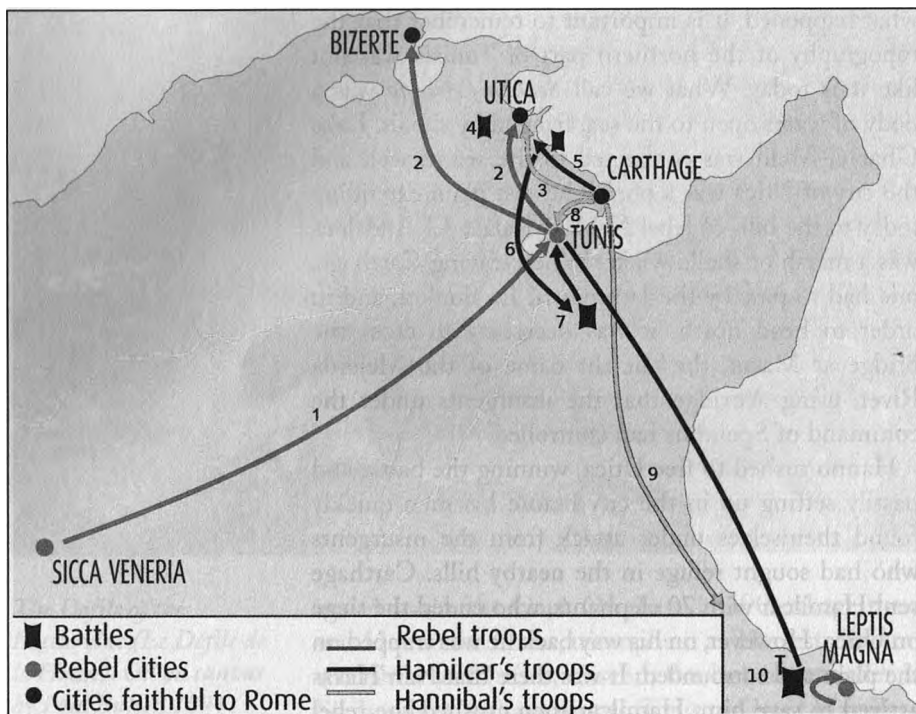
From the beginning the majority of the mercenaries were Africans. But when Matho sent emissaries to Tunis to call on the population to revolt, he received reinforcements of 70,000 men and donations of silver and jewels from the women, giving him a comfortable flow of funds. It was no longer just a question of a mercenary rebellion but in fact a general insurrection by Africans who rejected the Carthaginian administration and the repressive policies of generals like Hanno. The Africans knew their country and knew what needed to be done. They began by laying siege to Utica and Hippo-Zaryte (Bizerte). To better understand

what happened, it is important to remember that the topography of the northern part of Tunisia was not like it is today. What we call *Sebkha l'Ariana* was a body of water open to the sea, fringed by shoals. Lake Ghar-el-Melh was connected to the sea as well and the city of Utica was a port. The vast plain extending today to the hills of Jebel Nahli at Kalaat-El-Andalous was a marsh or shallow lake. When leaving Carthage, one had to pass by the Isthmus of La Soukra, and in order to head north, it was necessary to cross the bridge at Macar, the ancient name of the Mejerda River, using a bridge that the insurgents under the command of Spendius had controlled.

Hanno rushed to free Utica, winning the battle and hastily setting up in the city before his men quickly found themselves under attack from the insurgents who had sought refuge in the nearby hills. Carthage sent Hamilcar with 70 elephants, who ended the siege on Utica. However, on his way back he was trapped on the plain and surrounded. It was there that Narr'Havas arrived to save him. Hamilcar then crushed the rebel army. The mercenaries, however, tortured Giscon, their former commander, who was captured after he left Tunis. And, adding to the misfortunes of Carthage, other mercenaries in Sardinia triggered a revolt when they killed their leader, Bostar, and his Carthaginian officers. Sardinia was to all intents and purposes lost.

Jebel Er-Ressas.





Map of the battles fought during the Mercenary War (according to Polybius). ARR.

After the events at Utica, the opposition between Hanno and Hamilcar grew. Carthage recalled Hanno and sent Hannibal as his deputy. Hippo-Zaryte and Utica defected and their people joined the ranks of the mercenaries. Matho and Spendius attacked Carthage, cutting off all its supply sources. Carthage called on Syracuse for help. Its previous enemy came to its assistance by way of the sea. Hamilcar defeated the rebels, hunting them down and crushing them under the feet of elephants in a procession that was made famous in Flaubert's novel under the name "The Pass of the Hatchet". The location would be next to Jebel Er-Ressas. Autarite, Spendius and a Berber chief, Zarzas were imprisoned and put to death. Only Matho and his troops remained.

On the political front, Hamilcar, with his second-in-command Hannibal, travelled through the region to pacify the country and reestablish connections between Carthage and the indigenous population along with the assistance of Narr'Havas, the Berber chief. He released prisoners who agreed not to take up arms. But Matho, back in Tunis, captured Hannibal and put him to death. Hamilcar intensified the siege of the city. Carthage sent a delegation of senators to reconcile Hanno and Hamilcar in order to put an end to the war that had been dragging on. Tunis was liberated and Hamilcar pursued Matho to the Sahel. Matho was imprisoned and tortured, probably near Lemta.

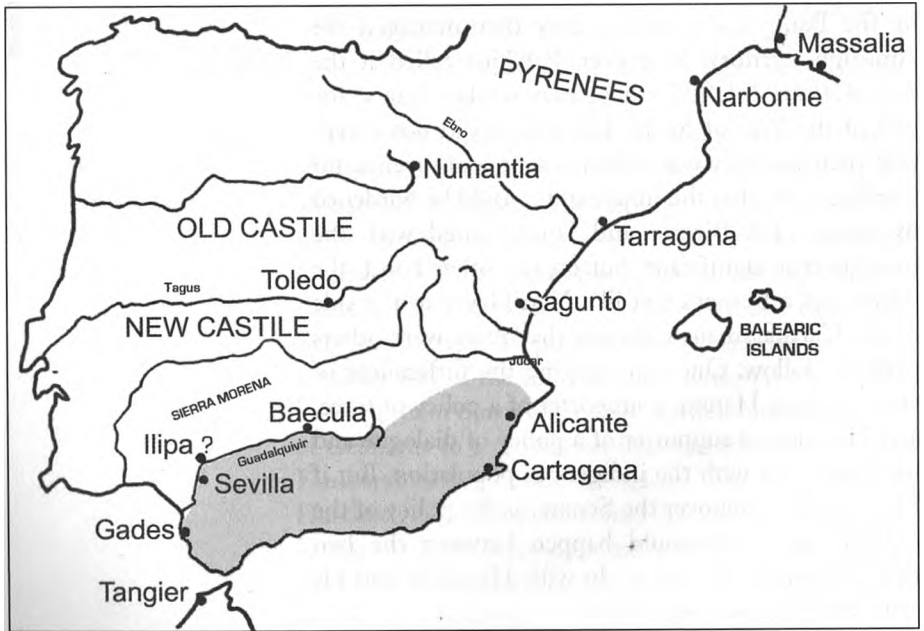
This war was a disaster for the country, for its population and for its leaders. The *War of the Mercenaries* seems to resemble a civil war, pitting a central power and a large proportion of the inhabitants against each other. There were obviously errors by the Punic aristocracy in how they managed the Amazigh territory. Moreover, Polybius called it the *War of Africa*. It left Carthage even weaker than at the end of the War of Sicily. The people did not accept that their territory was simply a source of revenue for Carthage and that the inhabitants would be burdened by taxes. That Bizerte and Utica united with the insurgents is significant, but on the other hand, the rallying of a Berber chief like Narr'Havas to the side of the Carthaginians indicates that there were others paths to follow. One can imagine the differences of view between Hanno, a supporter of a policy of force, and Hamilcar, a supporter of a policy of dialogue and understanding with the indigenous population. But if Hanno's clan won over the Senate, as the policy of the entente suggested would happen between the two generals, what was one to do with Hamilcar and his army once the war was over ?

238 BC

A DOMINION IN IBERIA FOR HAMILCAR

*Map of territory owned
by the Barcids (shaded
area) on the Iberian
Peninsula. (From Serge
Lancel.)*

There is little information available on what happened in Carthage immediately after the end of the War of Africa. We can make deductions based on what Greek and Latin historians recorded. Hamilcar, undefeated in Sicily, had reason to hold a grudge against his government and especially Rome. Having





Punic coin minted in Spain, probably depicting Hamilcar represented as Hercules or Melkart (gods and city founders). On the reverse is an elephant and mahout. British Museum, London.



negotiated an honourable treaty with the Romans before returning home, he could not accept that they unilaterally made things worse by stripping Carthage of all its islands, profiting from the situation created by the mercenary revolt in Sardinia to seize the larger island. Carthage tried to regain control by preparing an army. But Rome declared that these preparations would mean a renewal of hostilities and threatened to go to war with Carthage. Negotiations led to peace that involved Carthage having to pay an additional tribute to Rome, and abandon the idea of sending an army to Sardinia. Rome made the most of this and in 238 BC, under the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, took possession of the island, which has since been part of Italy. We can guess that this was too much for Hamilcar, the ardent patriot, who, the following year, left for Spain. So what happened ? Who in the Carthaginian Senate, in the Hanno clan or among Hamilcar's supporters, had the idea of sending the popular general to Iberia? It is clear that for many years Carthage had established trading posts and colonies to the east and south of the Iberian Peninsula, from the Balearics to Cadiz, the former Phoenician destination. But this time, it was more about conquering a country that could compensate for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia.

The preparations were made quickly. The decision was possibly made before the final stage of the War of the Mercenaries. Perhaps it was also the fear of leaving an army that had just saved Carthage idle that precipitated the decision. In any case, we note that it happened very shortly after peace was achieved at the end of 238 BC, with Hamilcar leaving for Iberia in 237 BC. He was accompanied by his son-in-law

Hasdrubal and his son, Hannibal, who was nine years old at the time. To observe an intriguing coincidence, Massinissa, the Maesulean prince who would play a

*Monument dedicated to
Hasdrubal at Cartagena
in Spain.*

key role in the Battle of Zama in 202 BC, was born now.

How strong was this army ? What route did they take to head to Iberia ? It's difficult to imagine that the Carthaginians, forced by Rome to abandon Sardinia, would have stopped there on their way to the Balearic Islands. Did Hamilcar and his military staff follow the African coast where the sea currents run from West to East ? Did they take enough money to recruit an army in Iberia ? We don't know. On the other hand, what we do know is that for nine years, from 237 BC to his death in 228 BC, Hamilcar won, through combat or negotiations, significant territory for his homeland. Carthage already held Cadiz in Spain, on the Atlantic coast, Malaga in the south and important ports on the eastern coast facing the Balearics. From there, Hamilcar advanced inland where the soil was rich in metals that would allow Carthage to pay war indemnities and recover its wealth. We believe that this territory covered Andalusia, La Mancha and the Levant. But conquering did not mean shutting down all opposition. As we will see from what followed, the Iberians and Celtiberians would make things difficult for Hamilcar and his successors.

In 228 BC Hamilcar, lured by an Iberian chief to what he thought would be negotiations, went to meet him without his entourage and found himself in a trap. He decided to withdraw by crossing the flooded Jucar River to join his company, which had stayed on the other side. He drowned before the eyes of his men. His son-in-law Hasdrubal returned home and the army appointed him as general. Carthage ratified the decision.

Hamilcar practised a mixture of diplomacy and combat. Hasdrubal mostly opted for diplomacy. In seven years, he multiplied initiatives. He consolidated



the conquered territories. He increased alliances with Iberian chiefs and married the daughter of one of them. He created a new city, Cartagena, on the eastern coast between Andalusia and Catalonia, at the foot of rich mining country, where he created the seat of his government. He reigned as autonomous viceroy, minted his own currency, received ambassadors and was accepted by Rome as running a de facto state, agreeing that the Carthaginians would not go further than the Ebro River. He seemed successful at everything until a Gallic soldier in his army killed him at his home in 221 BC for reasons that are unknown.

Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca, having been in the army since the age of fourteen and become renowned, was elected by the soldiers as Hasdrubal's successor.

Hamilcar and his young son Hannibal at a sacrifice. Engraving by Raffaele Persichini based on Bartolomeo Pinelli, illustrating an edition of Charles Rollin's l'Histoire Ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, etc. Paris, 1730-38.

218 BC

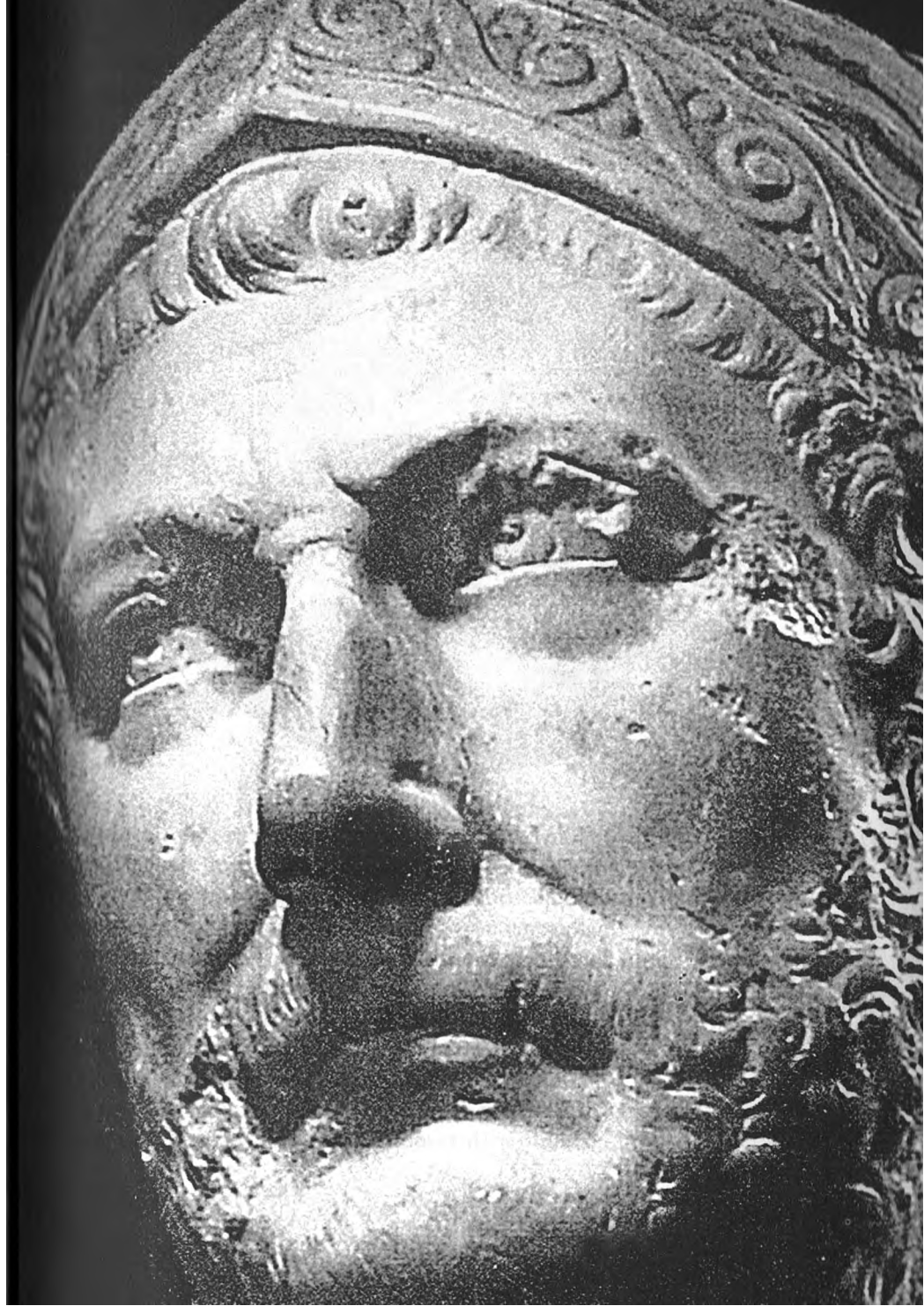
HANNIBAL'S WAR: FRONTS IN ITALY, SPAIN AND AFRICA



Punic coin minted in Spain, assumed to be of Hannibal. 237—18 BC. National Art Museum of Catalonia, Numismatic Collection, Barcelona.

*Opposite page :
Bust assumed to be Hannibal (detail), found at Capua, 2nd century BC. National Archaeological Museum, Naples.*

Hannibal was born in 247 BC, before his father left to take part in the War of Sicily. Hamilcar wouldn't see him again until six years later. At the age of nine, Hannibal went to Spain with his father, where he received a privileged education from two Greek tutors. Around 233 BC, at the age of fourteen, Hannibal enlisted in the army where he quickly gained a reputation as a regular soldier : he slept on the ground, dressed simply, ate with the troops and fought like everyone else. The only thing that set him apart was his white horse. He spoke Punic with his family, and learned Greek, the history of Alexander the Great and in all probability the history of the Oriental people with whom Alexander and the Phoenicians were in contact. Mixing with the other soldiers also allowed him to learn other languages, and legend has it that he was a polyglot. When his father died, Hannibal was nineteen and under the command of his brother-in-law Hasdrubal. Hannibal was a young, disciplined officer and after Hasdrubal was killed in 221 BC, he was named, at twenty-six years old, head of the army in Spain. Carthage ratified the decision of the troops even though there was some grumbling in the Senate about the "Barcid family monarchy".





Hannibal Crossing the Tagus. Plate from Urbino, circa 1550. Hannibal crushes his opponents as soon as they cross the river. This victory is seen as the first example of his military genius. British Museum, London.

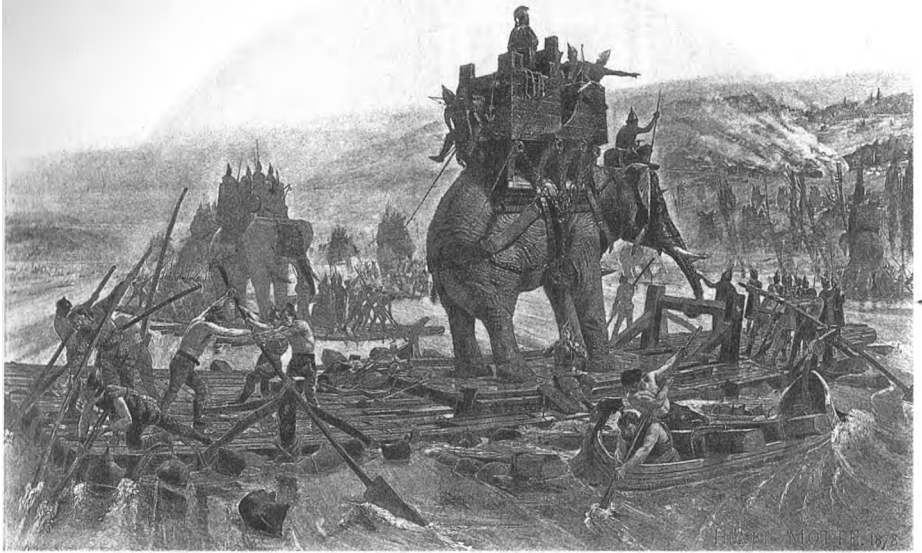
What happened during the four years before war was declared between Carthage and Rome in 218 BC? This question has given rise to passionate controversy, with some taking the Roman point of view on events but others considering that there is another side not documented, since we only have the accounts of the victors. Major historians support the notion that Hamilcar, before leaving Carthage for Spain, made his nine-year-old son swear that he would “never be a friend of the Romans” and that his son would most certainly wish to declare war once head of an army



with such a rich territory. This implies that he was the only one with the power to decide between peace and war. This doesn't take into account the role of the Carthaginian Senate, who had the power to negotiate with a Roman delegation at the time Rome declared war. It also minimises the fact that Carthage relied on revenue from Spain in order to allow the governor to act on its behalf. Furthermore, it is forgetting the importance of Sagunto in triggering the war.

On taking command, Hannibal seemed to want to continue in the footsteps of his father and his brother-

Hannibal Sends Treasure from Sagunto Carthage. Plate from Urbino, circa 1550. British Museum, London.



*Hannibal army
crossing the Rhone.
Engraving by
Henri-Paul Motte,
1878.*

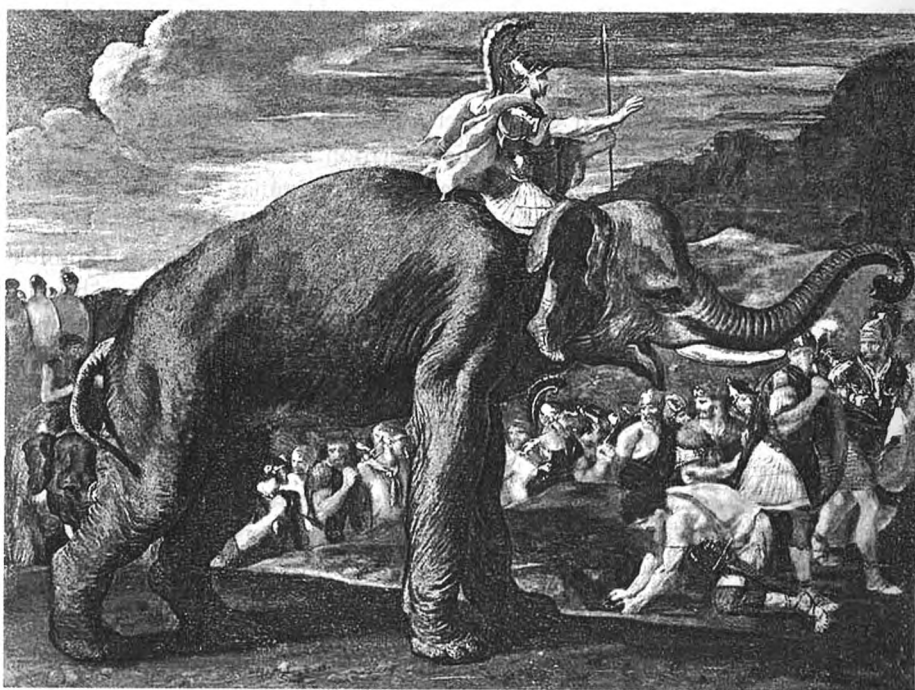
in-law by enlarging Carthage's territory in the Iberian Peninsula and forming closer ties with the indigenous population. He married a princess from Orisse de Castello in what is today Tarragonensis, and they had a son. He invaded the land of the Olcades (in eastern New Castile) in 221 BC, and then the following year, he advanced toward the Douro River in Old Castile, the land of the Vaccaeii, where he took Salamanca and Arbocala. A Carpetani uprising in the Toledo region forced him to withdraw south of the Tagus River, where he crushed his adversaries as soon as they crossed the river. This victory is considered by historians as the first demonstration of his military genius. Then, there was Sagunto.

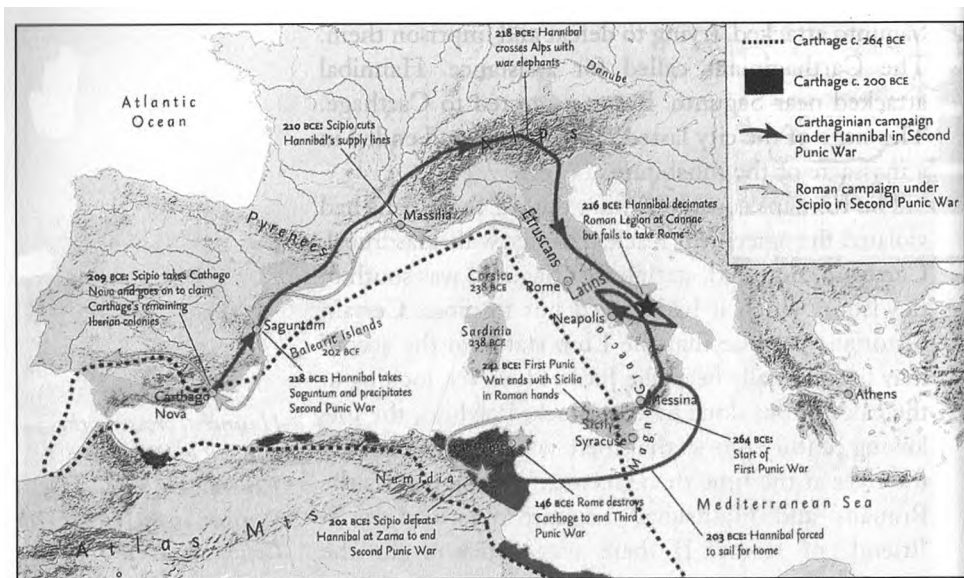
Sagunto was a city on the southern side of the Ebro River, north of the Jucar on the eastern Iberian coast. It was protected by Rome, in more of a diplomatic relationship than as an ally. But the neighbouring tribes signed protection accords with the Carthaginians.

Sagunto attacked, trying to defeat and imprison them. The Carthaginians called for assistance. Hannibal attacked near Sagunto. Rome protested to Carthage. The siege of the city lasted nine months and ended in a massacre of the inhabitants.

The Romans considered that the Carthaginians had violated the agreement reached earlier with Hasdrubal. Carthage contested, stating that Sagunto was south of the Ebro, which it had agreed not to cross. Certain historians propose that the Ebro stated in the accord may have actually been the Jucar. However, looking at the calculations done by the Greek, Polybius, the following century proves that there was not an error over the river at the time the agreement was signed by the Romans and Hasdrubal. Sagunto was not yet a “friend” of Rome. If there was a reason for the

Hannibal crossing the Alps on an Elephant. Painting by Nicolas Poussin, circa 1625. Frick Collection, New York.





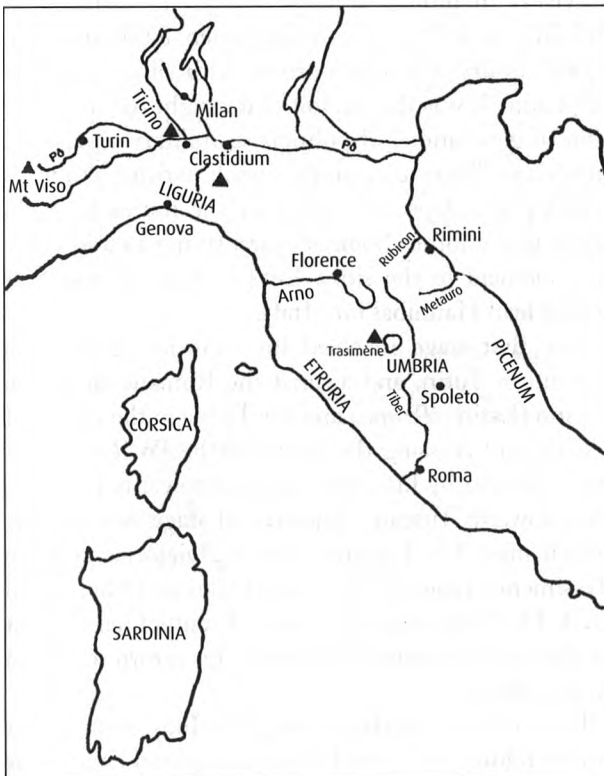
*From Carthage to Zama.
Hannibal's land and
naval operations during
the Second Punic War.
ARR.*

Romans to react, it was because Sagunto had had recent friendly ties with them, and not because the Carthaginians had crossed the Ebro.

It was in fact a local dispute that could have been resolved by fair mediation. Hannibal came close to the Ebro as he expanded Carthaginian territory, into lands where the Massalians (of Marseille), competitors with the other “friends” of Rome, had influence. Hannibal wouldn’t have tolerated them developing a “base of operations” in a military stronghold such as Sagunto. Rome was well aware that the actions of the Barcids could result in a takeover of the entire Iberian Peninsula. Having driven the Carthaginians from the islands in the centre of the Mediterranean, Rome, spurred on by the Phoceans of Massala, became interested in the northern coasts. They considered a Carthaginian advance into Spain dangerous and those in the Senate supporting war pushed for an intervention. We have records of the minutes from Livy, leaving no doubt about the fact that the Roman

senators sent to Carthage are the ones who declared war ! Carthage accepted in an uproar.

In the spring of 218 BC, Hannibal led his troops from their winter quarters in Cartagena after having placed the government of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal and assuring the defence of Carthage by taking his Iberian troops to Africa. It was a legendary march into Italy that began with an army of around 100,000 men. First, it was a question of crossing the Pyrenees. The first difficulties appeared, obliging him to fight battles. He reduced his head-count by freeing 10,000 men to return home, and then he changed his route. He left heavy baggage and



From Tessin (Ticino) to Trasimene. The triangles indicate the battles won by Hannibal at Tessin, Trebia and Lake Trasimene. (Based on Serge Lancel.)

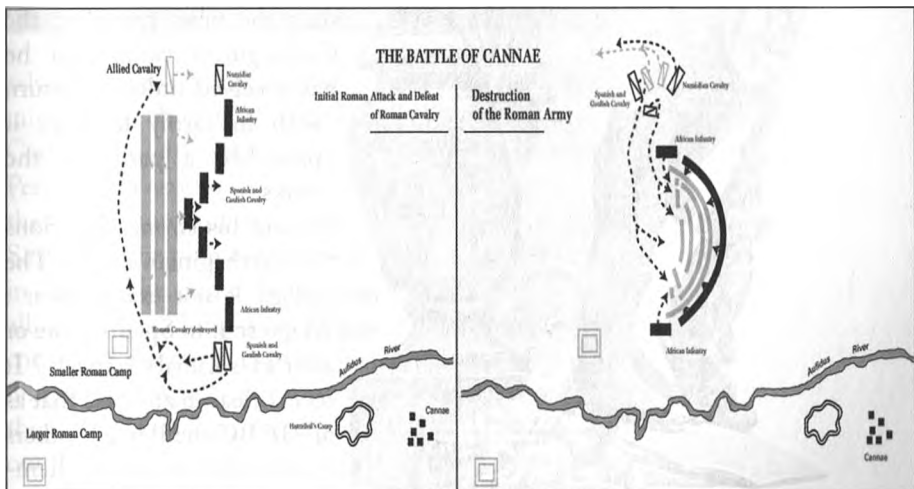
equipment under the guard of one of his lieutenants, Hanno, as well as nearly 20,000 men. He negotiated the passage of his army with the people of the southern part of Gaul and arrived at the banks of the Rhone in August with an army of approximately 50,000 men. The most generally accepted thesis is that he turned north following the river until he reached Isere and then followed the Alps amidst enormous difficulties and repeated delays. When he finally arrived at the peaks, probably near the end of the month of October, the cold season was well underway. While descending into the plains of Turin, his army was reduced by half of what it had been at the banks of the Rhone. It was Hannibal himself who would engrave the details of survivors in bronze at Cape Lacino in Calabria in 205 BC : 12,000 African infantrymen, 8,000 Iberians, 6,000 cavalry, Balearians armed with slings and four elephants. It was this exploit that caught the imagination of generations of politicians, military chiefs and historians. There are countless books written about his crossing the Alps and especially the routes he took. Each year another book appears, trying to add some new element to the story. Let's look at the war that would lead Hannibal into Italy.

The first stage involved his victories against the Taurini in Turin, and against the Romans along the Ticino (Latin : *Ticinus*) and the Trebia in the region of Milan, and crossing the plains of the Po River. This was followed by his army's descent towards Bologna, then towards Tuscany. The second stage was the one which most lifted spirits, with the victories at Lake Trasimene (June 217 BC) and at Cannea (August 216 BC). The final stage was a war of mutual harassment in the southern part of Italy until his return to Africa in 203 BC.

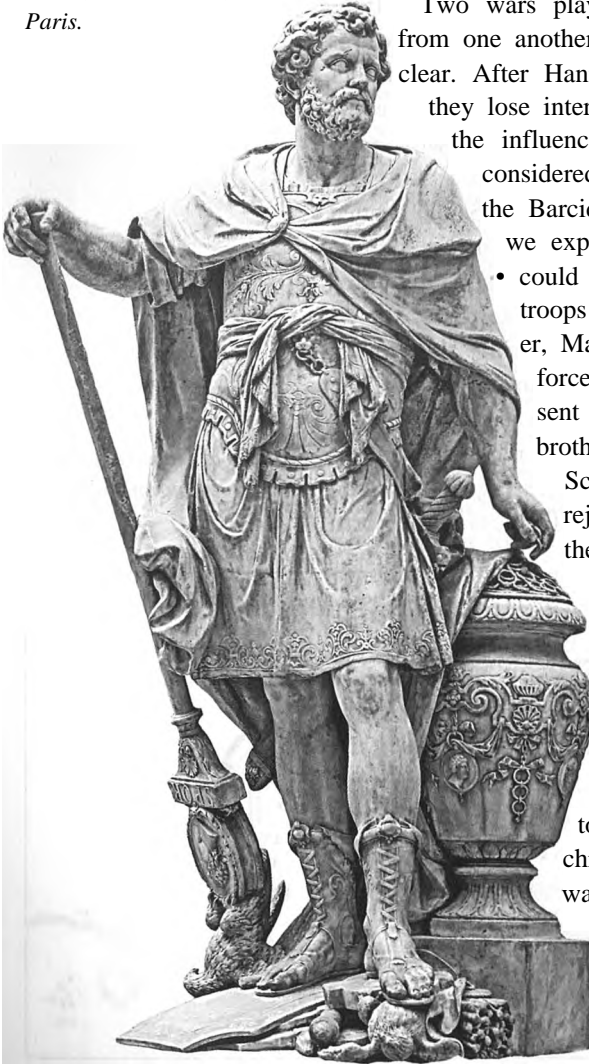
But while war was being fought in Italy, another war was unfolding in Spain. Having conquered Sagunto as

a first step, Rome decided to hit the Carthaginians deeper in their territory. Consul Publius Cornelius Scipio was in charge. He raised an army and headed towards Spain at the same time as Hannibal was heading for Italy. The two armies failed to meet on the banks of the Rhone. The Roman consul, understanding that Hannibal's army was headed towards Italy, handed over command of his two legions to his brother Gnaeus and returned to Rome to raise another army and defend his country. It was this army, in combination with that of the consul the following year, that would face Hannibal at Ticinus and Trebia. The army commanded by Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio headed towards northern Spain to Emporia and won significant victories against the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno. They seized the heavy supplies left by Hannibal in Catalonia. Then, during the winter (217-16 BC), it was the Roman navy and the Marseillais who took control of that part of the coast. Catalonia broke away from the Punics and Gnaeus Scipio set up his headquarters in Tarragona, a region that he had reunited with Rome. The loss of the north

Battle of Cannae, won by Hannibal in August 216 BC.



*Hannibal counting
the rings of the Roman
knights who fell at
the battle of Cannae
(216 BC). Marble
sculpture by Sebastien
Slodtz, 1704. Louvre,
Paris.*



of Spain was a grave setback for Carthage and for Hannibal. This was how the Romans began to chip away at the Carthaginian Empire. Eight years later, Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had to bring his army back to Italy, most likely via the Basque country, on orders from Carthage.

Two wars played out in two territories far from one another. Carthaginian politics are not clear. After Hannibal's victory at Cannes, did they lose interest in war ? Were they under the influence of the Hanno family, who considered it an enterprise serving only the Barcid interests ? How, though, do we explain that when Hannibal, who

- could not march on Rome with the troops that remained, sent his brother, Mago, to ask Carthage for reinforcements, the Senate refused and sent Mago to Spain ? Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, fought the Scipio brothers (Publius having rejoined his brother Gnaeus after the end of his consul duties), but when the news spread in the Carthaginian camp that he had received orders to return with his army to Italy, it provoked a panic in the ranks.

He sent his strong objections to the Carthaginian Senate. The chronology is not exactly clear : was Mago sent to Spain before or after Hasdrubal's setback ? It seems clear in any case that as of 216 BC the Barca brothers could only count on them-



*The consul Publius
Cornelius Scipio
Africanus. Engraving
by P. Pontius, 1638.
National Library of
Portugal, Lisbon.*

selves and their supporters, who were probably a minority in the Senate. In 215 BC a fleet sent by Carthage to attempt to regain Sardinia ran aground. Perhaps that explains the position of the Carthaginians: they were more interested in regaining Sardinia, even Sicily, than helping Hannibal to increase his influence in Italy. The same year Hannibal concluded an alliance with Philip V of Macedon. He would keep control of the south of Italy, Capua on one coast and on the other Apulia, Abruzzo and soon, Taranto. Four thousand Numidian cavalry and forty elephants set out the following year from Locri on the eastern coast

Mago Barca, Hannibal's brother, returns to Carthage, where he announces the news of the victory at Cannae to the senate, and asks for reinforcements for Hannibal. He also presents the gold rings taken from the Roman knights who died in battle. Medieval miniature illustrating a passage from Livy's History of Rome, Book XXIII.



of Calabria under the command of Bomilcar, Hannibal's nephew. In 214 BC Syracuse rejected an alliance with Rome. This was a reversal that Hannibal had directly encouraged via his two Greek intermediaries, but it was not taken advantage of by Carthage. It was in this important city that the famous scientist Archimedes was killed by a Roman soldier who did not know who he was. In 212 BC, Scipio's army in Spain regained Sagunto and in the centre of the

Mediterranean, Rome drew up an alliance in southern Greece with the Aetolian League, Elis and Sparta against Philip of Macedon. The war expanded to the north of the Mediterranean. In 211 BC, Massinissa, the young Berber prince, fighting for his royal legacy in Numidian country (eastern Algeria), defeated Syphax, the king of western Numidia, who desired the eastern part. He went to Spain with his cavalry to join the ranks of the Carthaginians under orders from his father, King Gaia of western Numidia. In the same year, the Romans faced severe setbacks in Spain : the two Scipio brothers were killed in combat one month apart, the first, Publius, falling victim to an attack by Massinissa's Numidian cavalry in Andalusia and then his brother, Gnaeus, being killed by Punic troops north of Murcia. Hannibal tried in vain to attack Rome (perhaps thanks to reinforcements coming from Locri). And it was in this year too that the inhabitants of Capua, following a misunderstanding, believed that Hannibal had abandoned them and opened their doors to the Romans, who then beheaded all the local leaders.

A new turning point in the war happened the following year. Syphax, king of the Masaesyli of western Numidia (from Algiers and Oran) declared himself an ally to Rome and charged a diplomatic mission to go and confirm his choice. Philip of Macedon began an overt conflict with Rome. Scipio, the future "African" who wanted to avenge his father, Publius, and his uncle, Gnaeus, was named head of the Roman army in Spain, and then he unexpectedly succeeded, taking Cartagena, the Punic capital. Change of scene : Hasdrubal Barca withdrew from Castile in 209 BC before leaving the following year, charged with an army heading to Italy. Hannibal lost Taranto even while his hold on southern Italy seemed to be getting stronger. In 207 BC, Hasdrubal arrived in Italy but



*Philip V of Macedon,
Hannibal's ally.*

*Massinissa on a coin
issued by the Bank
Central of Tunisia,
1969.*



was killed in the Battle of the Metaurus on the shores of the Adriatic. In 206 BC, Mago, the youngest of the Barcas, lost Cadiz and left for Italy. In 205 BC, Scipio met Massinissa, the Maesulian prince (of eastern Numidia), prompting him to change sides to serve Rome. Syphax, the Masaesyli Numidian king, sided with Carthage. He married Princess Sophonisba, the daughter of diplomat and General Hasdrubal Ben Giscon, to seal his support for the Punic cause. It was this agreement that provoked Massinissa's change in Spain. He felt that recovering his ancestors' kingdom was more important than loyalty per se. Carthage had promised the kingdom of his ancestors to Syphax in compensation for abandoning his alliance with Rome. Carthage lost its influence in Spain for good.

Scipio Africanus (seated) receives Syphax (to his right). Oil on canvas by Bernardino Fungai, late 18th century. Pushkin Fine Arts Museum, Moscow.

Consequently, the war in Africa began. Massinissa returned to Africa via the strait, crossing the countryside from west to east with an escort provided by the King of Mauritania. He engaged in combat against Syphax, but lost the battle quickly. He took refuge in Gabes while waiting for the arrival of the Roman





Hannibal looks on in horror at the severed head of his brother Hasdrubal Barca. Painting by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, circa 1725, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

army. In 204 BC Scipio, leaving Sicily after returning to Italy, debarked from a cape now called Ras Sidi Ali El-Mekki and set up camp at Kalaat-El-Andalous. With the assistance of Massinissa's cavalry, he won what was referred to as the *Battle of the Great Plains*, the region from Mateur to Bou-Salem and Jendouba. Syphax was beaten and Massinissa pursued him to Constantine. He was imprisoned and Massinissa took



Hannibal and Scipio meet before the start of the Battle of Zama (202 BC). Engraving by Antonio Salamanca, 1541.

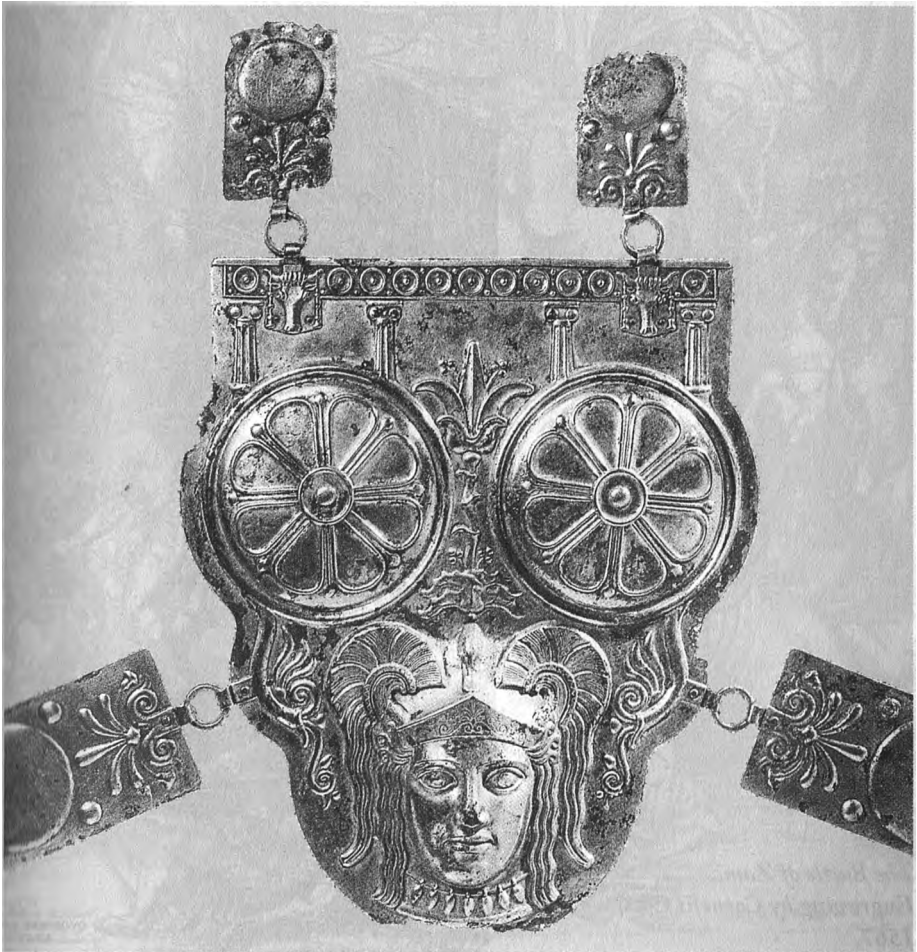
him in chains to Cirta (Constantine). The Masaesyli capital opened its doors for its legitimate heir.

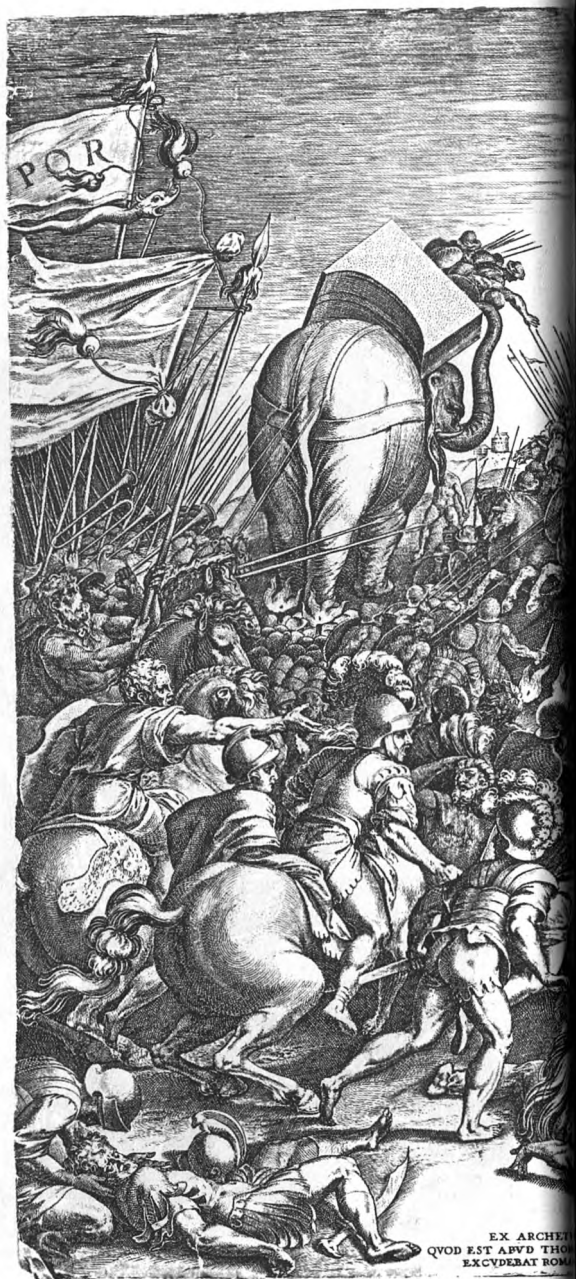
The war could have ended there. The Carthaginian Senate, having sent a delegation of its members to Scipio, obtained a treaty in 203 BC. Hannibal also received a delegation of Carthaginian senators who informed him of the accord and asked him to return home. His younger brother, Mago, in northern Italy for three years, was wounded during a battle near Milan and died while being taken to Genoa. In 202 BC Carthage, weakened by battle and cut off from its supply sources, let some of its inhabitants cross the gulf to plunder the Roman boats that had run aground on Cape Bon after a storm. Rome considered the treaty broken and Scipio re-engaged in hostilities, leaving his base in Tunis. He recalled Massinissa and his cavalry. Carthage, for its part, recalled Hannibal

from his retirement in the Sahel and charged him with an army created hastily. But the decisive battle was lost at Zama (in the region of Siliana). Rome was jubilant; Carthage was conquered for good and Scipio would see himself accorded the title of “Africanus” that he would keep in the history books.

Carthage was obliged to give up its entire war fleet, would no longer train war elephants and could not go to war without the approval of Rome.

Reverse of a gilded bronze breastplate, found with the front side at Ksour Essaf and probably belonging to an officer in Hannibal's army. Late 3rd century BC. Bardo Museum, Tunis.





*The Battle of Zama.
Engraving by Cornelis Cort,
1567.*



202 BC

A KINGDOM FOR MASSINISSA

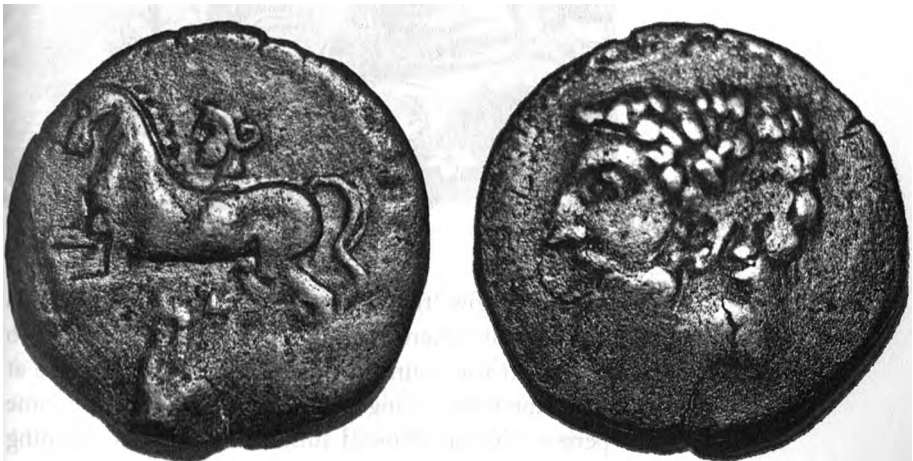
After Hasdrubal Barca left Spain to join his brother-in Italy, another general, Hasdrubal Ben Giscon, was sent to command the Iberian Peninsula. This military chief was also a diplomat and he was certainly among the main decision-makers in Carthage. Once the Punic armies were defeated, he crossed the Pillars of Hercules and met up with Syphax in his capital, Siga, in the region of Oran. He was the *Aguellid* (military chief), King of the Numidian *Masaesyli*, in western and central Algeria. Between his kingdom and the territory of Carthage was the kingdom of the *Maesulian* Numidians whose capital was Cirta (Constantine) and where the *Aguellid*, Gaia, died in 206 BC, passing his

Numidian coin bearing the image of Syphax.



throne to his brother Oezalces (O'zalleng?), the eldest in the family and the husband of Hannibal Barcas niece. The successor would not reign for long, dying possibly that same year. It was his son, Capussa, who would follow, but he was contested by another member of the family, Mazetula, who wanted to place a prince by the name of Lacumena, who was still a young child, on the throne. Mazetula married one of Oezalces's daughters to strengthen his position while becoming closer to Syphax at the same time. The late king Gaia was an ally of Carthage and it was him who had charged his son Massinissa to go to battle in his name in Spain. There are intertwining dynastic relationships here that leave everything up in the air. For Massinissa, in spite of his sacrifices, things were still difficult. After this war it was important for Carthage to know how Syphax envisioned future external relations since he had often demonstrated his friendship with Rome without becoming too involved. Scipio also wanted to know who Rome could count on, and he returned to Siga before the end of his assignment in Spain. Did the king *Masaesyli* support the same position as when he had sent in -210 diplomats to the Roman

Numidian coin bearing the image of Massinissa.



*Scipio's victory against
Syphax. Engraving,
Italy, circa 1530.*



Senate to give them assurances ? A real drama was playing out, where leading representatives of the two powers at war found themselves in the same place at the same time, trying to gain alliances from the same person. Syphax showed himself to be more cunning



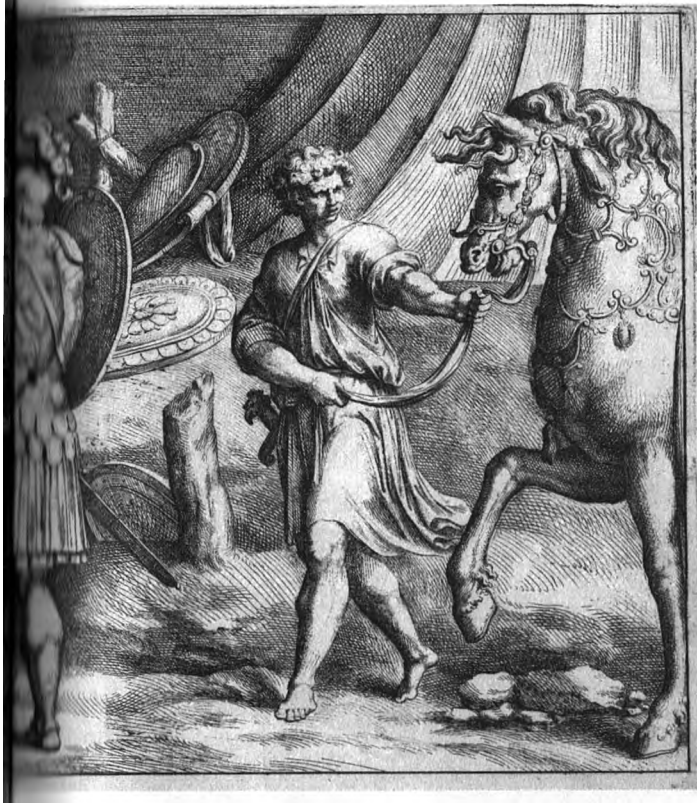
than his two visitors, both of whom were fine diplomats. According to Polybius, Scipio would say that he found Hasdrubal more formidable as a diplomat than on the field of battle. Hasdrubal Ben Giscon would put it all on the line. Judging that the quarrel between

*Massinissa with
Sophonisbe, his future
wife, surrounded by
Roman soldiers.
Engraving by Giulio
Romano, Rome, 1647.*



those claiming succession after Gaia and Oezalces had gone on long enough, he promised the *Maesulian* throne to Syphax if he would come back to the side of Carthage. It was an attractive proposition for this sovereign to become the leader of all of Numidia, while as a bonus it would give him the hand of a princess, the daughter of Hasdrubal and Sophonbaal, Sophonisba (*Sophonibas* in Latin). It was a fate that would inspire many dramatic authors :Trissino, Caretto, Mariet, Corneille, etc.

Let's try to see it clearly. The *Maesulian* kingdom, Berbers in eastern North Africa, was quarreling over succession to the throne. There were many candidates



coveting the throne and the one with the most advantages by lineage and record of service, who fought in Spain among the ranks of the Carthaginians and with the Numidian cavalry, was Massinissa, son of the late king. It was this cavalry that was responsible for the death of Publius Scipio senior, the first of Hannibal Barca's adversaries. It often happened in ancient cultures that the right to succession was given to the eldest and not via direct lineage. Massinissa accepted that his uncle would reign according to the genealogical rule, but to rule out all of the Gaia family for succession to benefit the child of another lineage was unacceptable, especially since Massinissa had been a loyal servant to



the government of Carthage. Promising the throne to Syphax was even worse. Without hesitation, Massinissa went to Scipio in Spain and became a servant to Rome. He then crossed the strait, gaining an escort from King Baga of Mauretania (Morocco), and took an unknown route to Maesulian territory, where he

raised an army. But Syphax already had control of the Maesulian kingdom. The two armies fought fiercely in the regions of Khroumirie and Souk-Ahras, leading to Massinissa's defeat. With a small army, he took refuge in the Gulf of Gabes.

When Scipio landed in Africa, Massinissa went to him with his cavalry, keeping his word, and when the Roman general took part in the Battle of the Great Plains, the support of the Maesulian cavalry played a key role in the defeat of Carthage's and Syphax's army. Scipio returned to Tunis, which allowed him to pursue Syphax and take victory again over the wounded Maesulian king. Massinissa took him as a prisoner in chains before the walls of Cirta, which forced the city to accept the direct heir as their king. Then enters the scene, much glorified by the dramatists, Sophonisba, Syphax's wife, loved by Massinissa, who would try in vain to save her by marrying her !

The year 202 BC was not only the year that Carthage was defeated at Zama, but it also established the birthdate of the first Berber kingdom in this part of the continent, even if certain writers considered this to be the Maesulian kingdom at the time of Gaia, which stretched to Tripoli. It is often said that the Berbers were not disciplined, resisted all state organisation and rebelled against all powers. It is important to remind people that this judgement, spread over time by serious historians, is false. It is overlooking their constant subjugation by external authorities. In fact, the Berbers, who inhabited an immense territory from the base of the Sahara to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the Nile, did not consist of one nation that would act together as one state. The term "tribe", used widely by Arab historians, does not really fit either. These were many peoples with many different ways of life. Some were nomadic, living along wide stretches of land ; others were herders, limited by the

The Death of Sophonisba.
Following Scipio's victory,
Sophonisba, daughter of
Hasdrubal Gisco, wife
of Syphax, King of the
Masaesyli, receives
the cup of poison as she
prepares to kill herself
Oil on canvas by Mattia
Preti, circa 1660.
Museum of Fine Arts
of Lyon.

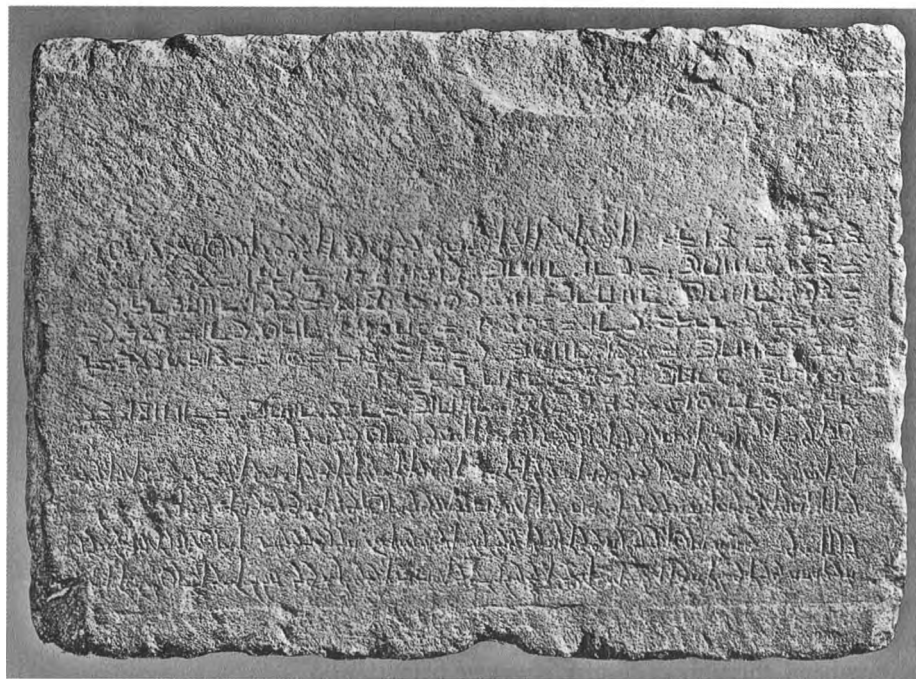


Map of Numidia

wandering of their herds, while others remained in one location, either rural or in towns. Those who remained in one place and the herders established kingdoms that we quickly discover made history. The Greeks, Romans, Punics and Arabs gave them any number of names. There was Mauretania, the north of Morocco ; Numidia, Algeria, Africa, the centre and the north of Tunisia ; Lebou, Cyrenaica. The people were called Moors, Numidians, Afers, Lebou, Gaetuli, and Tehanous. They called themselves *Imazighen* (plural of *Amazigh*) a word that ancient historians believe comes from “Mazakes” or “Masaces”. The Arabs grouped all the Berbers into two nations, Baranes and Botr, and pieced together, according to the oral traditions gathered from Berber historians, the common names of the two supposed major branches of the genealogical tree : Zenata, Louata, Haouara, Lemtouna, Sanhaja, Masmouda, Awraba, Nefoussa, etc. Centuries later we would categorise the Berbers more by where they lived : Atlas, the Hoggar of the Touaregs, Kabylie or Aures.

We don't have any traces of a kingdom established in what would later become Tunisia, from the period prior to the birth of Carthage. We only know that a chief sold the founder of the city some land. Was the seller a king, a prince or a tribal chief ? Was his power limited to the region of Carthage ? We don't know. Did the word *Afer* or (which would later serve to create the name *Africa*) designate a place outside the city, the countryside or those living there, looking at etymology hypothetically ? Or was it the troglodytes ? TO hear all of the inhabitants of Africa referred to as either country dwellers or troglodytes is contrary to the existence of urban environments that preceded the arrival of the Carthaginians, like Tunis, Hippo-Zaryte (Bizerte), Thugga, Thala, Theveste, Tacapes, or Capsa, which all had typically Berber names. There are hypotheses for all of the different peoples and towns where one doesn't know either the origin or the significance of the name. It only proves that there have always been, throughout history, *Amazigh* peoples who adapted as they could to climatic changes and who, perhaps, changed their names as a function of the demographic evolution of certain branches.

At the end of the third century BC, at the time when history became interested in the Carthaginians and the Romans, many states existed in North Africa. To the west was a kingdom called Mauretania Tingitana (the region of Tangier), ruled by King Baga, who had given an escort to Massinissa. In the centre was the kingdom of Masaesyli Numidia, part of western and central Algeria, whose capital was Siga in the region of Oran. To the east was the kingdom of Maesulian Numidia, which was next to the territory of Carthage and whose capital was Cirta (Constantine). Further east, of course, there was the territory of Carthage, spread out from the region of Bona (Bone) to Lebda (*Leptis Magna* in Libya). The Maesulians



*Dedicatory inscription
to Massinissa.*

under Massinissa after the defeat of Carthage claimed all of its territory as part of their own. Rome wanted to reduce but not erase the Carthaginian territory from the map, since Carthage still owed enormous war indemnities. In addition, since his victory at Zama, Massinissa, in accord with the Romans, carved out a kingdom consisting of the Numidia of his ancestors and a large part of Tunisia to the southwest of a frontier that stretched from Tabarka almost to Gabes, making Bona (*Hippo-Regia*) and Zama (*Zama-Regia*) two new capitals.

Massinissa poses a problem for the history of Tunisia. Must we look at him as an invader who deprived Carthage of an important part of its territory and a traitor to the Punic cause, since he betrayed Carthage by changing camps and putting himself in

the service of foreigners ? Or must we look at him as the liberator of his people from Carthaginian occupation, where the War of the Mercenaries showed their failings ? Are the majority of the inhabitants of the country *Imazighen* (the plural *otAmazigh*, from which we have in Tunisia today, surnames such as Mazigh and Mzoughi, and in Algeria and Morocco the word *Tamazight*, designating the language) ? However, the regions annexed by Carthage for at least three centuries gave birth to a population that historians refer to as Libyco-Punic, steeped in Punic culture and that supplied bodies for its army and for its agricultural resources. On the other hand, the newly annexed regions all the way to the edge of the Aures, including Theveste, rose against Hanno's army, one that had not left good memories. Must we say that the true territory of Carthage is rightly situated to the northeast of this new border of Tabarka to the Gulf of Gabes ? This hypothesis has merit because later, when Rome destroyed Carthage in 146 BC, it was more or less the area of the Carthaginian territory, after the Punic defeat at Zama, that would be called *Africa* and would not be ceded to the *Maesulian* Numidian kingdom. As for the part of the territory ceded to Massinissa, Rome took it back later and called it *Africa Nova*, while leaving the Maesulian and Masaesyli princes to reign over the kingdoms of Massinissa and Syphax in what is today called Algeria. One can infer that the new Berber kingdom annexed a disputed zone that was probably unstable under Carthage.

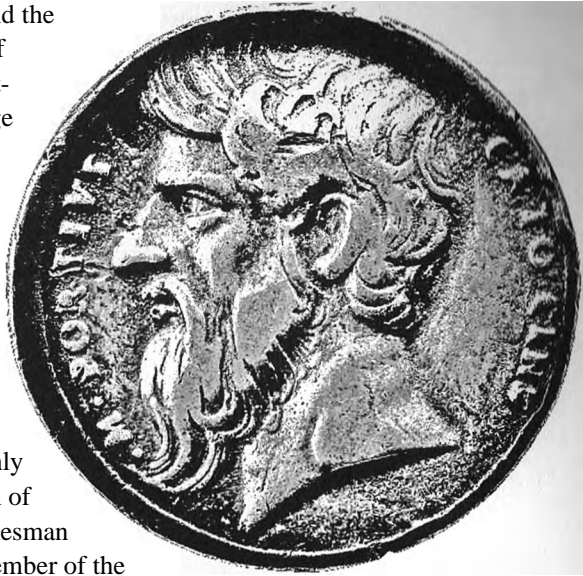
During his reign of 53 years (he died in 148 BC), Massinissa encouraged diplomacy with Rome to justify his provocations against Carthage. He continued to enlarge his territory. He extended it all the way to Lesser Syrtis (the Gulf of Gabes). He split the territory with Tripolitania and claimed Greater Sirte (Syrtis). He came close to Sfax, taking bits of territory. Each

time, Rome supported him against complaints by Carthage, which was obliged by the peace treaty not to declare war without authorisation from Rome. Incensed, the Carthaginians armed themselves to push Massinissa back to previously agreed-upon boundaries. In 150 BC, after Rome had received the totality of the war indemnities agreed upon in the treaty of 201 BC, they claimed as a pretext that the Carthaginians' decision to arm themselves was a declaration of war. Rarely do historians recognise Roman bad faith. In this case, it was.

In fact, the fate of Carthage had been sealed for a long time. It had brought Hannibal to power, electing him *Shophet* in 196 BC, six years after defeat at Zama. But Carthage fought reforms and more seriously, failed to surrender to Rome the following year when he decided to flee to the east. The ancient centre of a great maritime empire, weakened at the end of the Second Punic War, having lost Spain and the Balearics after losing all the islands, and having been condemned to pay indemnities for fifty years, succeeded thanks to its commercial know-how, finding a way to recover and liberate itself from all financial constraints. This could not have left Rome feeling indifferent when Carthage refused to pay its last war indemnities in advance.

Massinissa's role was essential. He could have lived in agreement with a neighbour which had limited its power and re-established the past friendship and cooperation that his father, Gaia, had with the Punic state. It is easy to understand his strong resentment against the country that sold his kingdom. One can conclude that he understood that this was the opportune time to enlarge his territory to the limits of Carthage, to the frontier established between the Punics and the Greeks at the base of the Greater Syrtis at the Altar of the Philaeni. Carthage was

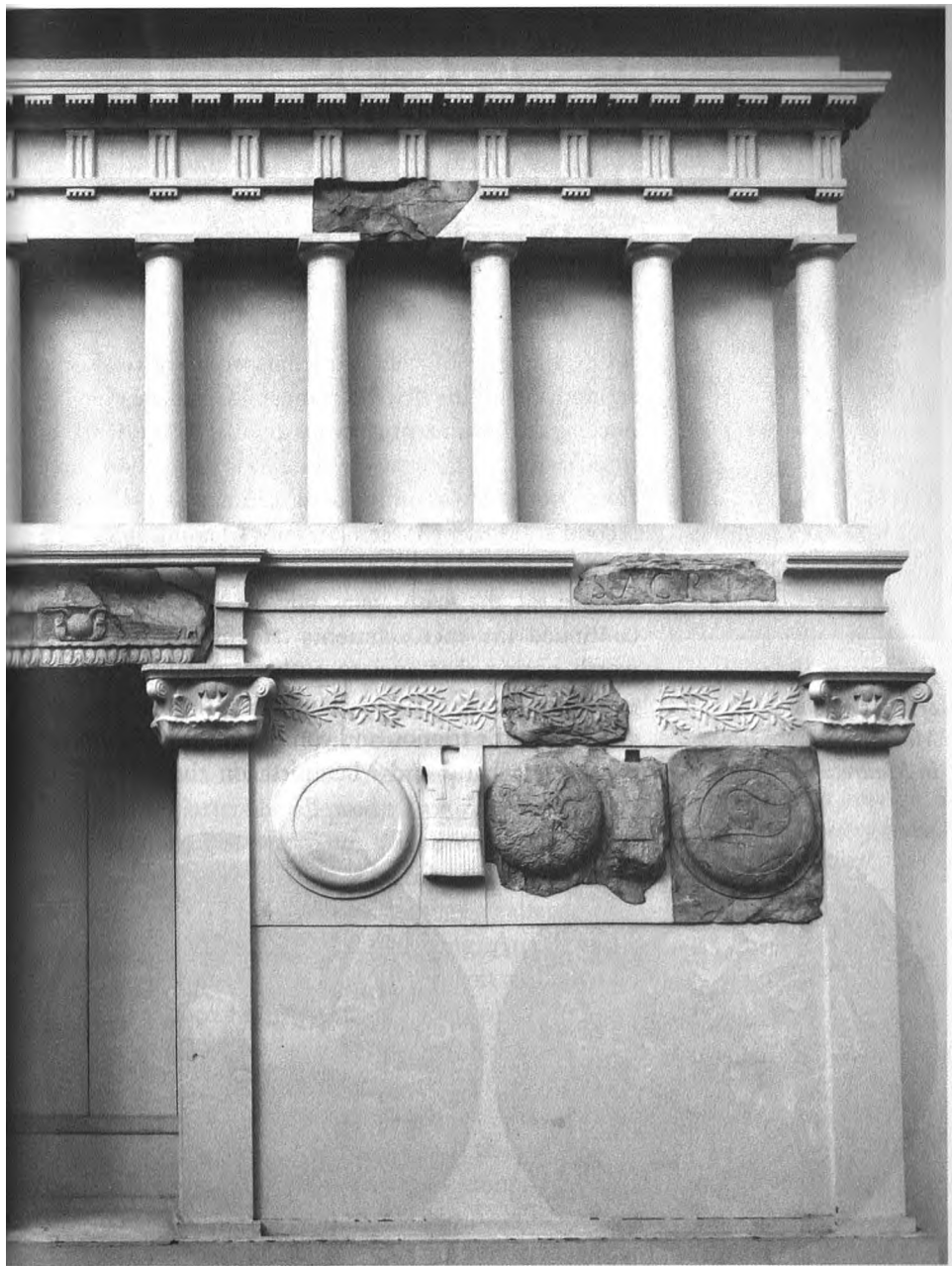
permanently under pressure and the Maesulian king was assured of impunity. But once all commitments were honoured, Carthage was able to consider itself free of the constraints of a treaty signed in 201 BC, whose clauses were flouted by Massinissa and his protectors. In Rome, the opponents of Carthage and the peasants questioned its future. The most belligerent considered that war was the only option. What better illustration of this than that of Cato, the spokesman for the financiers who, as a member of the diplomatic mission sent by Rome to arbitrate between Carthage and Massinissa, concluded his speech at the Roman Senate with the famous *“Ceterum ego censeo Carthaginem delendam esse”* (*“Furthermore I think Carthage must be destroyed”*), a sentence that transformed later, once it had happened, into *“Delenda est Carthago”* (*“Carthage is destroyed”*) !



Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato). Medallion by the medallist Valerio Belli, Italy, circa 1530.



*Reconstruction of a
monument dedicated to
Massinissa. Chemtou
Museum, Tunisia.*



150 BC

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

On the eve of the war that would give Rome supremacy in the Mediterranean, Carthage, having once again become prosperous thanks to the work of its citizens and their savoir-faire, was divided on three fronts : one side arguing for agreement with Rome, a second arguing for agreement with Massinissa and the third striving to give more power to the people at the expense of the aristocracy. For his part, Massinissa continued his encroachments and his demands. It's worth noting that ancient authors, notably Appian, spoke of "Africans" and "Numidians" when he was alluding to the friction and conflict between Carthage on the one hand and Massinissa on the other. The

Portrait assumed to be of Micipsa, son of Massinissa. Coin issued in Mauretania.





“democrats” of Carthage would succeed in banishing Massinissa’s supporters from the city. He sent his two sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, as ambassadors to demand that his supporters be allowed to return. The Carthaginians refused to see them. Worse yet, Gulussa was attacked while they were returning to their father. Massinissa reacted and Carthage called upon Hasdrubal to face the Numidian king. An argument ensued. A Roman ambassador was sent with precise instructions, according to Appian, to “resolve the matter if Massinissa doesn’t have the upper hand and fan the flames if he’s winning !” Surrounded on a plain by Massinissa, the Carthaginians were beleaguered, starving, vanquished, disarmed and then killed by Gulussa’s soldiers as they left their camp. Carthage lost nearly 50,000 men. Young Scipio Aemilianus, the adopted son of Cornelius Scipio, an orator, had been

The Reception of the Envoys from Carthage. Scipio the Younger receives envoys from Carthage. Tapestry based on Giulio Romano (1492-1546). Copy executed at the Gobelins furniture repository for Louis XIV in 1688-89 from a tapestry woven in Brussels (circa 1558) for the seigneur of St Andre. Louvre, Paris.



El Khroub Numidian royal mausoleum at Cirta (Constantine, Algeria), thought to be the tomb of Massinissa.

sent by Rome to ask for elephants from Massinissa. He witnessed the battle literally from the top of a hill. According to Appian, Rome, in keeping with strategic considerations, wanted to see to it that Massinissa would not become too powerful, so it prepared for war, the “ultimate war” as Cato the Elder, on the brink of death, would call it. Carthage, believing itself to be appeasing Rome and Massinissa, condemned Hasdrubal, who had previously been its defender against the Numidian king, to death - blaming him for the battle ! This was done in vain.

Act One of the tragedy : Utica, playing its cards right, sent a diplomatic mission to Rome to declare that it was coming round to the Roman side. Encouraged, Rome mobilised. War was declared on Carthage. Massinissa was left out. He was enraged, stating that he was the one who had brought Carthage



Angled slipway at the circular port of Carthage.

to its knees and the Romans had only arrived to harvest the fruits of war. As proven by what followed, this was a victory that would deprive Massinissa of territory he was counting on in order to create a sovereignty. 149 BC. An army of 80,000 infantry was mobilised and commanded by two consuls : Manilius was given the land forces and Censorinus the navy, with secret instructions to destroy Carthage no matter what. This impressive force was commanded from Roman ports in Sicily with fifty quinqueremes, 100 light men o'war and a large number of ordinary boats, launches and other boats used for trade. The Carthaginians panicked when they received the notification that war had been declared and, having no fighting force available, sent a diplomatic mission to Rome. Rome let it be known that they had to deliver 300 children of aristocratic families as hostages, which Carthage hurried to do.

But the Senate confirmed to the consuls the secret instructions to destroy Carthage. In spite of the delivery of the hostages, the Roman army would pass through Africa, landing in Utica and occupying the former sites of Scipio Africanus as well. Another Carthaginian diplomatic mission was sent to the Roman consuls in Utica, who demanded the delivery of all arms, public and private. Carthage consented and delivered 200,000 complete kits, projectiles, arrows and 2,000 military kits. The delegation of senators, priests and public figures who were delivering the arms would hear that the last demand of the Roman Senate was a total evacuation of the city and that the inhabitants could re-establish themselves wherever they liked as long as it was at least fifteen kilometres away, "because the Romans made the decision to destroy the city !" The dice had been thrown. The pain would begin when Carthage refused to obey. The Carthaginian Senate voted for war, freeing the slaves, annulling Hasdrubal's death sentence and asking him to help defend his homeland with the 20,000 men in his command. He began by re-supplying Carthage from the back-country that he controlled. Ironically, the leadership of Carthage was handed to another Hasdrubal, the son of one of Massinissa's daughters. And in a burst of wounded pride, the entire population set out to work day and night to manufacture arms, shields, projectiles, torsion springs made from women's hair and as many ballistic devices as possible.

The Roman consuls approached Carthage at the beginning of the summer of 149 BC. Manilius attacked from the isthmus (from the side of La Soukra) and Censorinus from the bit of land separating the lake from the gulf (Le Kram today). At first, the unexpected resistance of Carthage surprised the Romans, obliging them to choose different tactics. From there, it would be a long combat, lasting three years, between



a city under siege from a well-equipped army by land and by sea, and Carthaginians committed to defending themselves to the death, who continually demonstrated their inventiveness to compensate for their lack of weapons. On the Roman side, after the departure of Censorinus in the autumn, only Manilius remained and he was overwhelmed by the Carthaginian sorties, the attacks by African cavalry and Hasdrubal's Carthaginian army campaign. He decided to attack Hasdrubal's forces. The battles did not reveal any decisive conclusions on the manoeuvrability capacities of the Carthaginian general. That would be illustrated when the young Roman officer, Scipio Aemilianus, returned to Africa.

At the beginning of 148 BC, the old Numidian king would die at 96 after having designated Scipio, the adopted great-nephew of his friend Scipio Africanus,

Reconstruction of the lower town and Punic ports at Carthage: the circular military port and the rectangular commercial port, which extended over nearly seven hectares. ARR.

as his successor after arbitration between his three legitimate sons and the large number of illegitimate ones. Massinissa, therefore, placed his kingdom under Roman protection through great cunning. The old warrior understood that if Rome crushed Carthage, there would no longer be any place for an independent Berber kingdom. This way, he ensured their continued existence with a freely agreed-upon alliance. At the same time, the Roman Senate sent a delegation to enquire about the military situation. They noted the praise the army gave to the choice of Scipio and his many initiatives and the criticism of Manilius. Rome appointed Calpurnius Piso to replace Manilius. Scipio returned to Rome accompanied by the African Chief Himilco, known as Phameas, who had come to their aid. Scipio discovered that he was very popular in his homeland. The people demanded his nomination as consul even though he was not old enough. But an institutional change demanded by the people would permit the tribunes and not only consuls to designate Scipio as the new consul at the end of 148 BC and allocate to him the field of action in Africa. At the time, he was only thirty-seven years old and not the forty-two required by law.

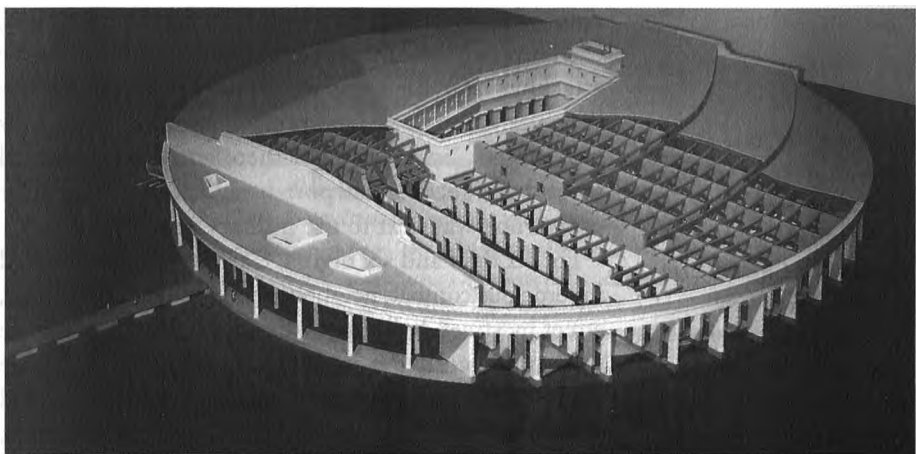
In April of 147 BC, Scipio Aemilianus embarked for Africa. On his arrival at Utica, learning that the Romans were having difficulties at Carthage on the side of the cliffs (Sidi Bou-Said or Amilcar), he hurried to return with his troops to the besieged northern part of the city and went into the Megara area (La Marsa). Hasdrubal, the city's defender, rushed to Byrsa to defend the northern part and block the Roman advance. Scipio returned to Utica to organise his army.

Carthage, under siege, used a number of tricks to get provisions : for example, merchant sailors would sneak between the Roman ships stationed in the gulf. Scipio, returning to the besieged city, blocked the

entrance to the port. The Carthaginians responded by widening another channel to access the sea, using women and children, day and night, to build boats with old wood, probably old boats that had been damaged or rebuilt. Once finished, the Carthaginians surprised the Romans by leaving via the new channel with fifty triremes, rowboats, small boats and other craft and engaging in a naval battle. Looking to return to port all at the same time, they obstructed the channel, obliging the large boats to take refuge next to the commercial docks where they were attacked by the Roman army. The Carthaginians were not going to let themselves be beaten, so they made a night sortie and burned the Roman siege machines. The next day they were able to rebuild the portion of the wall the Romans had destroyed on the side of the land bridge (in Le Kram).

During the winter of 147—46 BC, Scipio starved the city by cutting off all the possibilities for supplies. In the spring of 146 BC, Scipio entered Carthage by its commercial port and his emissary, Laelius, by the circular port, their objective being the citadel (between the ports and Byrsa Hill). Their expansion in the city would begin from there.

Admiralty Island at the circular military port of Carthage. The capacity of this 2nd century BC harbour is estimated at about 170 ships. A beautiful series of models is on display in the antiquarium at the Punic port in Carthage.



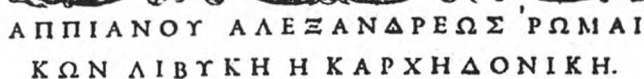
146 BC

DELENDA EST CARTHAGO THE END OF PUNIC CARTHAGE

In Book VIII of Appian's *Roman History*, the Greek historian Alexander (born in 95 AD) paints a precise picture of the takeover of Carthage. He draws on information gained most likely from the lost parts of Polybius' *The Histories*, an account of events from the side of Scipio Aemilianus Africanus. Carthage had resisted for three years, much to the astonishment of the Romans. If we reference today's maps, they attacked via the side of La Soukra, by Le Kram, by the cliffs of Amilcar and Sidi Bou Said and by La Marsa, each time without measurable results. Finally it was by attacking near the ramparts south of the port where defences were weak (see previous section) that they had success. Scipio entered there and Laelius circled around the rectangular port to attack by the circular part which was next to the military port.

For six days and six nights, Carthage was embroiled in ferocious combat, neighbourhood to neighbourhood, street by street, building by building, from one terrace to another until the invaders reached their ultimate goal : the citadel, high on Byrsa Hill, and the Sacred Temple of Eshmun. No one was spared : the elderly,

First page of Book VIII of Appian of Alexandria's History of Rome, written in Greek, devoted to the "Libyan or Carthaginian" history. Edition by C. Stephani, Lutetiae (Paris), 1551. BnF, National Library of France.

146 BC : *Delenda Est Carthago* : The End of Punic Carthage | 119

women, children or adults, all exhausted and hungry from the long siege and non-stop battle. The wounded were killed. It was terrifying. The attackers' objectives were twofold : to empty the city of its people, dead or alive, and destroy it by fire.

The Greek historian Polybius was present, as mentioned, at the side of Scipio Aemilianus, and was close to the family. However, the amazing details describing this tragedy come from Appian, as this part of the story was lost. Some authors, defending the memory of the Romans and especially Scipio, say that Appian was prone to exaggeration, given his Alexandrine education that left its mark in the tales, the discussions and the descriptions. Perhaps, so overwhelmed by the horror of what he was describing, he forced the tone a bit. But a Greek of his generation, aware of the fate of Corinth, destroyed by Consul Mummius in 146 BC and of what happened in Numantia in Spain, destroyed by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BC, would have no reason to gloss over the carnage. However, he did not really show any love for the Carthaginians in his writings about Hamilcar and Hannibal either. Other than the most likely eyewitness accounts of Polybius, he probably had access to other accounts from the time as well. What happened was particularly vicious and it is obvious in the written accounts. However, Appian did not do this to offer up a less favourable image of Scipio, so one could not accuse him of seeking to tarnish Scipio's image.

In book VIII (*Libyke*) of Appian's *Roman History* he explains how Carthage was taken. The excerpts below are from the Belles Lettres edition (Paris 2002), translated by Paul Goukowsky and Serge Lancel. (The page numbers refer to this edition.)

Entering Carthage : *Scipio focused his efforts against Byrsa, the most fortified position in the city, where the*



majority of inhabitants had taken refuge. Three roads led up the hill starting at the Main Square, with six-storey buildings stacked one against the other. The Romans were being shot at from the buildings so they moved from one to another to advance. This war was taking place high on the rooftops, but there was another war happening on the streets between the two sides. Throughout the city were the sounds of moaning and wailing, all kinds of clamouring and suffering. Men were being killed in close fighting, and others, still alive, were fighting high on the rooftops or on the ground below, some being impaled by spearheads or poison darts or by the tip of a sword...

Scipio and his army attack Carthage. The Capture of Carthage. Oil on canvas by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, circa 1725. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

The fire : *They avoided setting fires because of the Romans on the rooftops, at least until Scipio reached the top of Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets [those leading to the top of the hill] at the same time and ordered other troops to retrace their path through the different neighbourhoods and set fire to one after the other to make it easier for their relief to make it through...*

The dead and the living : *... the fire consumed all buildings... the bedlam increased considerably... there were stones from the buildings, dead bodies and also the living — especially the elderly, children and women who had been hidden deep in their homes, the wounded and others half-burned -falling all around the Romans... dreadful cries of pain...*

This lasted for six days and six nights : killing, setting fires, opening up passageways to make room for those mounting the hill. Appian wrote that Scipio was everywhere, ensuring relief troops arrived to take the place of the exhausted soldiers and granting a group of Carthaginians the right to leave the city. The figure cited is 40,000, which is quite large, but at the same time, this same work speaks of 6-700,000 inhabitants (which seems exaggerated to most historians). If that's the case, then the number who escaped is quite insignificant! Hasdrubal asked them to spare the lives of him and his family. Scipio accepted, but those defending the citadel, one of whom was his wife, refused to hand him over.

The end [recounted by Roman defectors who decided it was better to die than fall into the hands of Scipio] : *They said that when the fire was set, Hasdrubal's wife faced Scipio directly, dressed in all the finery she could muster in this tragedy, with her children at her side. She said loudly so he could hear her : "You, Roman, you don't have to fear the vengeance of the gods,*

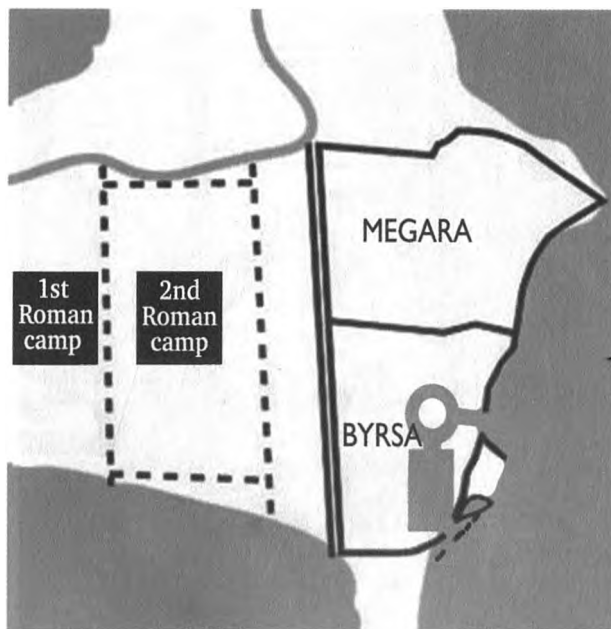


*« Hasdrubal's wife who prefers to preserve her dignity and throws herself and her children into the flames. »
Engraving by Pierre Woëriot, France, from Baldassare Peruzzi, Italy, circa 1555.*

because you have marched against an earthly enemy; but Hasdrubal, a traitor to his homeland, his sanctuary, to me and our children, may the gods of Carthage punish him and you as well!'. After this final insult to her husband, she slit her children's throats and accompanied them into the flames.

Once Carthage was in ruins, Scipio authorised his soldiers to pillage the city. They were permitted to take anything except for the gold, silver or sacred items. He sent the bounty to Rome. The city, or what was left of it, burned for seventeen days. Following the burning down of the routes created to allow the Roman

Positions of the Roman army at Carthage.



troops to advance, the fire devastated the city. Experts still discuss whether the fire also destroyed Megara. No matter. Before the final assault, Scipio exclaimed the *evocatio*, the sacred words asking the gods protecting the city to leave, as well as the *devotio* that sent it to hell! In spite of this curse, it seems that it was the Senate that cursed the city after its destruction, according to many historians. However, discussions continue as to whether this curse was for all of Carthage including Megara, or just the heart of the ancient city at Byrsa (the ports, the plain, the hills, the citadel and the sacred acropolis), or only the area we now call Byrsa hill and what was there at the time. This latter hypothesis could explain why later, the Romans completely razed the hill to build their forum.

The war was over. Scipio returned to Rome savouring his victory. This was a war without justification ;

even if the motive stated was that the Carthaginians had rearmed themselves, Massinissa's victory invalidates this argument. What's more, Carthage was not supported by other Punic cities such as Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis, Thapsus and Acholla, which had been supplying the Romans ! Carthage did nothing against Rome and accepted all conditions, which were very hard on the population. The decision by the Roman Senate was a cynical act used to add to their supremacy of the Mediterranean. In 146 BC Carthage ceased to exist, both as a city and as a state. Its ruins were cursed. How could one condemn to death a city that had known glory for eight centuries ?

« *Destruction of Carthage.* » Miniature by Maitre François, illuminator, circa 1475-80, Paris, illustrating the French translation of St Augustine's *City of God* by Raoul de Presles. Fol. 21v, Book 1.17. Nantes Public Library.

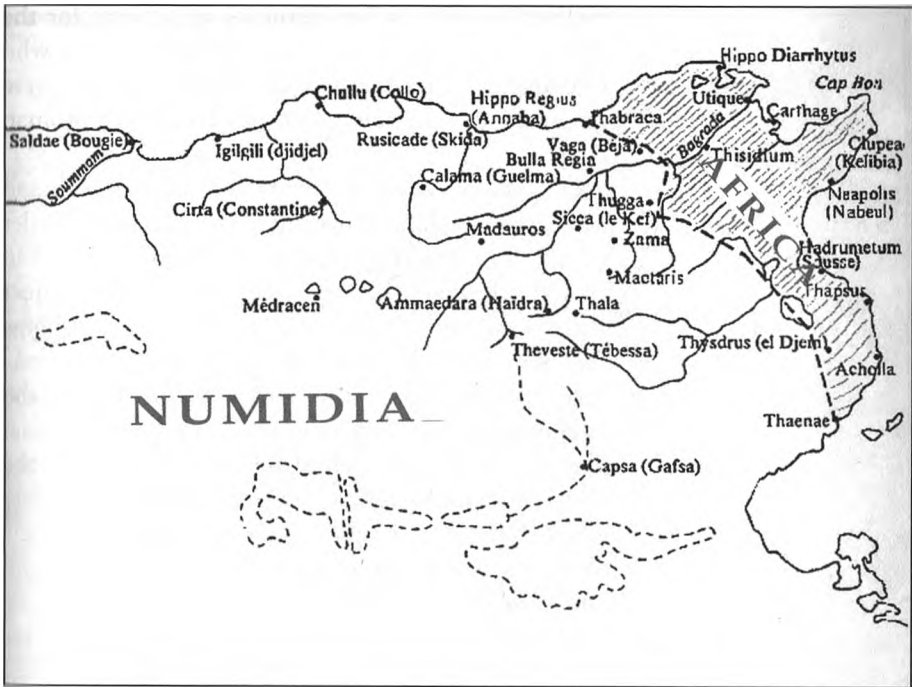


123 BC

A ROMAN COLONY

Utica became the capital after Carthage. They say that it was there that Rome celebrated its victory, and that for the games organised for the occasion, those Carthaginians who survived the fires were thrown to the lions. Utica served as the seat of a military base of operations and then became a headquarters, but of what ? Rome occupied Carthaginian territory that was out of Massinissa's control and bounded by the *fossa regia* from Tabarka to just south of Sfax, not counting in Beja, the centre of the wheat-growing regions, or Le Kef which controlled the western plains, or the cities of Capsa (Gafsa), Tacapes (Gabes), Oea (Tripoli) and Leptis (Lebda) and the surrounding area. Everything to the west of this border was left to the Numidians, the sons of Massinissa. The territory conquered by Rome became known as *Africa*. Rome hesitated between designating it as a colony or a province for twenty years.

In 123 BC, on a proposition by Gaius Gracchus, the Senate adopted a law authorising the creation of a colony, *Colonia Junonia Karthago*. We don't have the details, but we can imagine, thinking in terms of a developer, that the area wasn't razed to eliminate the entire ancient city, but that they used existing structures that were not destroyed to house the 6,000 colonists. The country was divided between "free" cities that supported the war against Carthage, and



centuries, which were five-hectares plots of land for the settlement of colonists. This colony didn't last long. Gracchus' adversaries were angry for having farmers settle in areas with land that was cursed. Some superstitious colonists left. In 111 BC, the Senate annulled the law from 123 BC. The colonists who had not left were authorised to sell their land to investors who created the *latifundia*. Tributes were collected from those living on the land. They were the Punics, the Libyco-Punics that were later called *Africans*. It would take until 46 BC before *Coloma Julia Karthago* was instigated by Julius Caesar, and in 29 BC there was another law that nullified the prohibition on the cursed land, which led to the creation of the new Roman Carthage. The province was governed by consuls appointed for one-year terms, so they were not

The line of the boundaries of the new Roman province of Africa and the territory under the control of the Numidians. (Based on Christophe Hugoniot, Rome en Afrique. De la Chute de Carthage aux Debuts de la Conquete Arabe, Paris, Flammarion, 2000.)

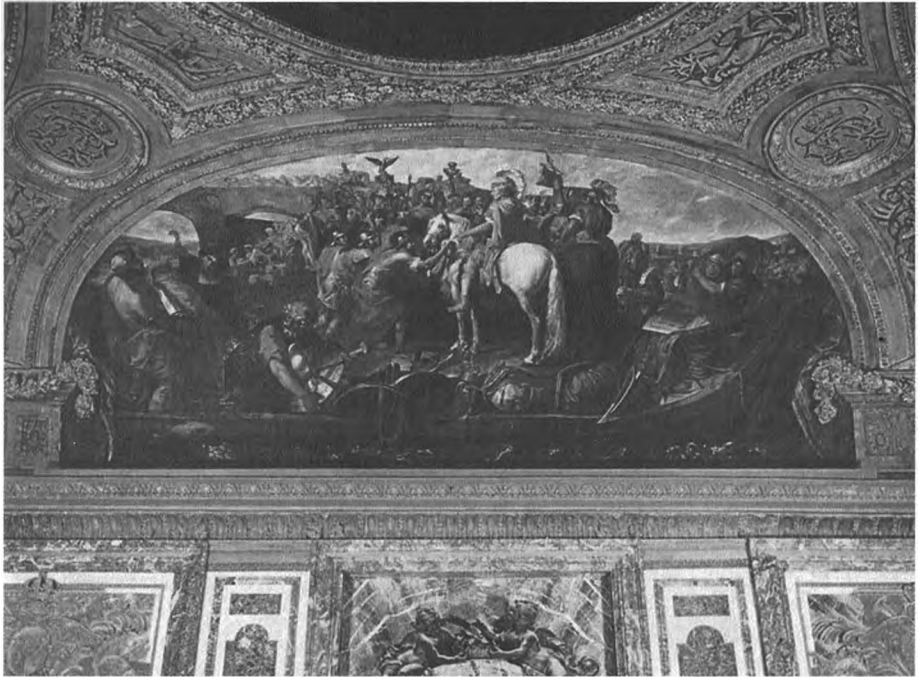
inclined to take on large projects or projects for the future. There were an estimated 3,000 colonists who settled there after the new law, some of whom were family of the previous wave of colonists in Roman Africa.

Outside this occupied territory, the Maesulean and Masaesyli kingdoms expanded to the Moroccan border (along the Moulouya River). So, beginning in 146 BC, the Roman territory called *Africa* under direct Roman administration, was flanked by kingdoms representing to the west and centre, Maesulian territory trusted to the heirs of Syphax and to the east, the Kingdom of the Masaesyli, the heirs of Massinissa. The Berber kings received gifts of books from the Carthaginian libraries, except those books that interested Rome, like Magon's book on agronomy. Their allegiance to Rome gradually opened the door to more and more Romanisation.

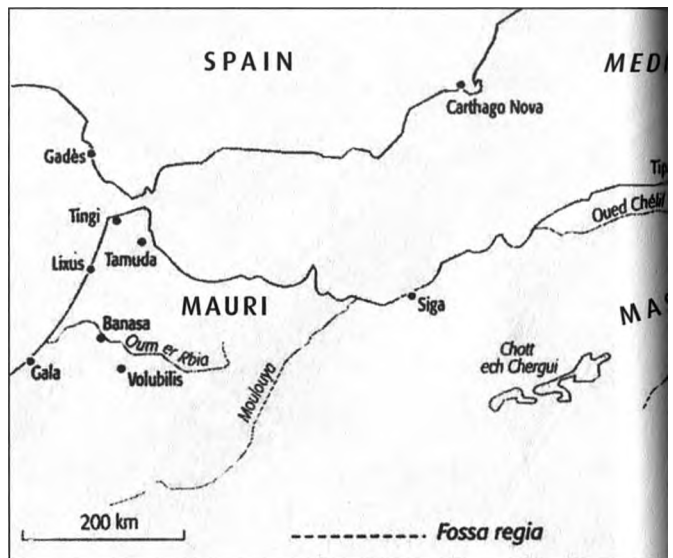
The situation would change only thirty years after the destruction of Punic Carthage when in 118 BC, the Berber kingdom to the east fell into the hands of Massinissa's grandson, Jugurtha, who would engage in a memorable conflict against Rome. When Massinissa died, the leadership was shared between his three sons - Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanabal - as designated by their father before he died. They were to share *powers* and not *land*, hailed as a wise decision by Consul Scipio Aemilianus. Micipsa was the sole ruler after his two brothers died. He raised the son of his brother Mastanabal and a concubine, a young prince named Jugurtha, while Gulussa's son, Massiva, was welcomed in Rome where he would settle. When the war over Numantia began in 133 BC, Rome asked Micipsa to send a contingent of Numidian cavalry. The king decided to give the young Jugurtha command. He was twenty-seven and had already demonstrated his bravery in the ranks of the Numidian army, so much

Contemporary aerial view (Google Earth) with the wide centuriations still visible that were drawn by the Roman surveyors in the region of Carthage. An unknown heritage that deserves to be respected by new town-planning schemes.





«Julius Caesar Sending Roman Colony to Carthage.» Painting by Claude Audran II, 1678. Palace of Versailles.



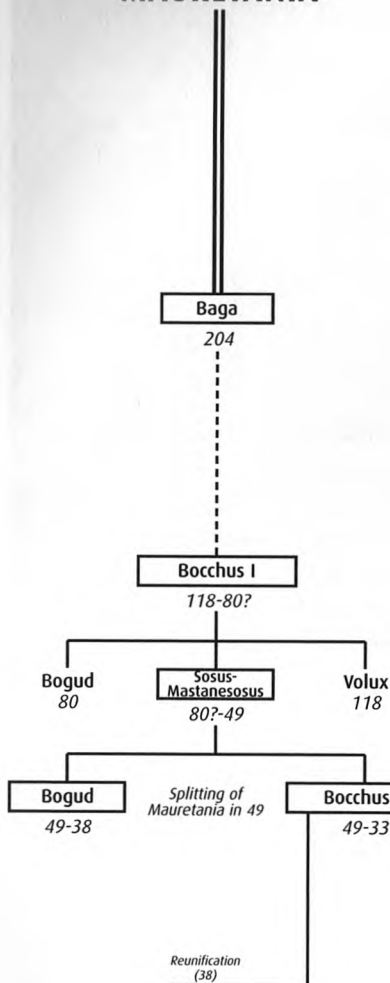
so that he had become the other soldiers' idol, so they say. A revised edition of the story of Massinissa ! Had Micipsa been hoping to get rid of Jugurtha because two children were born in the royal house - Adherbal and Hiempsal - and he perhaps needed to consider their future ?

Not only was Jugurtha's command of the siege at Numantia proof of his bravery and ability, but he also learned the ins and outs of Roman politics at the time. After going to Spain, the Roman general, the same Scipio Aemilianus who had destroyed Carthage and shared power with Jugurtha's father and uncles, gave the brave prince a letter for Micipsa, in which he emphasised the valour of this warrior, who possessed all the qualities necessary for a chief that he expected the Roman Senate to appreciate. The king understood when he received the message that he could not keep Jugurtha at a distance any more, and create space for his two children. He officially adopted his nephew and on his death, power was entrusted to his three sons

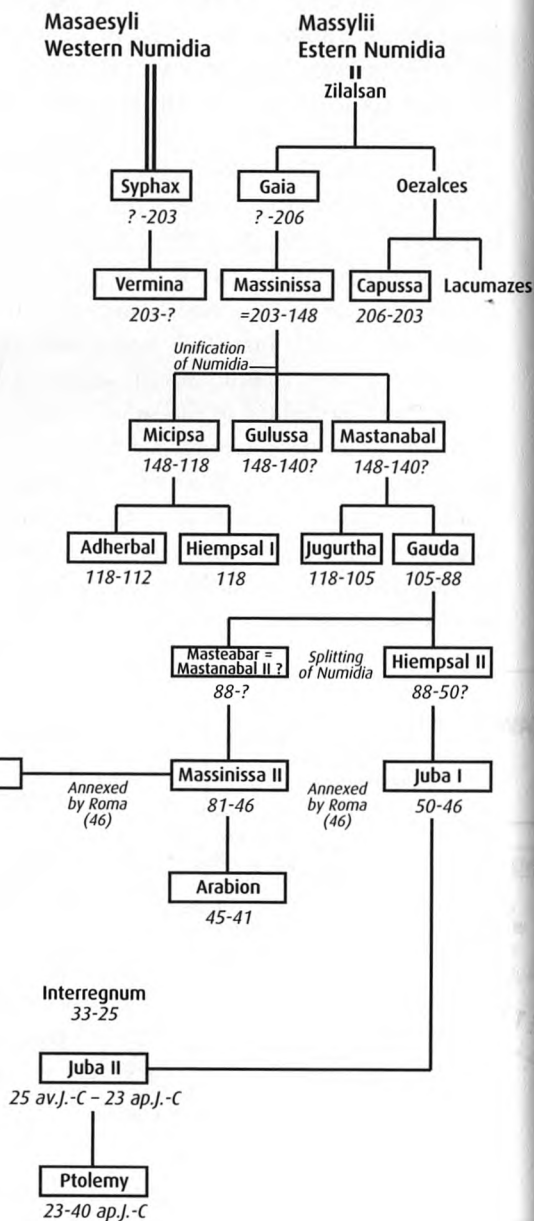


Map from the 2nd to 1st century. (Based on Claude Nicolet, *Rome et la Conquete du Monde Meditteraneen*, Vol. 2, Paris, PUF, 2001.)

MAURETANIA



NUMIDIA

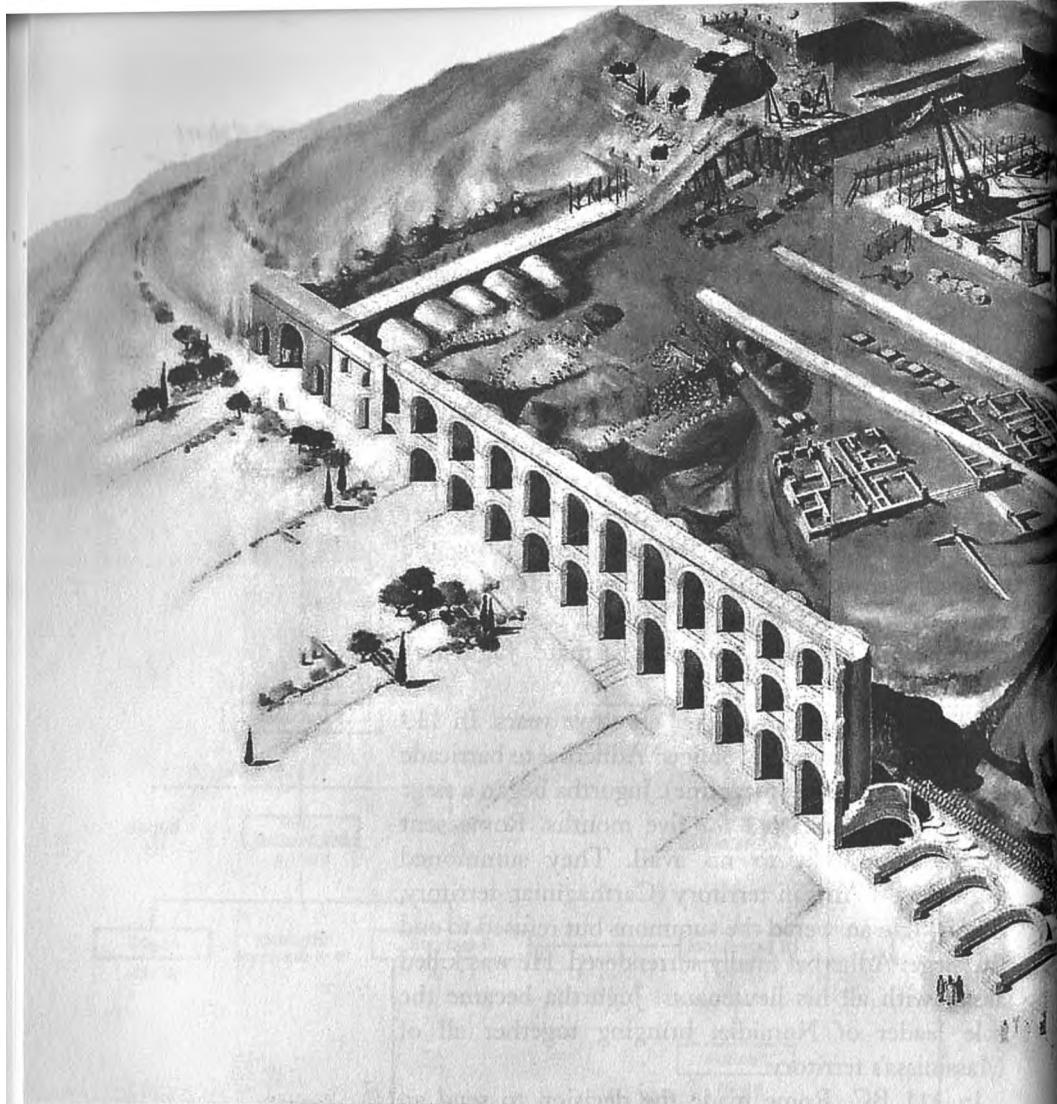


under Roman protection. The three heirs apparent met in Thirmida (most likely *Thimida Bure*, near Dougga). They did not get on well and decided to divide the country and its wealth. The following year, Hiempsal, the youngest and most hostile toward Jugurtha, was killed. His brother Adherbal accused Jugurtha of the crime and took refuge in Rome. They summoned the supposed guilty party. The Senate split the country in two : central Numidia fell to Jugurtha and eastern Numidia was given to Adherbal. This could be interpreted as a double precaution : placing the last legitimate son of the deceased ruler nearer the province governed by Rome and entrusting the adjacent territory to Jugurtha, which bordered on the territory ruled by the heirs of Syphax, his former adversary. This was to underestimate Jugurtha's ambition.

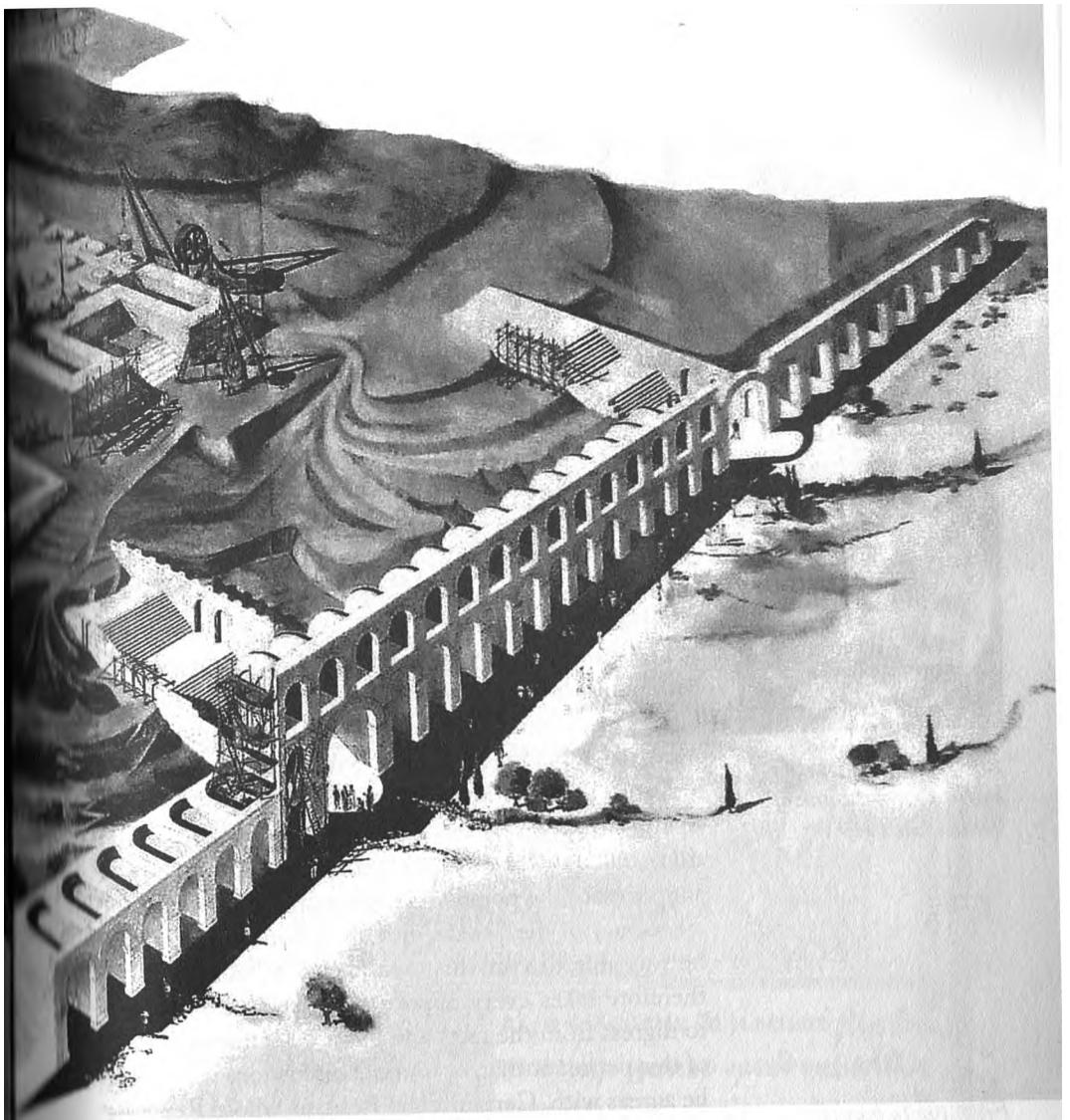
This split wore down after only five years. In 113 BC, military operations obliged Adherbal to barricade himself in Cirta (Constantine). Jugurtha began a siege of the city that lasted for five months. Rome sent ambassadors, but to no avail. They summoned Jugurtha on African territory (Carthaginian territory, that is). He answered the summons but refused to end the siege. Adherbal finally surrendered. He was killed along with all his lieutenants. Jugurtha became the sole leader of Numidia, bringing together all of Massinissa's territory.

In 111 BC, Rome made the decision to send an army to Africa. This was the debut of a war which the historian Sallust wrote a famous book about, entitled *Bellum Iugurthinum*.

Genealogical chart showing the "Berber" dynasties and kings of the Masaesyli and Massyli tribes in Mauretania before and after unification.



Reconstruction of the Roman earthworks on Byrsa Hill. Carthage Museum. A vast esplanade was cleared to accommodate the forum, basilica and temples in accordance with Roman town-planning schemes.



111/105 BC

JUGURTHA'S WAR



*Jugurtha. Coin issued
by the Central Bank of
Tunisia in 1969.*

Sallust (86-35 BC) is the only historian whose account remains complete. No one could surpass his work. Other authors who have addressed the subject only provide snippets and it is difficult to follow the whole story.

The account of *Jugurtha's War* needs three preliminary comments. First, we must remember that Sallust is biased. His hostility toward Jugurtha is evident on every page. To him, Jugurtha was evil, a criminal, corrupt and treacherous, having learned, during his voyage to Spain, the worst kinds of Roman behaviour. In addition, Sallust was Caesar's protege and therefore a supporter of the populist parties, opposing the corrupt aristocracy of the Senate, and by denouncing Jugurtha, he was able to vilify his own enemies' behaviour. He therefore takes every opportunity during his account to digress from the facts and focus on the wrongdoing of this person or that, or to recall discussions with those he agrees with. Certainly the Romans whose Republic was starting its decline, were not behaving in an exemplary fashion, but did not Sallust enrich himself when in 46 BC he was appointed Governor of Numidia by Caesar? With the fortune he amassed in Africa, he built a superb villa in Rome, *Horti Sallustiani*, which is still famous. We must be cautious when reading his text. Since we are unable to correct him, let us limit ourselves to the rough facts. The reader can then form their own opinion.

*From top to bottom :
"Usurpation of Jugurtha,
victory of Marius,
triumph of Marius."
Miniature by the Bedford
Master for Sallust's
Bellum Jugurthinum
(Jugurthine War), Paris,
circa 1430.*

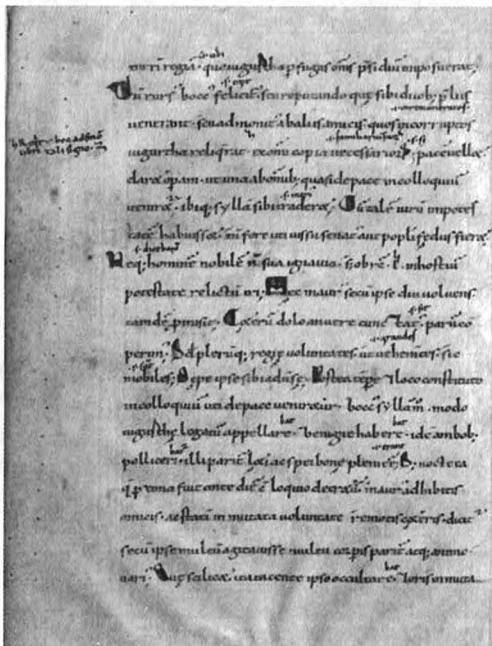
Crispi Salustij in Jugurthino prolegus Incipit feliciter



Illo quentur de natura sua hu-
 manum genus quod interalla-
 atque cui beatus forte poene q-
 uirtute recatur. Nam contra
 reputando neq; manus aliud ne-
 prestabilis inuenies. magisq;
 nature indifferam hominum quā vni aut tū-

In the second place, if Jugurtha were responsible for all the wrongdoing of which he is accused by some Roman historiographers, one must remember that in fact he had many defenders all over Rome and especially in the Senate (even if they were accused of corruption), and remained a great man in the eyes of a large number of Maghrebans, who saw him as the first nationalist leader to rise up, even if not for long, against what he considered hegemonic power and foreign occupation. He took advantage of the contradictions of Rome : he was considered a hero emblematic of independence for the people and as for the “offences” of which he was accused, are not they part of the rich history of anti-colonial wars, right ? Bourguiba did say with pride, didn’t he, that “I am a jugurtha who has succeeded !”

Extract from Sallust's
Bellum Jugurthinum.
Latin manuscript on
parchment, late 10th
century. BnF, National
Library of France.



Finally, since the end of the Second Punic War, the Romans encouraged their young noblemen and men in good standing to attempt what one would call today *aventure coloniale* (a colonial adventure), to show themselves as politicians and to enhance their standing. Greece, Spain and Asia Minor became the field of honour and also a gold mine for coveted treasures. Few generals and conquerors escaped accusations of misappropriating funds or goods.

The facts. Rome gave command of the army sent to Africa in 111 BC to Consul L. Calpurnius, who summoned Jugurtha who was in Beja. The meeting took place and Jugurtha avoided a potential war by accepting to submit to the requirements of Rome. Calpurnius left his



legion in place as a guarantor for peace ; however, the soldiers acted as if they were predators on conquered territory. Jugurtha was accused of corrupting them. Rome sent a money lender, Cassius (he would become Consul in 107 BC) to summon Jugurtha to Rome. The king accepted accompanying him. The Senate was unable to pass judgement on the Numidian king because of opposition from the senators who were on his side. This was in 110 BC. Jugurtha's adversaries

Battle of Marius and Jugurtha. Medieval miniature.

Triumph of Marius. Oil on canvas by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, 1729. Metropolitan Museum, New York.



pushed the son of Gulussa, Massiva, who lived in Rome, to demand the Numidian kingdom. The pretender to the throne was assassinated and Jugurtha was accused of having him killed by his collaborator Bomilcar and having Bomilcar exempted from judgment by sending him back to Numidia. Jugurtha was

then sent back to Africa. It is then that he uttered his famous words about Rome, "*Urbern venalem et mature perituram si emptorem invenerit*" ("A city for sale and doomed to destruction, if it finds a buyer").

The war recommenced. Consul Albinus was in charge of leading the African army. The campaign took forever. Albinus left for Rome for elections, leaving his brother Aulus in command. Aulus, wanting to make a name for himself, led the army in the middle of winter toward Calama (Guelma). Jugurtha surrounded him. The Ligurians and the Thracians in the Roman army deserted to the Numidian side and Aulus agreed to leave Numidia. Albinus did nothing to fix the situation on his return. Metellus, appointed Consul in 109 BC, arrived in Africa. With his lieutenant Marius, the cavalry commander, he decided to begin by bringing the undisciplined army under control. He created his camp in Beja, and then engaged in battle south of Bou-Salem, near the Mellegue River. The result was unclear at the end of the day, but the Roman consul was satisfied because his army behaved as a real legion.

Coin showing Faustus Cornelius Sulla, circa 56 BC. On the reverse : Sulla sitting on the throne; Bocchus (King of Mauretania) kneeling, holds an olive branch; and Jugurtha, in the posture of a prisoner, his hands tied.



*Bocchus hands over
Jugurtha (centre)
to Sulla. Illustration from
Charles Rollin's The
Roman History,
London, 1739—45.*



They took the road toward Zama, the royal city. Since Jugurtha refused to fight, Metellus besieged Zama. Marius was sent toward Sicca (Le Kef) and was surrounded by Jugurtha, but survived and returned to Zama. It was a failure for the Roman army who returned to their winter quarters to finish the year 109 BC. Bomilcar pleaded with his king to stop the war

because the Numidians were not strong enough. Negotiations, which in fact had never been interrupted, made clear the Romans' requirements. Metellus demanded delivery of 200,000 pounds of silver, all of the elephants, horses and arms as well as Jugurtha handing over all the Roman defectors. He accepted ! However, he refused to go in person to Medjez-el-Bab. The Roman Senate gave Numidia to Metellus. Jugurtha decided to start the war again. A plot was hatched against the Roman garrison at Beja. Metellus took back Beja and executed all the Senators in the city.

In March 108 BC, the new consul Marius received his appointment to Africa. In the meantime, Metellus waged battle, defeated Jugurtha, who had taken refuge in Thala, pursued him and lay siege to the city. Jugurtha headed west (sources don't give a more specific location). The siege of Thala lasted forty days. During this time, Leptis Magna fell under the protection of the Roman Consul, who sent four cohorts. Metellus was an aristocrat and wished to finish the war before his successor and former assistant Marius, a plebian, arrived. Jugurtha tried to recruit reinforcements, most likely in the Aures and in the region of Mزاب (ancient sources speak of the Getula, Berbers from the end of the Sahara). He spoke with Bocchus, the king of Mauretania (northern Morocco). The two kings decided to march together toward Cirta (Constantine). We don't know at this stage if Cirta had already been taken by Metellus or if the two kings wanted to make it their base. Metellus began negotiations with Bocchus. Marius sent his lieutenant, Manlius, ahead in Africa. Marius landed at Utica and went on to lay siege to Gafsa, which did not surrender until the end of summer, 107 BC. Those defending the city were massacred, the inhabitants reduced into slavery and buildings were burned. Marius wanted to make an example of this city. Sulla, commander of the

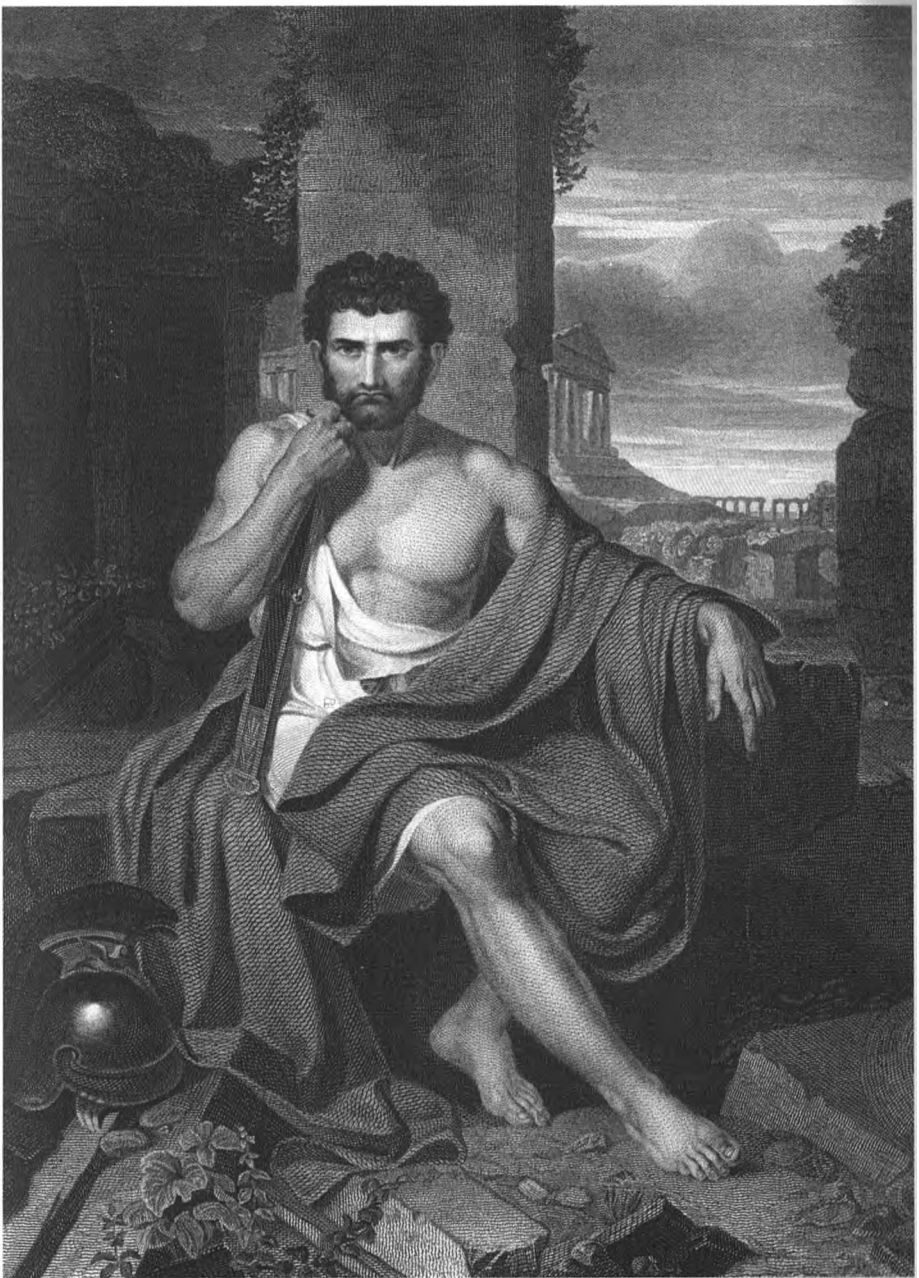
cavalry, joined him on coming from Utica. Marius sent his other assistant to Lares (Lorbeus).

Up to this point in the story, the reader can follow the evolution of these adversaries in the battlefields of Tunisia and parts of eastern Algeria. But the movements of the armies would become difficult to follow over land. It is said that Marius established winter quarters for 106-105 BC on the coast, but which ? In the region of Constantine ? A battle was fought and it is unclear who won. Where ? Marius arrived at Cirta. In the city or on the outskirts ? Bocchus sent him emissaries to ask for negotiations. The Roman general assigned his two lieutenants, Manlius and Sulla. The Mauretanian king sent his ambassadors to Rome. Tokens were given in consideration for peace. Sulla was sent to Bocchus again.

In 105 BC, at the end of secret negotiations, Jugurtha, who thought he had secured his alliance with Bocchus by marrying one of his daughters, was turned over to Marius by his father-in-law. The Mauretanian king preferred saving his kingdom over the life of his son-in-law. Thus Marius ended the seven-year war. Jugurtha marched before the triumphal chariot and was put to death in the forum prison, the Tullianum. He was 54 years old.

Another chapter begins. Jugurtha had wanted to reunite the kingdom of Massinissa. That Numidia no longer existed. The region of Oran was given to Bocchus. A tiny piece of territory between Constantine and Algiers was still called Numidia and was given to Gauda, Jugurtha's half-brother. Eastern Numidia was annexed into the Roman Empire. The province of Africa, *Africa Vetust*, was enlarged. The pendulum swung and now what the Romans called *Africa Nova* roughly corresponded to what had been Punic Carthage in its time, from the Constantine coast to Leptis Magna and the Greater Sirte.

*Marius meditating on
the ruins of Carthage.
Engraving based on
an oil painting by John
Vanderlyn, 1842.*



105 BC

ALL OF AFRICA IS ROMAN

Africa was Roman for many centuries until the Vandals arrived in AD 430 : it was called *Africa Vetus* for 576 years, from the time Carthage was destroyed in 146 BC, and *Africa Nova* from the end of Jugurtha's reign in 105 BC for another 535 years. Such a long period of time can profoundly transform a country, its inhabitants, their way of life, their economy and their urban environment. There had been seven centuries of the Berber and Punic cultures mixing. The imprint of Romanisation isn't obvious at first glance today, with the exception of the ruins that remain of theatres, amphitheatres, aqueducts, basilicas, temples and other remains. But this period also transformed what we can't see, a people's culture. What makes Tunisia unique is this meeting and mixing of cultures over a long history : Punic, Roman and Arab on top of Berber foundations. We've already seen kings and cities with Punic names as well as names from the native peoples : Massinissa, Jugurtha, Massiva, Adherbal, Mastanabal, Cirta, Thugga and Tacapes, for example. Latin names appeared : Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Monica, Julius, and Aurelian, to the point that we have to sometimes verify the origins of a famous person, such as the Emperor Septimius Severus, who was both Punic and Berber.

There are five phenomena that we can focus on during these centuries : the progressive Romanisation

Allegory of Africa, recognisable by her elephant hide headdress. Silver cup from the Boscoreale Treasure in Naples. Late 1st century BC -first half of 1st century AD. Louvre, Paris.







*Personification of Africa.
3rd century mosaic, El
Jem Museum, Tunisia.*

that resulted in universal citizenship under Caracalla (AD 202) ; the Christianisation that would give the Catholic Church martyrs and ardent defenders ; the religious passion that would guide Africans towards radical doctrines ; the convergence between religious and social demands illustrated by the Circumcellion Movement ; and the urbanisation that was already happening in the previous centuries, as we can see from the names of cities, emphasising the point that Roman Africa was one of the most urbanised provinces in the Empire. The physical transformation of the countryside and the role African citizens played in the life of the Empire gave the most celebrated citizens the opportunity to create monuments, from whose remains we can imagine past splendours. These changes crisscrossed over time and keep us from dividing the Roman era into distinct periods. We will look at some significant dates to shed light on these phenomena.

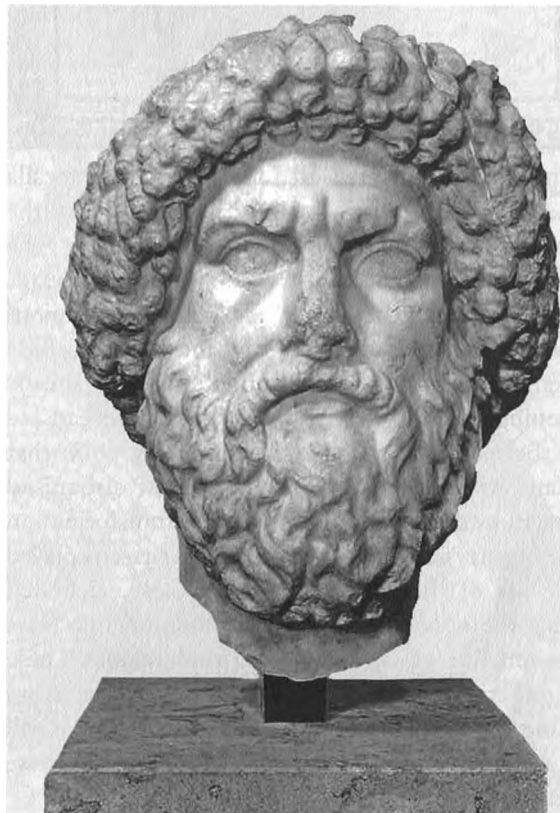
*Opposite page :
Personification of Rome.
2nd century mosaic.
Brooklyn Museum,
New York.*

146BC/AD212

ROMANISATION

Truth be told, Romanisation began with Massinissa, who did not hesitate to find reasons to side with the Romans in order to consolidate his power. Many of his descendants were educated in Rome. Once Carthage was destroyed in 146 BC, Romanisation meant colonists

*Marble bust of Juba I,
King of Numidia, from
Cherchell (ancient
Caesarea), Algeria.
Late 1st century BC.
Louvre, Paris.*



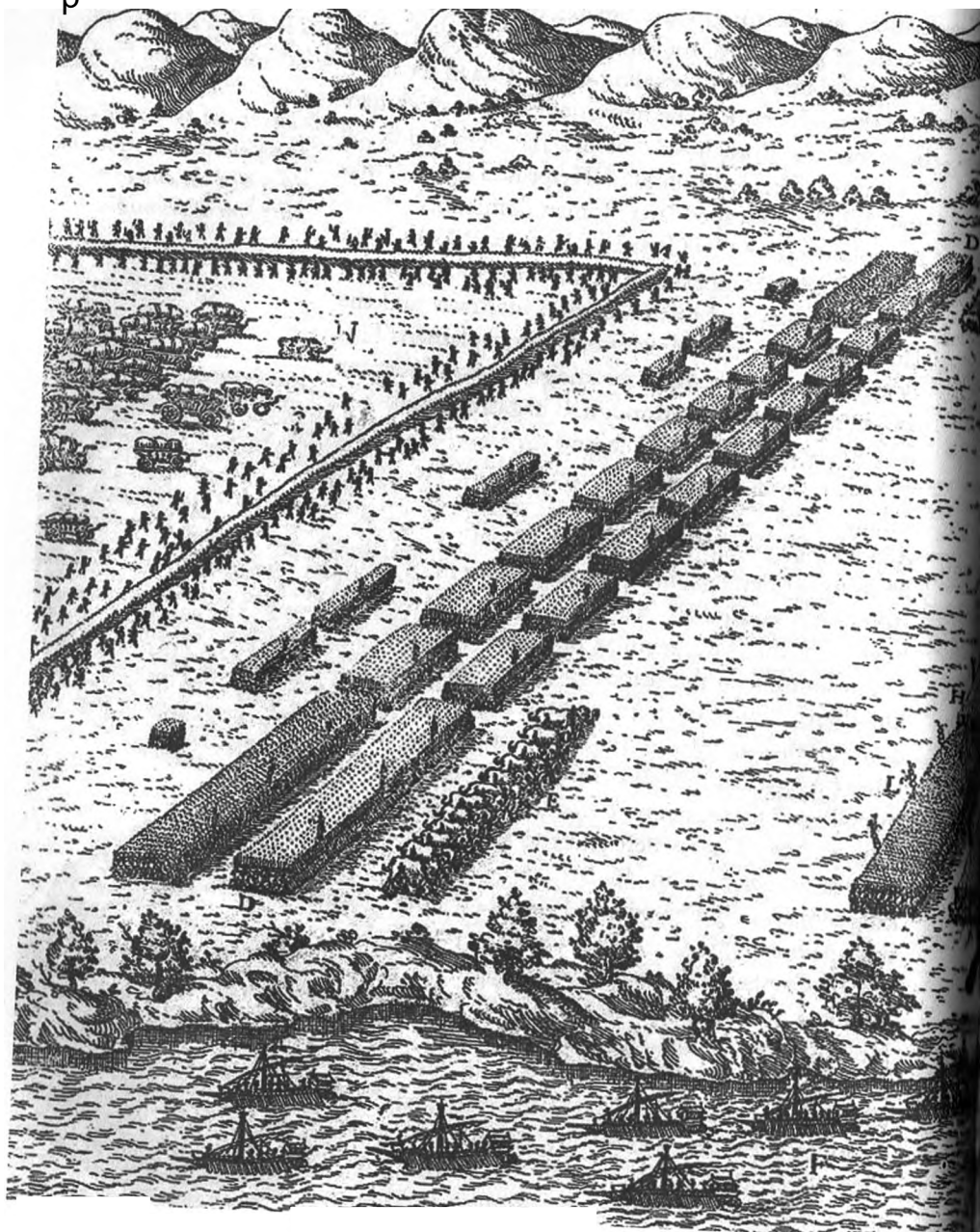
*Opposite page:
Coin showing Q. Caecilius
Metellus Pius Scipio,
46-47 BC, struck in the
province of Africa.*

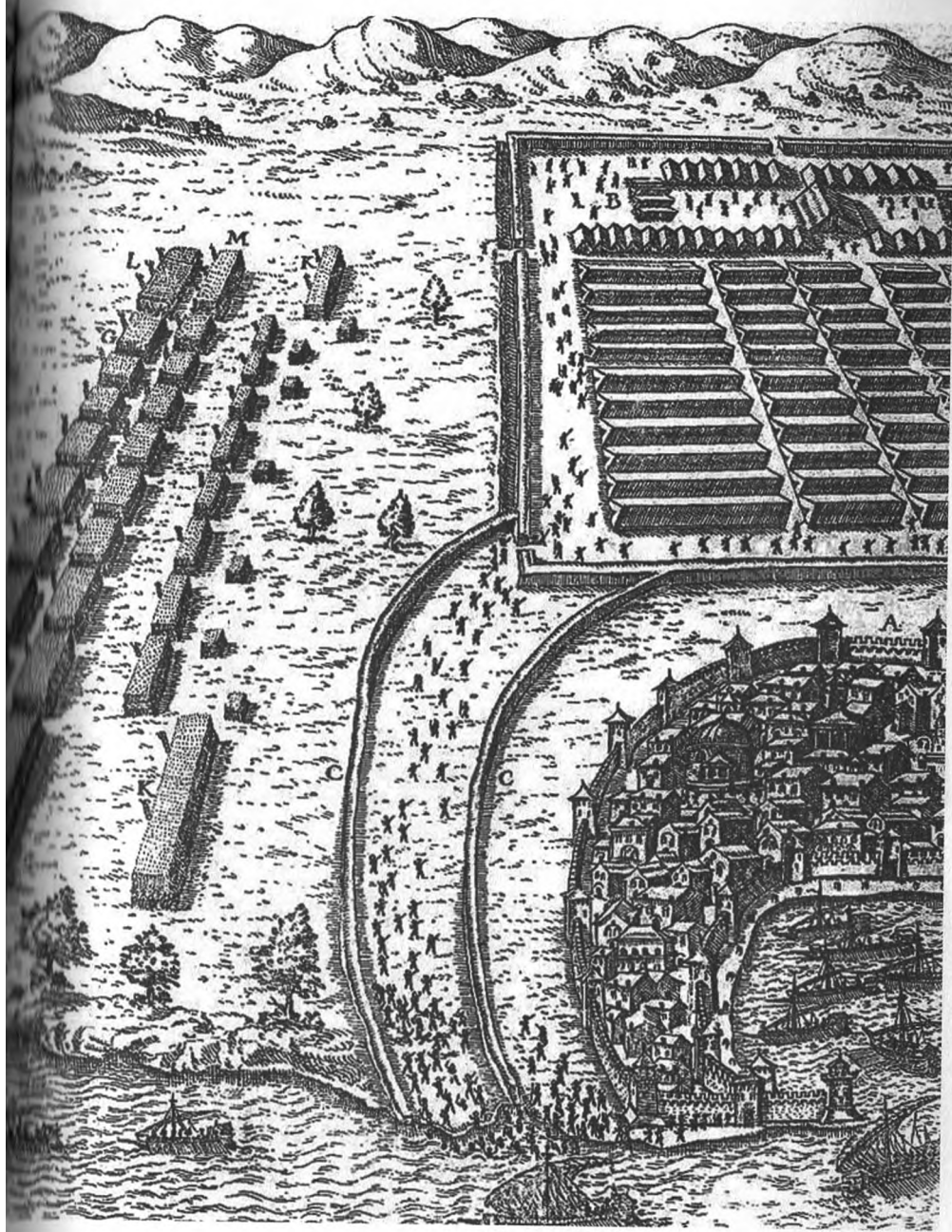
coming and settling. If occupying the land that was Carthage posed any problems, the remaining territory was available. Wasn't *Provincia Africa* Roman territory won through battle ? The free cities - those which had been on the Roman side before the destruction of Carthage, like Hadrumetum, Thapsus, Leptis, Utica and Acholla - escaped later Roman dominance. After the colony created by Gracchus, between 123 BC and 113 BC, the disappearance of Jugurtha's kingdom in 105 BC put an end to the division in Africa and the Roman Empire spread, as previously explained. This Africa was extensive, running from Bona to Tripolitania, passing through Thagaste (Souk-Ahras) and Theveste (Tebessa). *Africa Nova* included Sicca (Le Kef), designated as the capital, while Utica remained the capital of *Africa Vetus*. Territory to the west was left to Massinissa's descendants who were raised in Rome and considered trustworthy. This is how Juba, the great-nephew of Massinissa, found himself on the throne of a Numidian kingdom, smaller of course, but a real kingdom in the middle of the first century after Christ. However, Juba was truly Roman and entered in political games, taking the side of Pompeii against Caesar. After Caesar defeated the Pompeian supporters at Thapsus in 46 BC, the Numidian kingdom was eliminated and Roman territory was again extended west. An adventurer and ally of Caesar, Sittius was given a part of Numidia, with Cirta as its capital, as a gift. He settled there with his mercenary companions. When Caesar died Sittius lost everything and Augustus, in 40 BC, decided to unite the two provinces by incorporating Sittius' territory. Romanisation was happening more than ever at this point. Rome would soon

*Overleaf (double page) :
The decisive battle of
Thapsus (Ras Eddimes).
Engraving by Palladio.
Caesar's victory over the
Pompeians at Thapsus in
46 sealed the end of the
kingdom of Numidia.*



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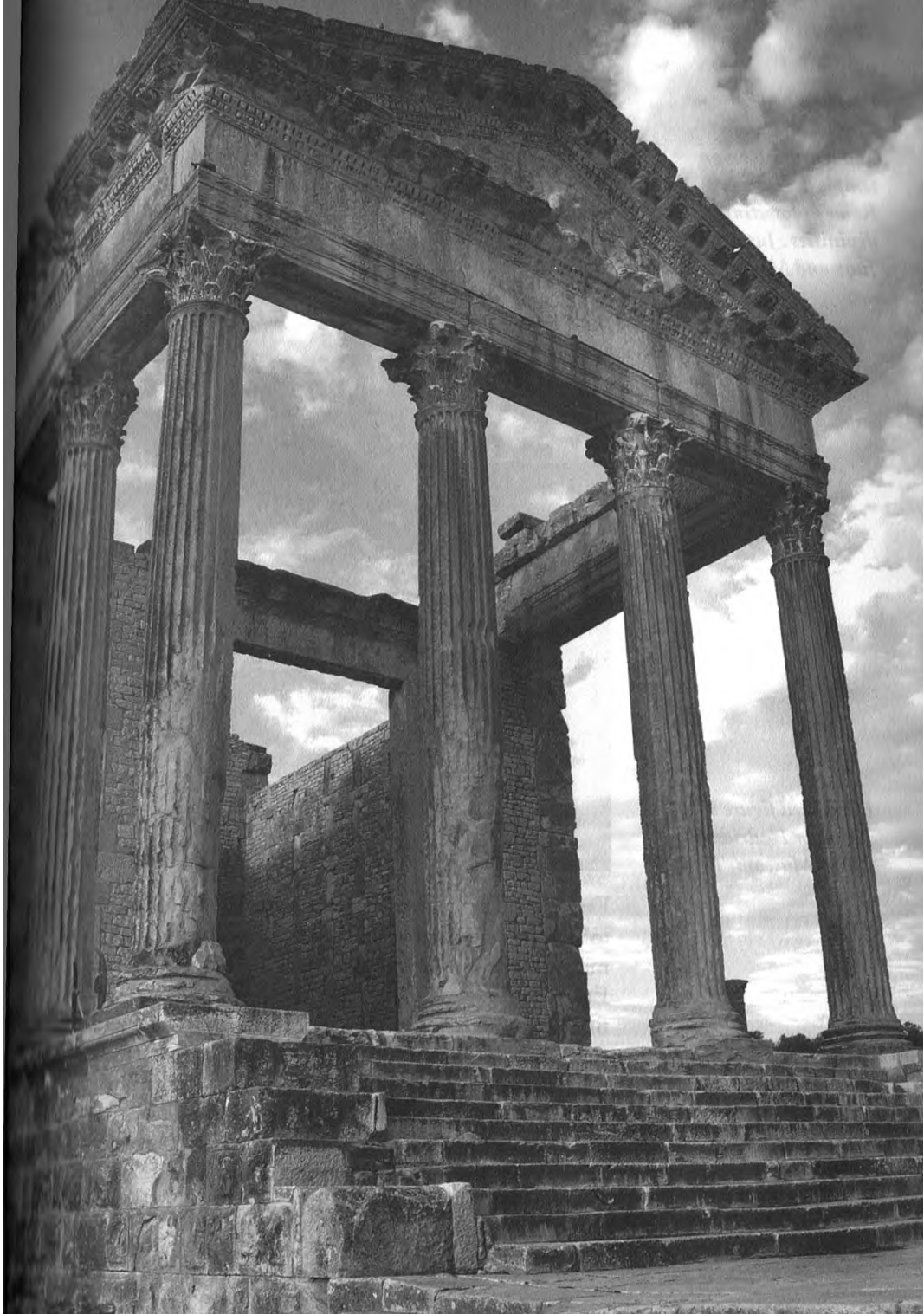




Altar dedicated to the family of Emperor Augustus (Gens Augusta), reflecting the diffusion of the imperial cult to Carthage. Four-sided bas-relief Pictured here is a personification of Rome with her various symbols. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

bring Carthage back to life from the ashes and then the territory would be open for Italian emigration in the following century.

This Africa would pose a number of problems for the expanding Empire. When it came to sharing power, it was up to the Senate to designate the governor with the rank of Proconsul (hence the name *Proconsular Africa*), but the Emperor was the chief of the armed forces and as such, the chief of the African legion, the famous *Augusta*. This dual power structure was therefore the source of conflict between the Senate and the



*Previous page :
Capitol at Dougga.
2nd century Roman
temple dedicated to
Rome's protecting
divinities: Jupiter,
Juno and Minerva.*



*Heroicised figure of
Emperor Hadrian.
Bardo Museum, Tunis.*

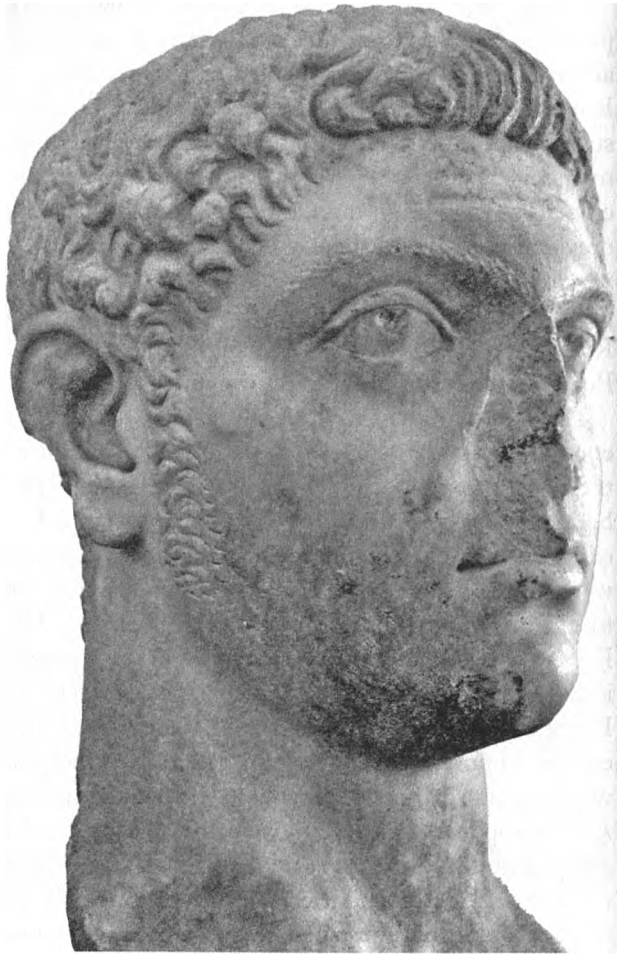
Emperor. The high-ranking regional leaders looked to avoid tensions between these powers by moving the military forces toward Sicca (El-Kef), then the Flavian Emperors moved them to Theveste (Tebessa), and finally they were moved towards Lambaesis (Lambese) (in Algeria). Secondly, Italian immigration practically dried up at the end of the first century after Christ with Romanisation giving rights to native people, who, in fact, cherished them. So, cities would progressively become active full-time elements in the Empire.

Cities were classified as colonies or temporary precincts. One after the other they became *municipiums*, allowing those inhabitants who were free to become Roman citizens and the others, depending on their status and function in municipal affairs (such as, members of the city senate, or magistrates), to become citizens as well. From time to time, a community with only Africans living there would gain the status of *municipium civium romanorum*. The distribution of power at the head of these *municipiums* was based on Rome's model. However, it's possible to see traces of Punic organisation in these African cities.

This Romanisation movement was significant enough that under Emperor Hadrian in the middle of the twelfth century, the region provided a number of high-ranking officials. In 212 Caracalla proclaimed an edict stating that all free inhabitants of the Empire were Roman citizens. In the third century, twenty-five to thirty equestrian procurators were African. The Romanised Africans moved into all positions : prefect in the tribunals, troop commander, judge, even senator. Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus also created important positions outside Rome. Finally, it was thanks to Africans lobbying in the Senate that the African supporters of Severus were able to supplant the Antonines. The Africans at the Senate would continue to increase the role of Africans in the Empire, and we mustn't forget that these people were of Libyco-Punic origin. They would bring back Numidia, a smaller version, but large enough to satisfy those native to the region.

This wave of Romanisation did have limits. The cities gave birth to a bourgeoisie whose ideal was improving the life of Roman citizens, but the majority of the population remained rural and attached to their own traditions. St. Augustine's epistles point that out clearly. In addition, the cities kept their original names

*Bust of Emperor
Caracalla from
Thuburbo Maius.
Bardo Museum, Tunis.*



which were often Berber and sometimes Punic, even if they had a Latin name next to them. Here is a list of some of them : Hadrumetum, Thuburbo Maius and Minus, Thubursica Bure, Ubba Cellae, Leptis Minor and Magna, Turrus Tamalleni, as well as Capsa, Tusurus, Thysdrus, Thapsus, Cercina, Vaga, Thabraca and Tunes.

The contrasts between those cities that were Romanised or well on their way there and those in the



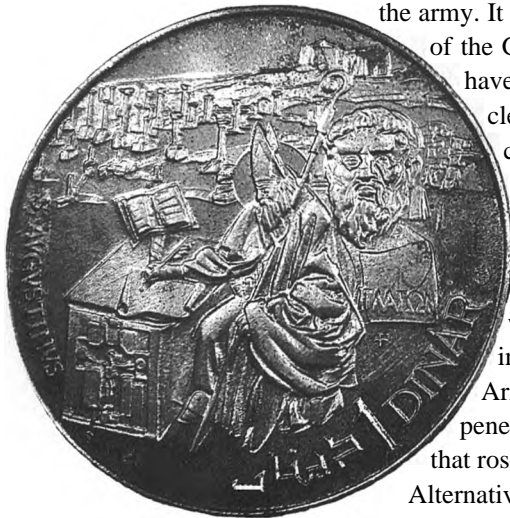
*Bust of Emperor
Septimius Severus.
Bardo Museum, Tunis.*

countryside, in which the Libyco-Punic culture was more apparent, was dramatic, as seen by uprisings in which the people sought to take over the land, especially in times of famine. Out of necessity, Roman authorities moved certain *limes*, or borders, in some areas to delimit what they controlled. These gestures were made by Severus to satisfy the native population.

200/410

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Augustinus, St Augustine, in his study with a bust of Plato in the background, and the ruins of a basilica in the far background. Dinar coin issued by the Central Bank of Tunisia, 1969.



Christianity was introduced to Africa little by little. It's difficult to put a precise date on when conversions began, but we can give more precise dates on when persecutions began. The martyrdoms of Perpetua in 200 and Felicity in 203 give us a good starting point. At the time of the Emperor Septimius Severus, the cult of the emperor and the concepts of traditional divine protection were the law. As in other places, Christianity first attracted slaves and the lower echelons. It represented a danger to the ruling classes no matter what their origin. Christianity's progression happened slowly, but it ended up penetrating into the high social classes and ranks of

the army. It spread continuously from 230 (the era of the Gordian emperors) until 430. Africans have demonstrated throughout history a clear inclination to adhere to a simple creed with rigour. They have also been drawn to radical currents of thought. Thus they first followed Manichaeism (which Augustine followed in his youth), then Donatism (which we will discuss later) and Arianism, initiated by the Alexandrine priest Arius. We will see that this also happened with Islam and the strict doctrines that rose from it.

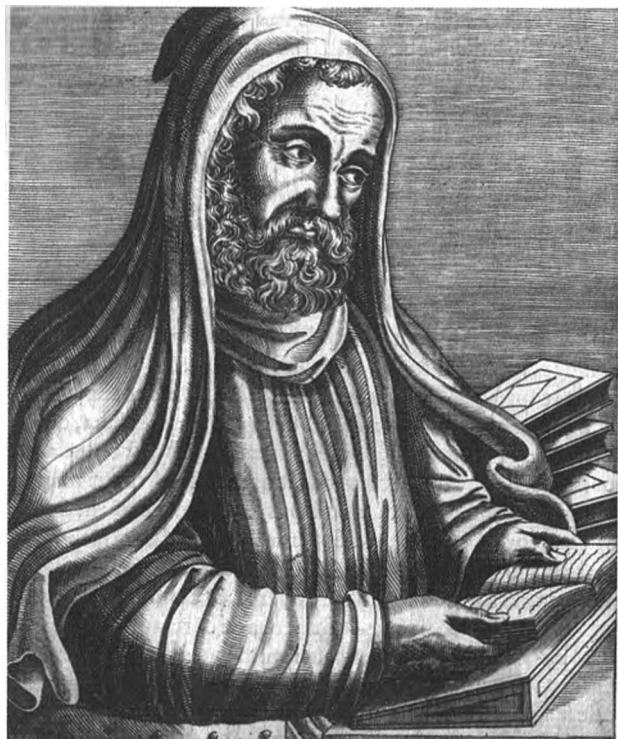
Alternative faiths were threatening for those

FIRMAMENTVM EST DOMINVS TIMENTIBVS EVM • PSAL • 24



SEPTIMIO SEVERO, ET CARACALLA, IMPP,
A. PERPETVA et FELICITAS et alij bestijs obiecti dilamantur.

Tertullian (circa 155—220), born in Carthage, was a great theologian of the African church. He is considered the father of the Church in the West, and Christianity owes him the first use of the term Trinitas (the Trinity). Tertullian eventually became an adept of Montanism, one of the many heresies in favour at the time. Portrait illustrating the work of Andre Thevet, Les Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres, Paris, 1584.



Previous page : Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicity in the reign of Septimius Severus. Martyrological iconography often associates the two saints. This scene is said to have occurred in the amphitheatre outside Carthage. Engraving by Jan van Haelbeck, circa 1600.

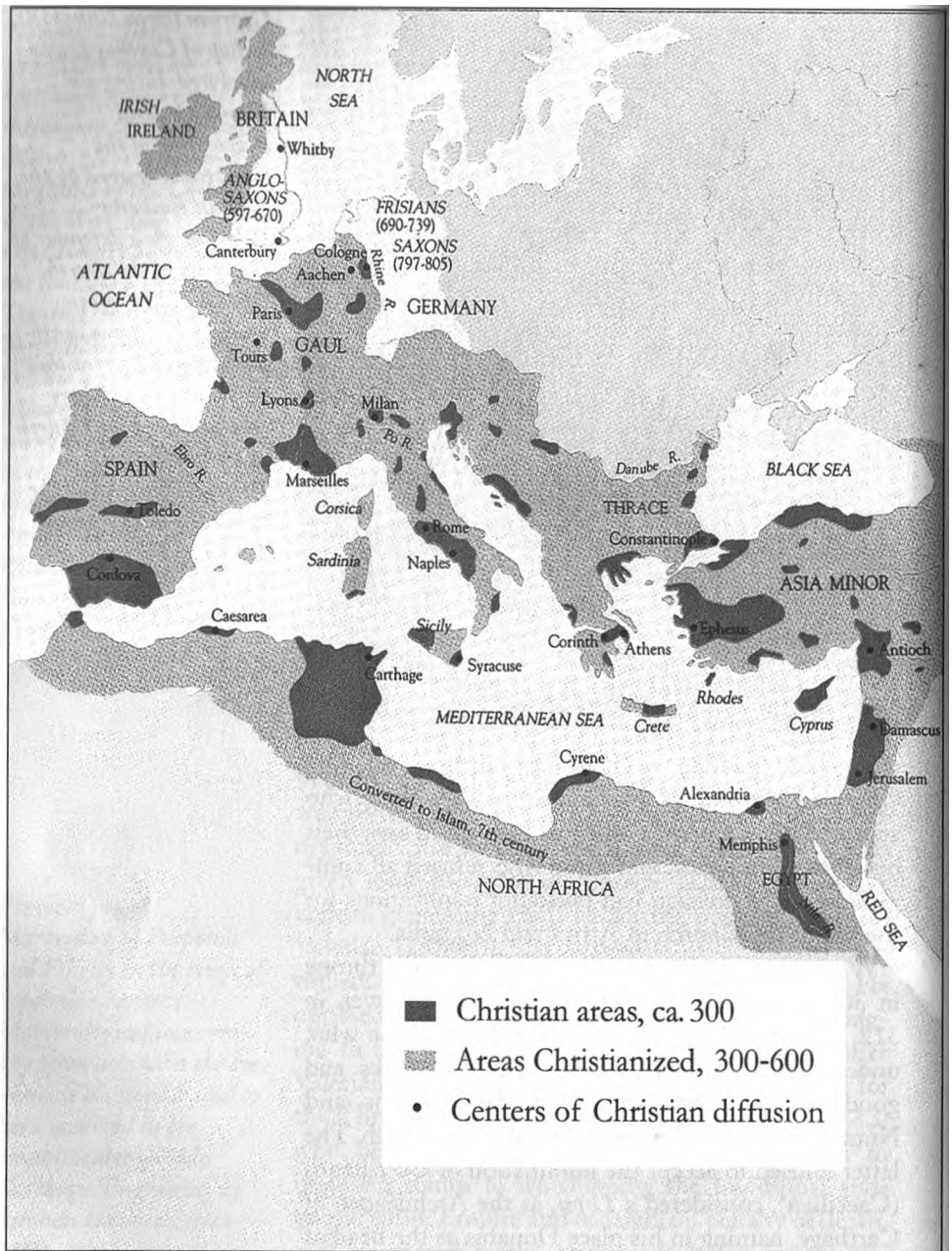
in power up to the time of Constantine (306-37), who wavered between tolerance and persecution. The church organised itself better and better each time it was given some room for manoeuvre. It also enriched its coffers, generating envy. Under the reign of Emperor Valerian (253-60), the repression of Christians continued. Bishop Cyprian was martyred in 258. He opposed handing over sacred books and goods belonging to the church to the authorities. However, after Valerian's death, there were forty years of respite for the Christians until the reign of Diocletian (284-313) who began the persecution again. He wanted to impose a return to worshipping the traditional gods on the entire Empire and ordered, on penalty of death, that all sacred books and goods belonging to the



Cyprian (circa 200-258), bishop of Carthage, was martyred during the Second General Persecution of the Christians decreed by the Roman Emperor Valerian. As a defender of the unity of the church (the title of his main work), Cyprian is considered the first great theoretician of ecclesiology (the science of the Church as an institution). Portrait illustrating the work of Andre Thevet, Les Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres, Paris, 1584.

church be handed over to the authorities. The Christian community was divided between those who accepted the Emperors order, so they could save their believers from death, and those who refused all compromise. This division had profound implications for the life of the Church in Africa and Numidia.

When Constantine ascended to the imperial throne in 306, a new era of tolerance started. However, in 312, a conflict began between the *Lapsi*, those who, under Diocletian, had turned over the books and goods to the authorities, and the Africans and Numidians who had remained loyal to their faith. The latter refused to accept the nomination of Caecilianus (Caecilian), considered a *Lapsi*, as the Archdeacon of Carthage, naming in his place Donatus as the head of



the African Church, despite the fact that the Synod of Rome had, in 313, forgiven Caecilian and the decision by the Synod of Arles the following year to totally pardon him. From then on, in Africa there were Donatists and Christians as designated by the synods. It became more complicated when the Imperial authority, allied with the official Church that wanted peace, intervened in the dispute, demanding that the Donatists hand over their books and goods to the official clergy. The Donatists refused and rebelled against the Emperor ! In 321 they were granted a decree of tolerance and continued freely. In 330, in a Council meeting in Carthage, their church had 270 bishops who were not overwhelmed by their opponents. Constantine became emperor in 337 and decided that these religious conflicts were a great menace to the stability of the Empire, and taking a position on behalf of the official

*Opposite page:
The expansion of
Christianity until the
6th century. Northern
Tunisia is one of the five
largest Christianised
regions in late antiquity,
and the most heavily
Christianised region in
the western Mediter-
ranean.*



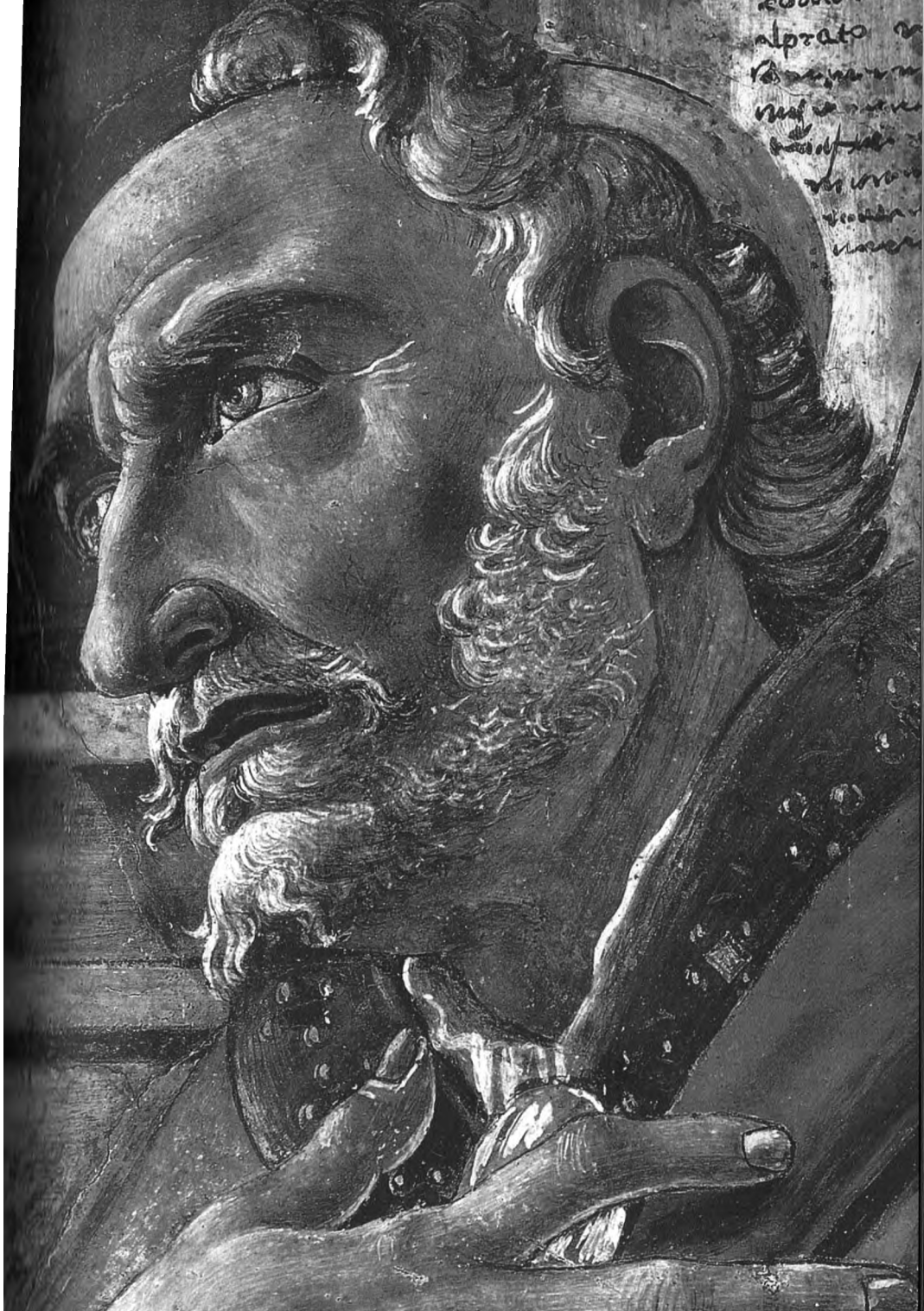
*St Melchiades (or
Militiades), Pope from
311 to 314, was born in
Tunisia. He initiated a
Lateran synod in 313
following the Donatist
contestation of the
election of the bishop of
Carthage. St Peter's
Basilica, Rome.*

*St Augustine. Fresco by
S. Botticelli, 1480,
Ognissanti Church
Florence, detail.*

*Overleaf (double page):
Geography of the African
Church. The Carthage
Conference, held in 411,
was attended by nearly
600 bishops, 286 Catholic
and 285 Donatist.
Including absentees, each
rite could claim to have
over 400 dioceses — an
impressive number that
was disproportionate to
the spread of Christianity
in the West. (Based on
Paul Corbier and Marc
Griesheimer, *L'Afrique
Romaine*. 146 av.J.-C.-
439 ap.J.-C., Paris,
Ellipses, 2005.)*

Church, ordered that the Donatists be made to give over their places of worship by force. However, Emperor Julian (360-63), known also as Julian the Philosopher or Julian the Apostate, returned the Donatists' rights. They would then find themselves under a great deal of repression under Emperor Gratianus (Gratian) in 376. In 393, a division appeared in their ranks, with the appearance of the Maximianists, notably in Byzacena and Tripolitania. So now, there were three opposing churches : the Catholics, the Donatists, and the Maximianist Donatists. In the meantime, the Alexandrian priest Arius (256-336) had caused another schism when he denied the divinity of Christ. One has to remember that at that time, Christian beliefs were still being defined. The new Arianist movement was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Constantinople in 381.

This was the backdrop when a child, Augustine, was born in Madaura (now Mdaourouch), near Thagaste (Souk-Ahras) in 354 of a Pagan father and Christian mother, Monica. With Paganism on the one hand, Manichaeism on another, and Christianity split between Catholics, Maximianists and Arianists, Augustine decided to take his own path, first to Carthage, then Milan. He became a Christian thanks to St. Ambrose. In 411, he held an important conference in Carthage where all the ideas that had been causing issues were debated. Donatism was categorically rejected by the clergy there. At this conference, Augustine would shine with the eloquence and rigor that led him to gain notice. As the Bishop of Hippo since 395, he had already made a spectacular entry onto the scene when he denounced the Arianists, the Donatists and became the spokesperson for strict Catholicism. He returned to Bona (*Hippo Regius*) in western *Zeugitana*, the northern part of Africa. He died there in 430 in a city under siege by Vandals, other Arianist Christians !



AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

NUMIDIA

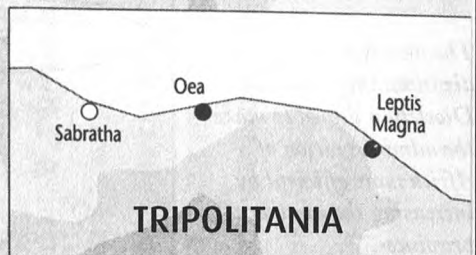
BYZACENA

TRIPOLITANIA

- Lares
- Assuras
- Cellae
- Obba
- Althiburos
- Thigimma ?

Catholic Bishopric
 Donastit Bishopric
 Catholic & Donastit Bishopric
 Approximate location
 Location of a certain place
 Limits of ecclesiastical provinces
 Limits Africa proconsularis/Numidia

200 km



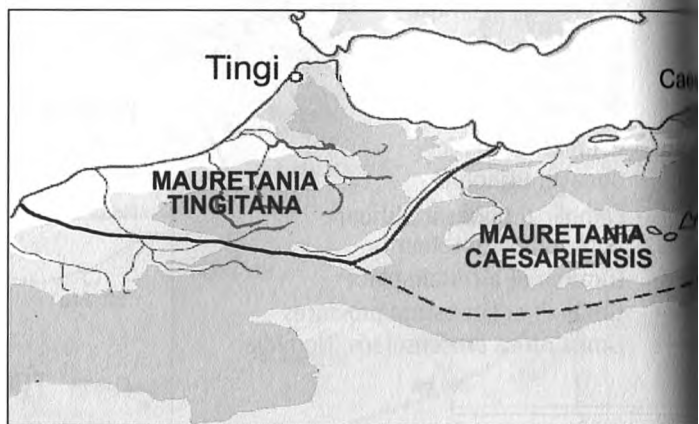
193/430

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

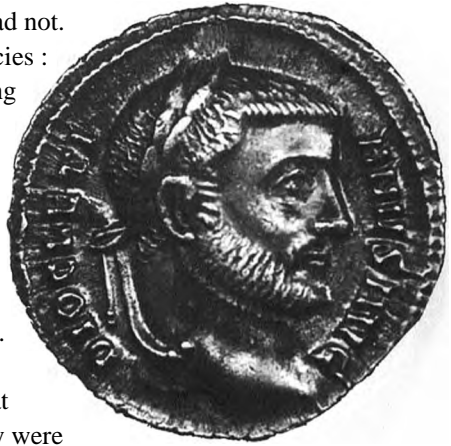
The uprisings in fact never ended. As happened with the Punic in the previous centuries, fixing borders naturally implied excluding those whose communities were mobile by nature or for reasons that were economic or climatic. First, there was the revolt of the Tacfarinas in the first century, and then other revolts happened in Mauretania and Numidia between 253 and 262 and again from 289 to 297.

Romanisation gradually integrated all social classes into the Empire except for slaves. However, integrating is not the same as equalising. There were rich and poor, city dwellers and country dwellers, people who remained in one place and nomads, those owning a great deal of land and small landowners as well as citizens

The new territorial divisions introduced by Diocletian aimed to make the administration of Africa more efficient by increasing the number of provinces.

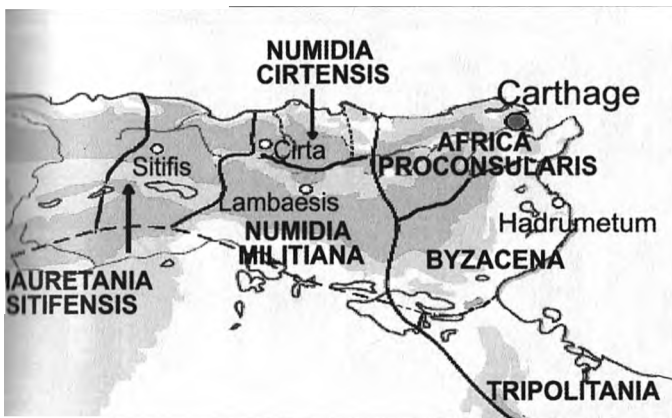


who had been Romanised and those who had not. The authorities hesitated between two policies : blending everyone together or differentiating them. We've seen how little by little the inhabitants in different categories became Roman citizens until the time of Caracalla's decree in 212 that integrated everyone into the Empire. The Severan Emperors were conscious of the fact that judicial equality did not mean total equality. They restarted the Numidian kingdom and tried to integrate within the *limes* people that had previously been their enemies. But they were demanding in terms of military and colonial expansion. There were conflicts with the Musulamii, the Nybgenii, the Chinitii and the Musunii, natives of the regions of the Aures and middle western Tunisia as well as the region of Nefzaoua, east of Chott El-Jerid. The Empire spread its *limes* all the way to Ghadames.



*Diocletian coin.
Carthage, 300.*

In 238, the people of Thysdrus (El-Jem) revolted against fiscal abuses. They elected their former Consul Gordian as Emperor, but he died that same year. To manage a territory that was very large and very diverse, Diocletian (284-305) divided the proconsular territory



into three. The *Zeugitana* was in the north, which included northern Tunisia and extended west to Bona (Bone) and extended south to a line between Pupput (near Hammamet) and Neapolis (at Nabeul), up to and including Theveste (Tebessa). There was *Byzacena* which extended from that line to a line running from Tacape (Gabes) to Nepte (Nefta). Then there was *Tripolitania* which had broken off from Africa. It went from the Chott El-Jerid to Leptis Magna. These three provinces and the two *Mauretanas*, *Sitifiennae* and *Caesariensis*, being eastern and central Algeria, were placed in the same territorial division of the Empire, termed a Diocese of Africa, with a governor ruling from Carthage.

Thysdrus amphitheatre (El-Jem). In 238, the towns inhabitants rebelled against tax abuses, electing the elderly consul Gordian as emperor.

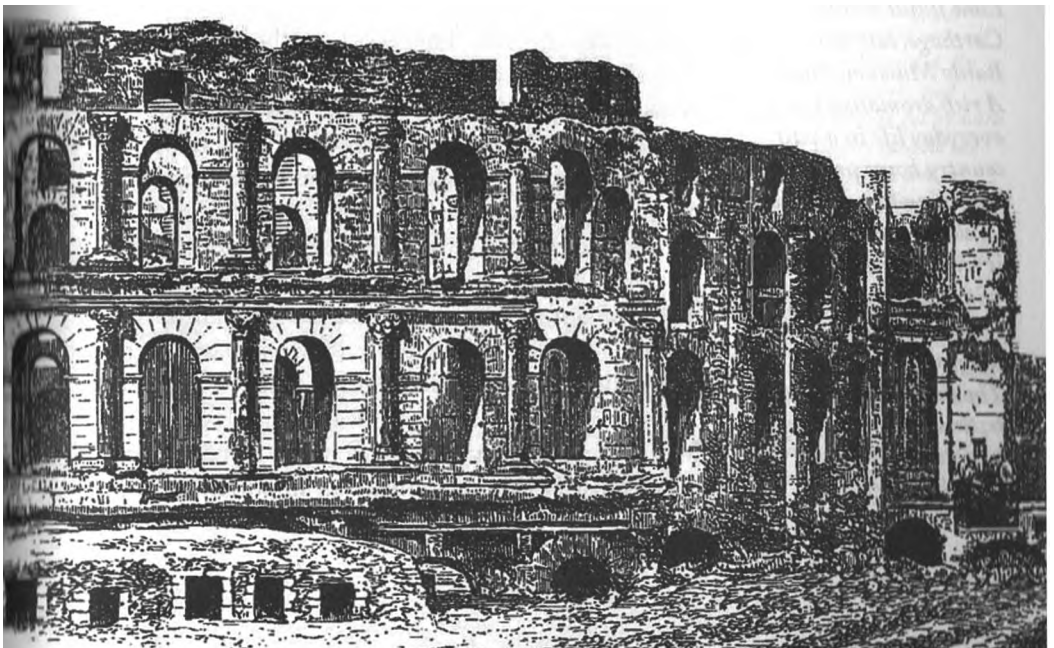
The Donatists succeeded in recruiting the poor as well as agricultural workers to make up their troops. The latter were called Circumcellions and brought fear to large landowners, and who were in fact free, mobile and seasonal farm workers. Catholics were among the ranks of these large property owners, thus the temptation of the Circumcellions to join with the Donatists. In truth this was a socio-economic movement recruited from every faith, but a majority were Donatists.

ROMANS BUT NOT TOO MUCH!

When we talk about Romanisation, the Christianisation, urbanisation and participation in the life of the Empire, we have to be careful with our generalisations. We cannot say *all* were involved.. Many large working-class groups remained in the same physical environment as they had before Roman power. Christianity had not eradicated paganism nor converted the Jews present since the first days of Carthage and so we refer to the latter as natives or immigrants. When we talk about urbanisation, the map shows stark contrasts between the population density in the cities and what Diocletian called *Zeugitana*, northern Tunisia running to Bona, and then Byzacena, central Tunisia to the foot of the Aures. As for the rest of this Roman African territory, the Berber towns remained pretty much the same with the exception of those places that served as garrisons. There are economic and strategic reasons behind this. It isn't surprising that the most developed region was northern Tunisia



Jewish oil lamp found at Carthage, adorned with a seven-armed candelabrum.





*Lord Julius mosaic,
Carthage, late 4th century.
Bardo Museum, Tunis.
A rich dramatisation of
everyday life in a vast
country house probably
belonging to a wealthy
landowner. The building
is well protected, with a
windowless wall on the
ground floor and watch
towers at the corners.
The mosaic pays eloquent
testimony to the lifestyle
and prosperity of the
landed gentry.*

and eastern Algeria. That is where the *breadbasket of Rome* was located ; a fertile zone which naturally attracted *latifundia*, and opened this region to the exterior, for exports. The role of the coastal cities was to be the outlet, and their development is largely due to production inland. The inclusion of Punic and Numidian territory into the Empire was not to develop the regions for the people, but to serve the Empire. Therefore, provincial administration responded to the Empire's needs. Diocletian's division was based on this logic : the ports in southern Africa were to be found at Tacapes (Gabes), Sabratha, Oea (Tripoli) and Leptis Magna, separating the south from the rest of Africa.

We must at this stage make an important sociolo-

gical remark. This territorial division under Roman domination was adapted to meet economic needs, but it also corresponded to the differences in population. If we look, for example, at cultural behaviour, it is fascinating to see how the regions and classes where the strictest Christian doctrines were able to recruit followers, are the same regions and classes where we find the strictest and most radical movements of Islam. Unfortunately, we do not know further details about the ancient religions of the Berbers and Punics. We might find the same patterns.



Inscription from Maktar. Louvre, Paris. A valuable first-hand account about a peasant's journey from farming to the Senate: "I was born of a poor family : my father had no income or house to call his own. Since the day of my birth, I have always cultivated my land. Neither my fields nor I myself have ever taken time to rest. When the season of the year returned when the crops were ripe, I was the first to cut my stalks. When groups of harvesters appeared in the countryside, hiring themselves out around Cirta, the capital of the Numidians, or on the plains overlooked by the Mountain of Jupiter, I was the first to reap my land. Then, leaving my country, for twelve years I harvested for other men under a burning sun. For eleven years I commanded a gang of harvesters and reaped corn in the fields of Numidia. By dint of hard work, and knowing how to get by with little, I finally became the owner of a house and an estate. Today, I live in comfort. I have even risen to honours: I was called to sit in the Senate of my town, and from a small peasant I have become Censor. I have seen my children and grandchildren come into the world and grow up around me, and my life has been spent in peace and honoured by all. "

*Boglio stele dedicated to
Saturn, 3rd century.
Bardo Museum, Tunis.
Opposite: detail.*





430

THE VANDALS ARRIVE!

*The Vandal church of
Henchir El-Gousset
(Thelepte, Kasserine).
An inscription found on
the site (housed in Sheitla
Museum) dates the
monument to the 26th
year of the reign of
Thrasamund (521-22).*

At the end of the 4th century, the Roman Empire was becoming more unstable due to the invasions coming from Eastern Europe. To better understand the situation, in 395 Emperor Theodosius believed it a good idea to divide the remaining empire between the East and the West. But if the eastern capital, Constantinople, would be well defended for centuries, Rome was no longer a safe place for the Western emperor, who would seek refuge in Ravenna in 402. These events would hasten the end of the true Roman era in Africa. After the pillage of Rome in 410 by the



Visigoths under Alaric, some senators would take refuge in Ravenna. The illusion of an empire that continues is maintained by qualifying Carthage as the *new Rome*. But one can't escape fate : invasion by the Vandals advanced quickly via the Iberian Peninsula and the southern coasts of the western Mediterranean. Africa was invaded, one area after another between 410 and 455, and it would cease to be an empire within a century.



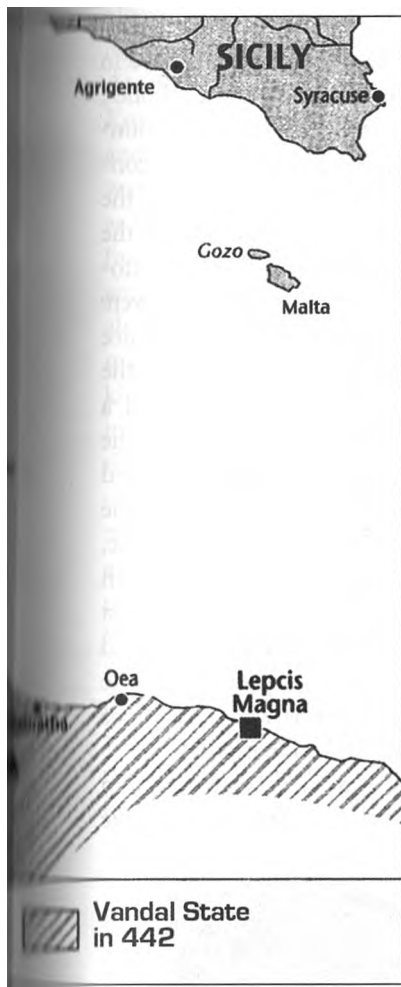
Coin issued in Carthage depicting the Vandal king Genseric (427—77).

The Vandals decided to find a place to settle. A mass of 80,000 men, women and children would cross the strait at the Pillars of Hercules to find fertile land. We have to believe that they did not find it immediately, because they headed east, passing through *Mauretania Tingitana* (northern Morocco) to *Mauretania Caesariensis* (central Algeria), facing many struggles. They arrived in the region of Setif, and after their struggle, they were offered a place to live in Numidia (eastern Algeria) by what was still referred to as the Roman power. Infighting by the Romans started to weaken their power in Africa with, among other events, the rebellion of Count Boniface, who was condemned. He was subsequently recalled because he was the only one judged to be capable of handling the situation. Keep in mind that the Vandals had laid siege to Bona in 430 (the year of St Augustine's death). Negotiations about Bona led to the conclusion of a treaty in 435 which authorised the Vandals' settlement in Africa. But the Vandals wanted the more fertile territory of Africa and especially that of *Zeugitana*, that is, northern Tunisia. In 455 they achieved their goal of ending Roman power and occupying the former territory of Punic Carthage. Again, the pendulum of history swings in reverse.



Map of the Vandal state in the mid-5th century. (Based on Christophe Hugoniot, Rome en Afrique. De la Chute de Carthage aux Debuts de la Conquete Arabe, Paris, Flammarion, 2000.)

For forty-two years the Vandals were ruled by a chief of great stature, King Genseric. He took them where they wanted to go ; to a hospitable land. But the sweet life of Africa would bring an end to what made them who they were. Here were the Vandals with their “barbarian” reputation learning Latin, adopting Roman customs and running the country with their people becoming part of the melting pot. Numerous mixed marriages



*Vandal horseman,
5th century. Mosaic
discovered in Borj Jedid,
Carthage. British
Museum, London.*

inevitably contributed. Genseric would die in 477, and his heirs had neither his character nor his energy. His son, Huneric, ruled until 484, more or less following the example of his father. But Gunthamund (484-96) was weak-willed. Thrasamund (496-523) gave some shine to his reign with his culture and his artistic sense, contradicting the widespread image in Europe spread by Catholic monks of the Vandals being uncultivated and

destructive. In reality, these barbarians were Christian, but Arianist, followers of Arius, who did not believe in the divinity of Christ and were hated by the Catholics, who formed the majority of the Christians in the country. The Catholics had struggled to reunite after the conflicts with the Donatists, the Manicheans and the Circumcellions, not to mention the fights against the Pagans who they tried to eliminate from Africa altogether. So under the Vandal regime, two clergeries were opposed, neither willing to yield. Thus, the difference between the Vandals, who were fighting every day in the course of their long march across Europe to find a homeland, and their heirs, who had settled in the African haven, was huge. The Vandal kingdom reprised Punic ambitions : they equipped a navy, took over the islands in the western Mediterranean, invaded Rome, raided the Greek coasts and concluded a treaty with Byzantium in 376. To properly spearhead an expansionist policy on the African continent and overseas, they needed good administration, resources and support among the population. The permanent civil war between Christians would not serve the objectives of the kingdom.

Hilderic, ascending to power in 523, tried to put an end to the religious conflict by favouring the Catholic

*Left to right:
Coin issued in Carthage,
the Vandal king
Gunthamund (484—496).
Coin (deanarius) issued
in Carthage, the Vandal
king Thrasamund
(496-523).*



clergy. Accused of treason by his own nobility, he was dethroned and replaced by his cousin, Gelimer, in 530. At the beginning of the sixth century, the Roman Empire in the east took up the torch of imperial unity and tried from Byzantium to regain Africa. The timing was right. The Vandals had practised the same policies as their predecessors : to reinforce their army, they drew from the limitless Berber resources. They made alliances with some and fought others. They raised taxes on the already impoverished and defiant communities. They made harsh enemies of the people in the south. Their kingdom was weakened by the expansionist policies and internal instability. Finally, they no longer had to face the dying Roman Empire in the west, but a new force coming from the east. Gelimer succeeded in holding off two Byzantine expeditions. General Belisarius, dispatched by Emperor Justinian, took a lesson from the failures and succeeded in surprising the Vandal authorities. When he landed at the Sahel, while they were waiting for him in Carthage, the Vandal navy was in Sardinia. Called to the rescue, they would not arrive in time. Belisarius claimed victory and thus put an end to Vandal rule in 534. Emperor Justinian took Africa as a personal fiefdom for himself and Empress Theodora.

Left to right:

Coin issued in Carthage, the Vandal king Hilderic (523-530).

Coin (deanarius) issued in Carthage, the Vandal king Gelimer (530-533).



533

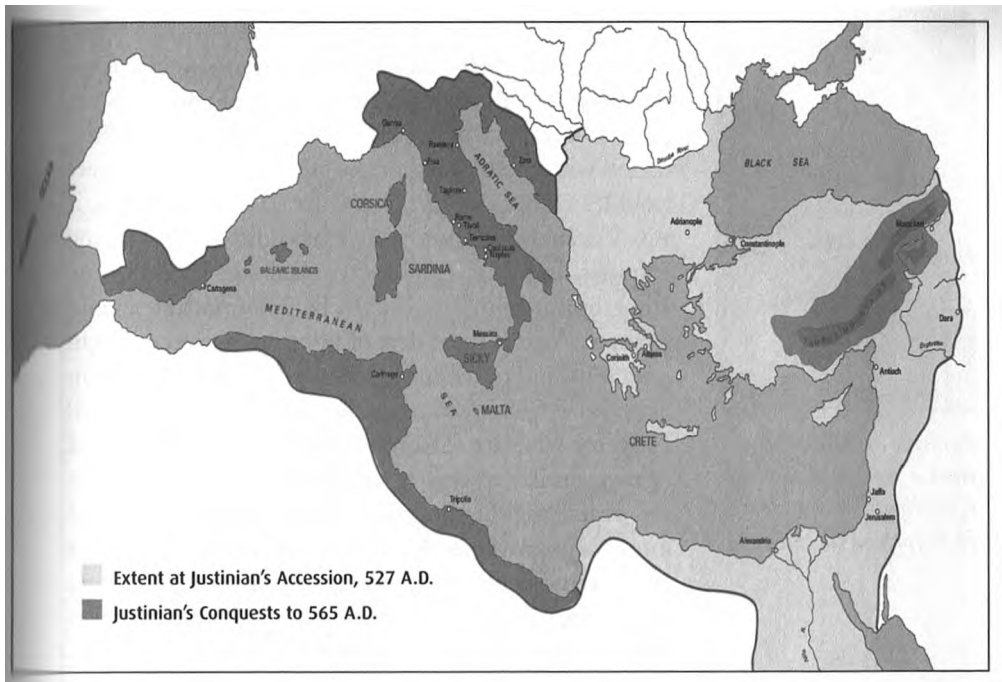
BIZANTIUM IN AFRICA: CONTRASTS

*The Byzantine fortress
of Limisa (Ksar Lemsā)
in the Oueslatia region,
6th century.*

*The best-preserved
defensive structure from
the Byzantine period in
Tunisia.*

The century referred to as Byzantine began in 534 and did not have a single domineering characteristic. Looking back, it appears to be distinguished by the construction of monuments, temples, cities, fortresses, ramparts and basilicas that show a bright civilisation. But behind these spectacular achievements, there is evidence, at the ruins of Sufetula and other places, of the instability of a regime and a country that was paving the way for an Arab invasion.





The success of Belisarius' expedition not only reconquered Africa for the Roman Empire in the east, but it also assured the triumph of the Catholic clergy and set off a rush to hunt down the Arianists, confiscate their churches and their possessions and eliminate their clergy. This repression was encouraged by Empress Theodora, a passionate Catholic. The defeated Vandals were sent into slavery when they were not able to flee elsewhere. Their women were given to the victorious army officers who in their turn, began to demand the former possessions of their wives until they were satisfied. Berber revolts that had begun at the end of the Vandal era increased in intensity, notably in Byzacena and Tripolitania, from 534 to 539 and from 544 to 546. Mutinies in the army and a rekindling of the Vandal flame in the region of Aures added to the complexity of the situation.

Justinian's empire extends to the western Mediterranean.



*Portrait of Belisarius
from a mosaic in the
Church of San Vitale
in Ravenna (detail).*

*Theodora, mosaic in
the Church of San Vitale
in Ravenna (detail).*

Emperor Justinian, as mentioned earlier, had taken Africa for his fiefdom. He managed it directly from the start. He chose the most fertile land and the best-located terrain. Many cities added *Justiniana* to their names with the blessing of the emperor. But there were troubles complicating the picture. After Belisarius, it was General Salomon who « brought peace » to the country, but the troubles continued. In 548, the emperor put John Troglita in charge of putting an end to them. After a great deal of fighting, he succeeded in reestablishing peace for fifteen years. Justinian died in 565 and Africa once again became a public domain. Emperor Maurice (582-602) created the Exarchate of Africa, similar to that of Ravenna, in order to govern the entire region. But this region had been divided into many provinces for a long time, and the Exarch entered into conflict with the governors of these former provinces, as was the case with Gregory the Patrician in 646. He broke with Emperor Heraclius (610-41) —



*Opposite page:
Emperor Justinian.
Same mosaic as
Belisarius above.*





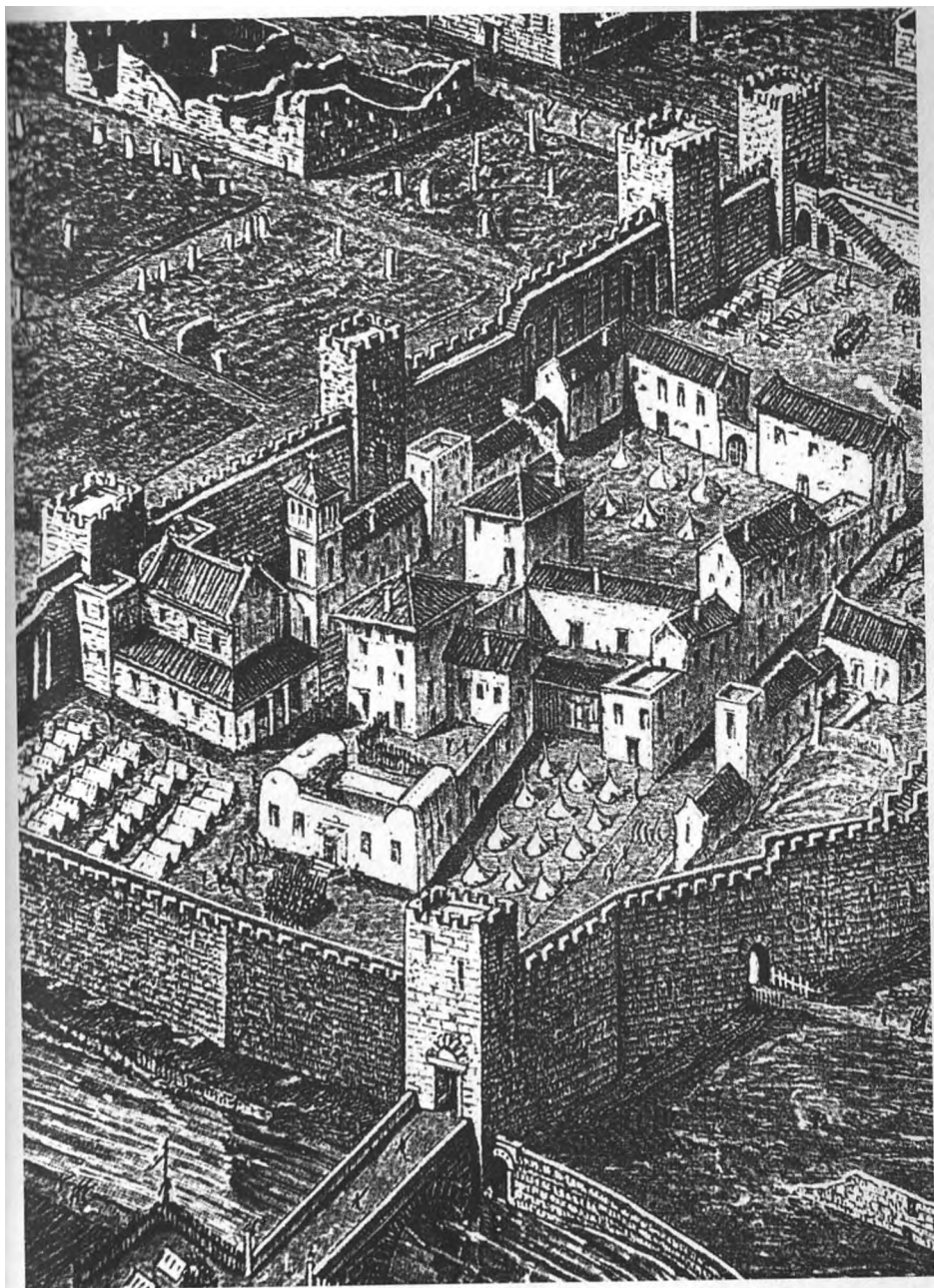
*Coin in the name of
Heraclius (610-641).*

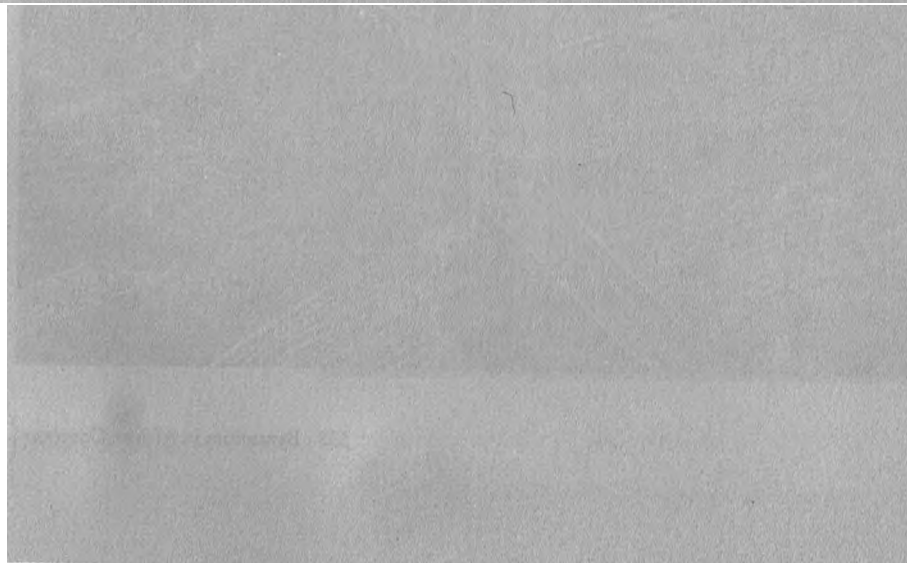
the *Hiraql*, well-known in Arab chronicles - who had been the Bishop of Carthage before going to Constantinople to unseat Phocas, who had usurped the throne. Heraclius therefore knew Africa and had his point of view on how to administer it. Opposing Heraclius, Gregory also sought to bring back the western empire. He proclaimed himself Emperor of Africa, and chose Sufetula (Sbeitla), which was far from the coasts, as a capital in order to better keep an eye on Berber movements coming from the western plains and the Aures Mountains. It was a poor choice on his part because the Arabs arrived from the east and on land, and he would die in the course of the first great clash ! However, the invasion would not succeed the first time and the Byzantine and Berber resistance would continue until the next destruction of Carthage (698) and until the death of the famous *Kahina* (701).

The Byzantines erected a stone 'wall around the triumphal arch from the Roman period at Haidra (Ammaedara), converting it into a fortress.

*Opposite page :
The Byzantine fortress
at Haidra (detail) based
on a reconstruction by
Henri Saladin.*







II. THE ARAB CONQUESTS AT THE END OF THE HAFSID DYNASTY

647/705

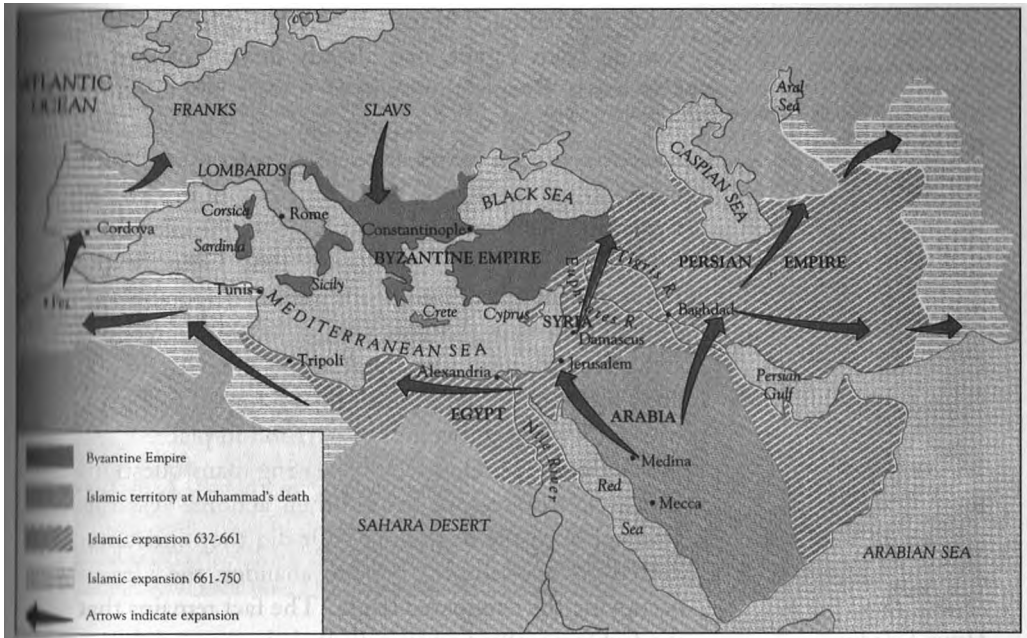
THE ARAB WORLD DISCOVERS *IFRIQIYA*

Omayyad coin minted during the reign of Muawiyah. The figure is directly inspired by the Sassanid model from Iran, to which is appended in Arabic the basmala. Following the assassination of Ali IbnAbi Talib, Muawiya became head of the Muslim community and made Damascus the capital of the embryonic empire.



For Arab historiography, the arrival of Muslims in Africa, the “opening” of *Ifriqiya*, in Arabic *Fath Ifriqiya* represents Africa’s entry into history. One thousand, seven hundred and fifty years had passed since Utica was founded, the centuries of Carthage and Rome, not to mention the thousands of years of pre-history before that. They were summarised in a few lines by those authors who wanted to show their knowledge. The narrative unfolds like a film shot from the point of view of the conquerors who came from the East. There is little information about what they faced. The country was being slowly eaten away by its problems : revolts against taxes, a Byzantine administration that had issues in its dealings with the Berbers, and conflicts between local authorities and the Court of Byzance.

The country was no longer a strong, structured state and could be an easy target. There had been, however, some real resistance until the society fell apart. The Arabs ignored it. This was ignorance that was not only the fault of those recording the stories later, but also of the conquerors themselves, and that would be the cause of all the difficulties they would face in their undertaking. To this day, it isn’t unusual to meet educated people who do not know that it took more than fifty years to install Arab power in *Ifriqiya*, generations



The expansion of Islam

to obtain the objective of overall Islamisation, and centuries to assure Arabisation in the region. Perhaps this ignorance is due in part to the ease with which the Muslims from Arabia conquered the neighbouring regions in the Orient. But they knew those regions intimately, having worked with them for a long time, with both commercial and cultural ties.

That said, it doesn't mean there wasn't a zeal on the part of ardent believers wanting to enlist, or that fighters were not interested in finding their place in Paradise, when conquering Africa, or fighting in Iberia or Gaul. It was in 647 that the *Ghazanvat*, part of the expedition of the "Seven Abd-Allahs", was organised. The chroniclers named it that because a number of the Prophet's companions participated, seven of whom had the first name Abd-Allah, and who were headed by their Commander-in-Chief Abd-Allah Ibn Abi-Sarh, brother of the Caliph prac-

tising at Medina, ‘Uthman Ibn ‘Affan. The Muslims, coming from Egypt, had already driven forward to Cyrenaica. Twenty thousand men were mobilised for this new “window of opportunity” in the West. We have little precise information about their route. What we do know is that the great confrontation with the Byzantine army took place at ‘Ogoba, 80 kilometres from Sbeitla, and it was here that Gregory the Patrician was killed. The Arabs won an irrefutable victory. They sent *saraya* (columns) in different directions and agreed to truces with the residents in return for 300 units (quintars) of gold. They then returned to Egypt, without leaving a governor or garrison in place.

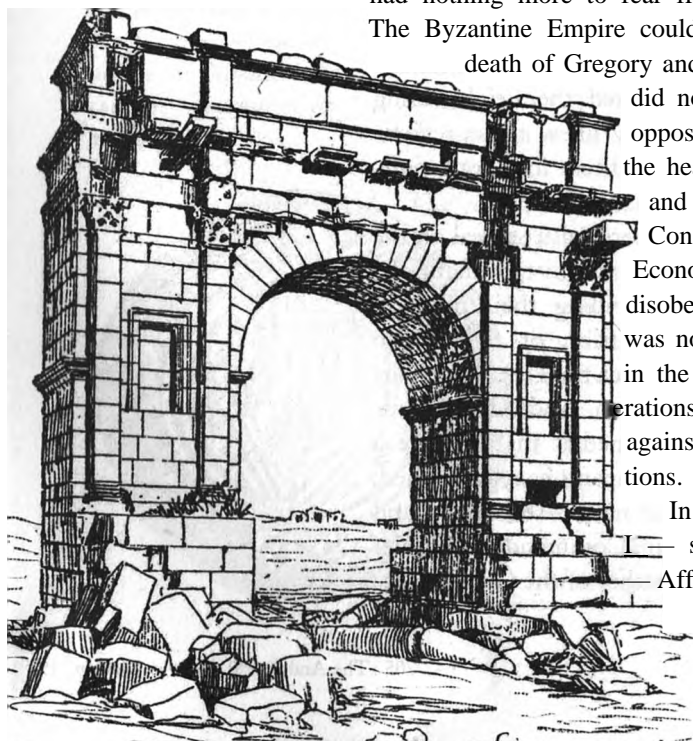
Thus it was a hollow victory, leaving many questions about the true reasons behind their actions. Was this planned from the beginning ? Or did they encounter difficulties that forced them to abandon the idea of occupying the conquered lands ? The fact remains that the fighters walked away with their booty, and Africa had nothing more to fear from the Arabs until 665. The Byzantine Empire could have profited from the death of Gregory and reorganised Africa. This

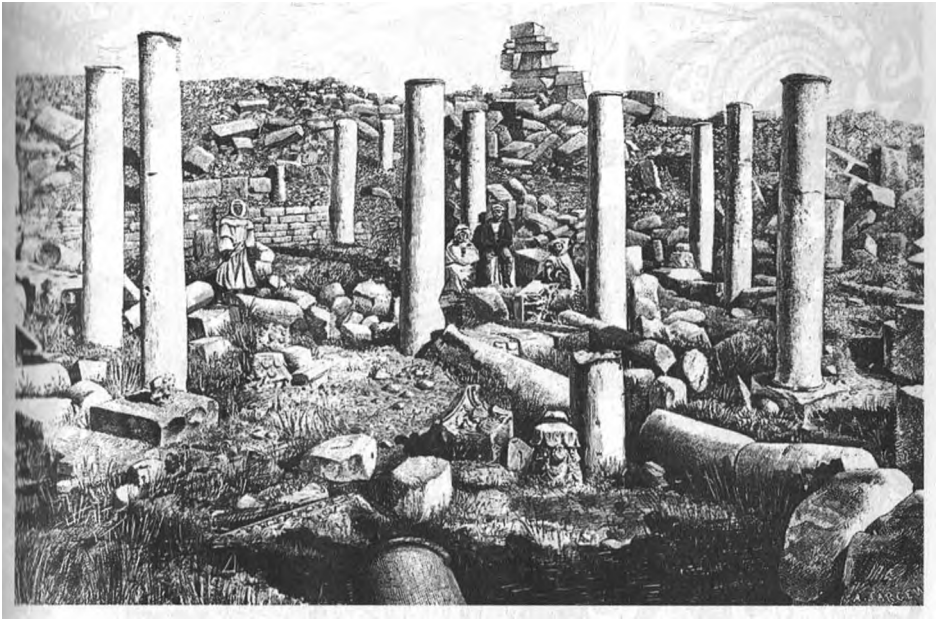
did not happen because of the opposition between Maximus, the head of the African Church and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine II Heraclius.

Economic pressures led to civil disobedience and the country was no longer governed. It was in the hands of Berber confederations that were dissenting against local urban organisations.

In addition, on the Arab side, Caliph Uthman Ibn Affan was assassinated in

Arch of Diocletian at Sbeitla. Drawing by Henri Saladin.





656 and the Muslim community found themselves caught up in the turmoil of a civil war that would change the course of history. Ibn Affan's successor, Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, was challenged by the Banu Umayya tribe whose leader was Muawiyah Ibn Abi-Sufyan, and assassinated in 660 by former supporters turned dissenters (*Khawarij*). The playing field was open for Muawiyah to head the Muslim people, and he made Damascus the capital of this empire-in-the-making. His Umayyad dynasty ruled for 90 years. In 665, the Byzantine military chief in Africa, Gennadius, clashed with his emperor who pitted another general, Areton, against him. Gennadius went straight to Damascus to ask for help. The route to *Ifriqiya* seemed to be open for the Arab troops and Muawiyah entrusted an army of 10,000 men to Ibn Hudayj, whose first name was also Muawiyah, for a new expedition to the West. Muawiyah Ibn Hudayj army gained reinforcements

*Ogba, near Sbiba.
Engraving from 1885.
The clash with the
Byzantine army took
place eighty kilometres
from Sbeitla at 'Ogoba,
where Gregory the
Patrician met his end.*





The legend of the Muslim conquest of Tunisia has spread across the centuries and survived in folk art until recently. The protagonists are named on this 19th century reverse glass painting from Sfax.

Left: Count Gregory, the Jirjir of Arab historians, designated here by the name Batriq ; his daughter Aminah is on horseback behind Abd Allah Ibn Jafar ; opposite are "Sayidna" 'Uqba (Ibn Nafi) and the horse of Abu 'Ubayda.

*Overleaf:
Gold dinar from the first Muslim or pseudo-Byzantine period, probably issued in Ifriqiya circa 695-705. On the obverse, two imperial busts based on Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine II. On the reverse side, the profession of Muslim faith (the Shahada) in Latin.*



*Opposite page:
The colonial school in both Algeria and Tunisia sought to highlight episodes in the Muslim conquest of North Africa, underlining the struggle of the indigenous Berbers against the Arabs. The independence school, by contrast, insisted on relativising or ignoring the same period. The truth lies, no doubt, somewhere in between. Document taken from Histoire de France et d'Algerie. Cours Moyen et Supérieur by Bonnefin and Marchand, Paris, Hachette, 1950.*

from Cyrenaica's garrison, led by men we will encounter later on : 'Uqba Ibn Nafi and his brother Abdallah. With the complicity of Gennadius, Muawiyah went to Africa, settling at Qamounia, which is where Kairouan would be built. Then the island of Jerba was taken. The objectives of the whole expedition seemed to be to strengthen the dissident Byzantine chief and weaken the power of Byzance, and in 666, Muawiyah Ibn Hudayj returned to Egypt with his spoils. It was only four years later that 'Uqba returned to Africa with the intention of staying. In 670 he settled in Qamounia and founded Kairouan. Located in the centre of the country in the plains, it suited the Arab horsemen and would serve as a base for all their expeditions. The Arab chief avoided all confrontations with the Byzantines and directed Arab actions towards the Berbers, who they wanted to subdue and convert. They did not succeed. The Amazigh resistance became fiercer and fiercer. The chief should have learned a lesson. The governor of Egypt on whom the expedition depended recalled 'Uqba in 675 and replaced him with Abu-l-Muhaijer, who practised

◀ OBSERVONS ▶



1. Sidi Okba arrive au bord de l'océan Atlantique.

Cette scène se déroule près de la ville actuelle de Tanger. Montrons le chef arabe Sidi Okba. Que fait-il ? Qu'expriment son attitude et le geste qu'il fait ? Décrivons les guerriers qui l'accompagnent. A quoi voyons-nous qu'ils sont musulmans ? Regardons, à droite de la gravure, Koccilah, un chef berbère fait prisonnier par Sidi Okba.

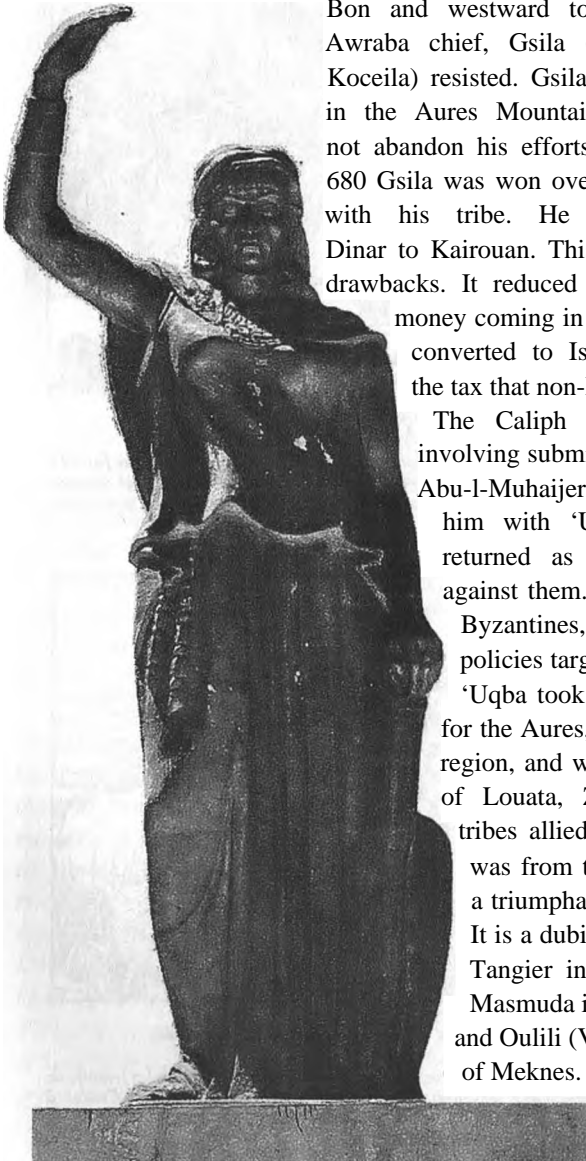


2. La Kahina demande aux Berbères de lutter contre les Arabes.

Regardons la Kahina. Décrivons ses vêtements, les mêmes que portent encore de nos jours les femmes de l'Aurès. Que fait-elle ? A quoi voyons-nous que ses auditeurs acceptent avec enthousiasme de l'aider à lutter contre les musulmans ? Comment les partisans de la Kahina sont-ils armés ? Décrivons le paysage et les maisons du village.

politics and arbitration with the Berbers and encouraged those who were ready to cooperate. He succeeded in large measure and advanced to Carthage, Cap Bon and westward to Mila (in Algeria). But the Awraba chief, Gsila (who the Arabs often called Koceila) resisted. Gsila was defeated and took refuge in the Aures Mountains. Abu-l-Muhaijer Dinar did not abandon his efforts at politics and arbitration. In 680 Gsila was won over and converted to Islam along with his tribe. He accompanied Abu-l-Muhaijer Dinar to Kairouan. This policy of conciliation had its drawbacks. It reduced the spoils and the amount of money coming in for the empire, since those who converted to Islam no longer paid the *jizya*, the tax that non-Muslims were subjected to.

The Caliph Yazid favoured an approach involving submission and taxation. He removed Abu-l-Muhaijer from his duties and replaced him with 'Uqba. The repressive policies returned as did the Berber insurrections against them. Gsila took up arms, as did the Byzantines, who understood that the new policies targeted them for the same reasons. 'Uqba took charge of 10,000 men, headed for the Aures, then towards Msila, in the Zab region, and won a victory against a coalition of Louata, Zenata and Meknassa Berber tribes allied with the Tiaret Byzantines. It was from this that the legend was born of a triumphant march to the Atlantic Ocean. It is a dubious legend, because it mentions Tangier in the north, in the land of the Masmuda in the High Atlas Mountains, and Oulili (Volubilis), which is in the region of Meknes. It could have been an imaginary reconstitution long after the discovery of the Moroccan

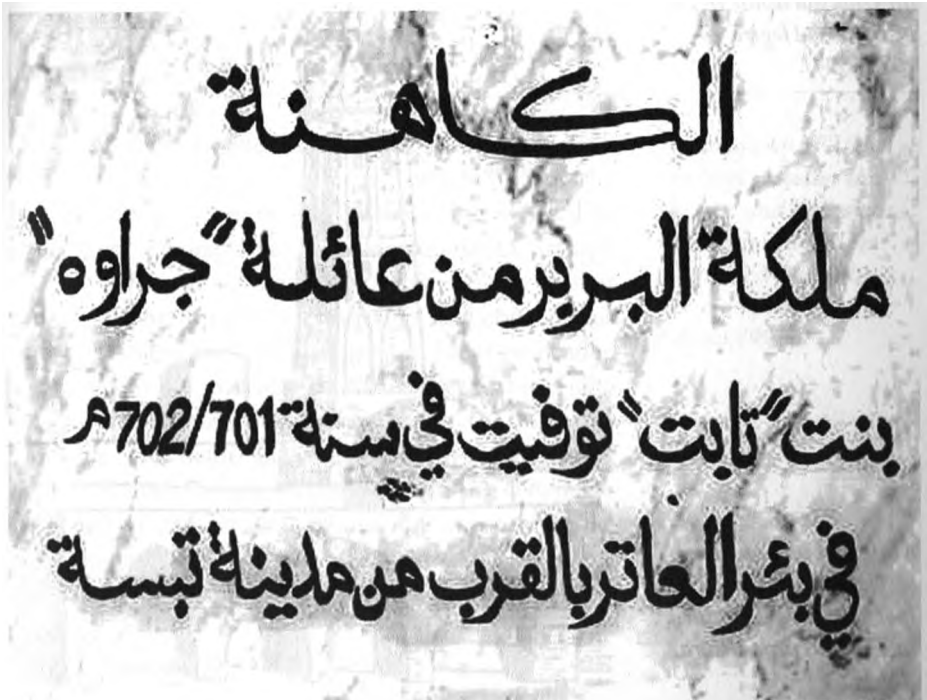


heartland, because the legend does not mention any places in Algeria beyond Zab.

Nonetheless, we must admit that 'Uqba was behind the Arab power in *Ifriqiya*. The year 684 represented a turning point : the Byzantines understood that 'Uqba's policies did not respect the agreement they had reached with the Arabs. So, they decided to ally themselves with the Berbers. This is the backdrop for the raid mounted by Gsila and his allies against 'Uqba while en route for Kairouan. 'Uqba died at Tahouda, near Biskra in the southern Aures. Abu-l-Muhajir, who had not left the country, also died. Gsila settled in Kairouan as the Berber king and the Byzantines regained Zab.

The Caliphate in Damascus would not stand for this defeat. In 688 Abd-al-Malik Ibn Marwan

Monument dedicated to Kahina at the entrance to the town of Baghai in the Aures, Algeria. Nearby, in the Meskiana valley to the west of Tebessa, Hassan Ibn al-Numan was defeated in 694 by the Berber troops led by Dahya, daughter of Tabeta, son of Tifan, chief of the Jrawa, dubbed "Kahina" (priestess or soothsayer) by the Arabs and recognised by her people as Queen of the Aures. Hassan was to triumph over Kahina in 701 in the battle of Boj Ghedir.



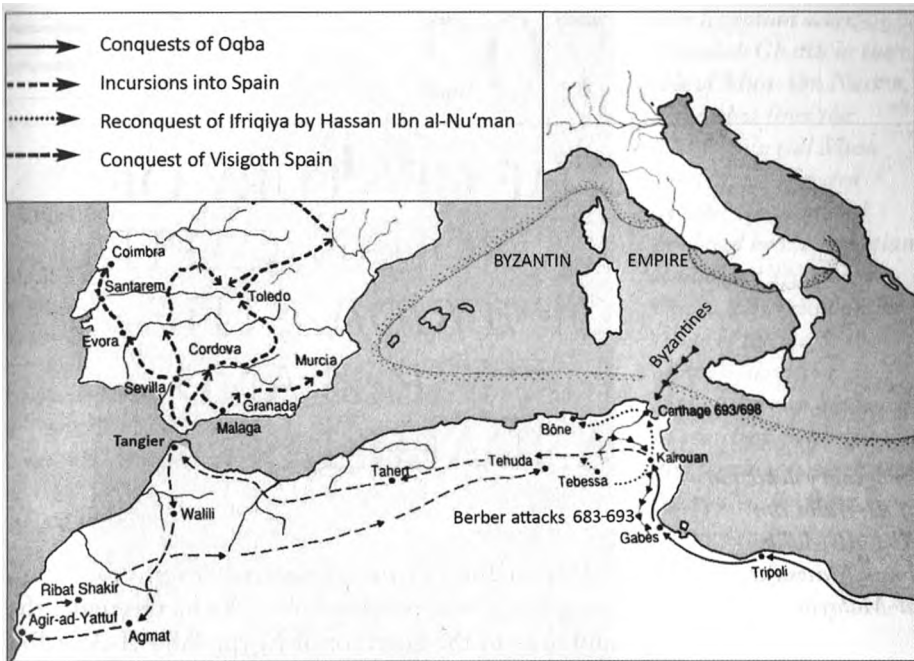


Effigy depicting Abd-Al-Malik Ibn Marwan on an Umayyad dinar in the year of the Hegira 74 (693-694).

entrusted his brother Abd-al-Aziz, governor of Egypt, with affairs in what we now call the Maghreb, and Zuhayr Ibn Qays Al-Balawi was charged with regaining Kairouan. Gsila retreated to Sbeitla, near which he died in battle. The Byzantines led an unsuccessful raid on Cyrenaica. In 693, Abd-Al-Malik Ibn Marwan decided to take charge of affairs in the Maghreb. He built an army of 40,000 men, giving command to Hassan Ibn Numan Al-Ghassani. This is when the true conquest of *Ifriqiya* took place. The Arabs came to power in the Maghreb, Kairouan, Carthage, Mateur and Bizerte in 694, staking their claim after Hassan's victories. He suffered defeat the same year at the hands of Berber troops led by Dahya



Mosque and mausoleum of Uqba Ibn Naff on the spot where he was killed in Tehuda, near Biskra, Algeria.

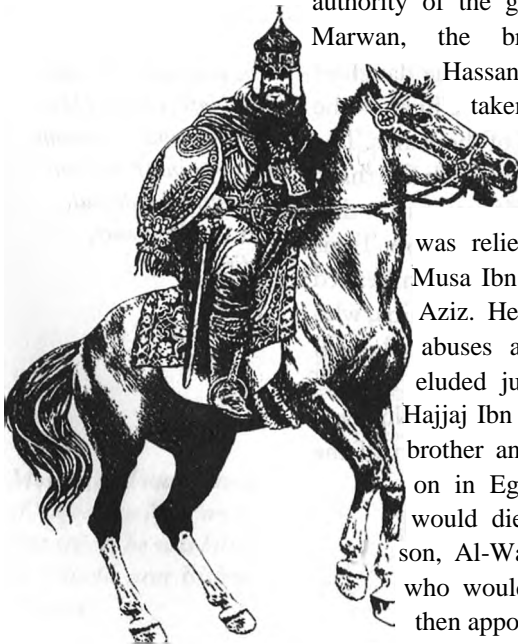


(named Kahina by the Arabs). She was the daughter of Tabeta, the son of Tifan, who was Chief of the Jrawa, and was recognised as Queen of the Aures. The Byzantines regained Carthage. Hassan took Carthage back in 698 and destroyed its fortifications so that they would no longer serve as refuge and chose Tunis as the capital of the northern region. He then headed southwest in 701 and was victorious over Kahina, who died in the battle of Borj Ghedir in the Algerian Hodhna. He made peace by making hostages of 12,000 Berber troops. After Hassan Ibn Nu'man's victories, we can say that *Ifriqiya* became part of the Arab domain.

The conquests of Ukba Ibn Nafi', Hassan Ibn Nu'man and incursions into Spain. (Based on Maghreb Medieval, Aix-en-Provence, Edisud 1991.)

THE CENTURY OF KAIROUAN, CAPITAL OF *IFRIQIYA*, THE MAGHREB AND ANDALUSIA

*Imaginary depiction
of Al- Walid Ibn
Abd-Al-Malik.
From Mausū'at
al-Malayin.*



Hassan Ibn Nu'man conquered *Ifriqiya* for Islam, but was not well rewarded for it. So he was under the authority of the governor of Egypt, Abd-al-Aziz Ibn Marwan, the brother of Caliph Abd-al-Malik.

Hassan sent a good portion of the bounty taken from *Ifriqiya* directly to Damascus and offered the other part to Abd-al-Aziz, who was not happy with the decision. So Hassan was relieved of his duties and replaced by Musa Ibn Nusayr, who was closer to Abd-al-Aziz. He was known in Basra for his fiscal abuses and misappropriation of funds. He eluded justice and sanctions by the famous Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf and owed this to the Caliph's brother and crown prince, who he had called on in Egypt for counsel. The crown prince would die before the Caliph and it was his son, Al-Walid Ibn Abd-al-Malik Ibn Marwan, who would become Caliph in Damascus. He then appointed Musa governor of *Ifriqiya*.



The Egyptian actor Abdullah Ghaith in the role of Musa Ibn Nusayr. Screenshot from the television serial Musa Ibn Nusayr, directed by Jalel Ghanim and produced by the Egyptian Radio and Television Union. Historical drama is one of the major themes of Arab television, intended for an audience in search of an identity and passionate about the "glories" of the past.

Governments were changing in Africa, but regionally, policies continued as if the Arabs were the direct heirs of the Punics. Hassan had sent an armed expedition to Sardinia. Musa did the same for Sicily. To better control this new area, the Arabs separated *Ifriqiya* from Egypt administratively so that it reported directly to Damascus.

Musa quickly proved his capabilities. He attacked the Casbah of Zaghuan, fought a coalition of the Berber tribes of Sanhaja, Kutamas, Hawara and Zenata in Tunisia and in eastern Algeria. He sent his son Marwan to the region of Sous in Morocco and his lieutenant, Zara¹ Ibn Mubarak, against the Masmuda in the High Atlas Mountains. He sent a new expedi-

*Overleaf:
Two engravings representing Witiza, King of the Visigoths, and Duke Rodrigo, rival of Akhila (the son of Witiza) and ally of the Arabs for regaining the crown.*



LAM^e 34

WITIZA

TRIGÉSIMO CUARTO REY DE LOS GODOS
ENTRÓ Á REYNAR POR ASOCIACION CON
SU PADRE EN EL AÑO DE CHRISTO 697.
REYNÓ 15 AÑOS HASTA EL DE 711
EN QUE MURIÓ.

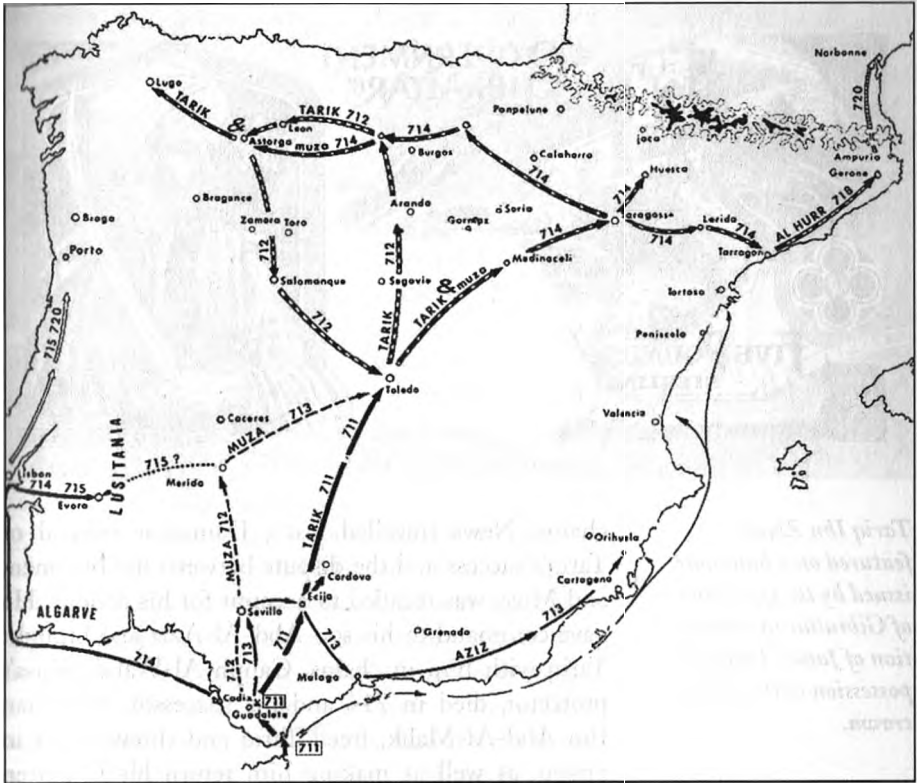


FLAVIUS RVDERICVS

Cum Sultana et Elio Witege fides, ad eius imperatorem suum essent;
RVDERICVS ex Thierogredia Chudarwendi Regis Nepos Rex electus;
et Witege personam, uirum cum Iulian Comiti filium uolueret, tanto
in Patria quoniam debet ut faceret in Hispania peruenit, ex
Africa euacare non dubitauerit. Venereunt Mauri, Mura et Targio
Ducibus Hispanique oppugnati, commisso tandem certamine Raderi;
cum profugerent an 711, qui amara deinde spoliatus, se profugit.

tion to Sardinia in 707. The next year, he took charge of an expedition to Tangier where he handed over command first to his son, Marwan and then Tariq Ibn Ziyad, a converted Berber chief who had proven his skills as a warrior during the pacification.

History looked favourably on the Muslims. In 708, the Visigoth King Witiza (the Arabs called him Ghitisha) died. His son, Akhila (*Waqila* in Arabic), was removed from succession and replaced by Duke Rodrigo, the choice of both the Catholic clergy and nobility in southern Spain. A conflict ensued whereby Count Julian, the Governor of Ceuta, contacted Musa Ibn Nusayr to support *Ifriqiya*. The Arabs approved and sent Tarif Ibn Malik Al-Muafiri, who crossed the strait (called the Zuqaq by the Arabs), and landed at a place that would henceforth bear his name : *Tarifa*. He then ravaged the region with Akhila's consent, advancing to Algeciras and returning to Tangier with the spoils and treasures of war. This first expedition took place in accord with the dissenting Visigoths and opened the possibility of an operation on a wider scale. The Muslim command prepared in Tangier and Kairouan. In 711, Tariq Ibn Ziyad crossed the strait that would later become Gibraltar (a contraction of *Jabal-Tariq*) with 12,000 men, heading towards Algeciras, and they won a decisive victory at Guadalete



(Wad-al-Lakka) near Sidonia (Shadhuna), west of Cadiz. He was either intoxicated by his success or wanted to highlight this entirely Berber action, and he advanced in spite of Musa's decree against it. Tariq advanced towards Ecija (Istija), Cordoba and Toledo, winning victories and treasures. Musa Ibn Nusayr for his part, left in 712 with 18,000 men, passing through Seville and Merida, only catching up with Tariq at Toledo on the Tagus in 713. One only needs to look at a map of Spain to see that Tariq succeeded — the southern half of the country was taken by the Berbers in two years — but in the eyes of his superior, he was being insubordinate and was arrested and put in

Detailed map of the Arab conquests of Visigoth Spain. The names are listed according to Spanish usage. Muza : Musa Ibn Nusayr; Tarik : Tariq Ibn Ziyad; Aziz: Abd Al-Aziz Ibn Musa Ibn Nusayr (governor 713—16); and Al Hurr :Al-Hurr Ibn Abd-A r-Rahman Ath-Thaqafi (governor from 716 to 719).



Tariq Ibn Ziyad featured on a banknote issued by the government of Gibraltar (a contraction of Jabal-Tariq), a possession of the British crown.

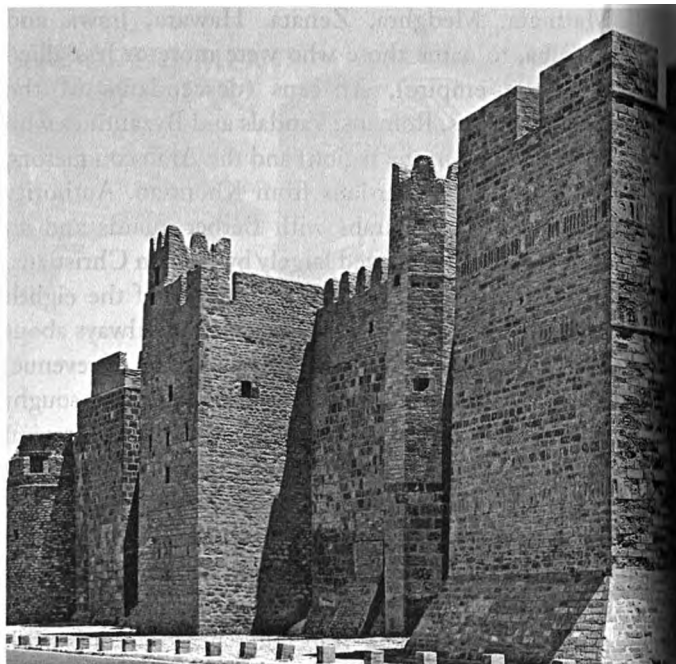
chains. News travelled fast ; Damascus learned of Tariq's success and the dispute between the two men, and Musa was recalled to account for his actions. He gave command to his son Abd-Al-Aziz and brought Tariq with him in chains. Caliph Al-Walid, Musa's protector, died in 714 and his successor, Sulayman Ibn Abd-Al-Malik, freed Tariq and threw Musa in prison, as well as making him return his ill-gotten gains.

The Muslim empire had reached all the way to the Atlantic Ocean. The mix of policies of conciliation and coercion gave the Arabs the support of many Berber tribes. The supportive Berbers put themselves at the service of the new power and bravely served to rein in more defiant tribes. Kairouan was the capital for the region that included the traditional *Ifriqiya* (Roman Africa from Tripoli to Constantine), central Maghreb (Algeria) and the furthest territory (Morocco) as well as the newly conquered Spanish territory called Andalusia. This vast province of the empire, from Tripolitania to Andalusia, included Berbers (Nafusa, Louata, Sanhaja, Nefzawa,

Matmata, Medghra, Zenata, Hawara, Jrawa and Awraba, to name those who were more or less allied with the empire), Africans (descendants of the Libyco-Punics, Romans, Vandals and Byzantines who had remained in the region) and the Arab conquerors, accompanied by Persians from Khorasan. Authority was exercised by Arabs with Berber guards and an administration managed largely by Roman Christians. It remained like this until the middle of the eighth century. The question for Damascus was always about how to maintain this province as a source of revenue, bounty and beautiful Berber slaves - who were sought after for harems - or whether to create a larger region for Islam. At first, it was about controlling monetary exchange. Secondly, they had to encourage proselytising, to convert inhabitants, spread the Arab language and assimilate all of the new Muslims, even if it meant a reduction in government revenue, an end to kidnapping young girls and respecting peace accords with the tribes. Depending on which Caliph sent which governor to Kairouan, one or another of the policies would be implemented. Each time that trouble, insurrections or dissidence are mentioned in the Maghreb or Andalusia, we should try to find out the specific motivations.

In 718 Caliph 'Umar Ibn Abd-Al-Aziz, known for his piety, appointed Ismail Ibn Abd-Allah Ibn Abi-l-Muhajjer as the *Ifriqiyan* governor, a man who practised the politics of conciliation and joining together. In 719, Caliph Yazid appointed Yazid Ibn Abi-Muslim governor. He repressed the Berbers who, in the end, killed him. Bishr Ibn Safwan was sent in his place. He began the conquests again, organising expeditions to Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. The financial results were disappointing. He was recalled and replaced by 'Ubayda Ibn Abd-Arrahman Assalmi. The new governor began persecuting and pressuring

The ribat at Monastir, built in 796 by the governor of Ifriqiya, Harthima Ibn Ayan (795—797) during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph, Harun Ar-Rashid. It was the first major Arab defensive structure in the Maghreb.



the Berbers once again. For the Oriental power, the Maghreb had become a reservoir of financial resources, bounty, courtesans and servants for the aristocracy. Certain of the governor's backers went so far as to give him the profile of women they desired.

From 720 to 752 raids were carried out in Sicily with greater or lesser success. In 735, Governor 'Ubayd-Allah Ibn Al-Habhab was faced with a revolt by Berbers and Africans. In 738 Governor 'Umar Ibn Abd-Allah Al-Muradi decided to impose a *Khumus* (the fifth) tax on the Berbers, which was imposed on all the property of the Muslim community to benefit the Caliph. The Berbers were therefore considered, body and assets, as property of the Umma. The Sofri Kharijites, who were very purist and violent, revolted in Morocco under the leadership of a Medghra



اثار ت بنو مروان فينا ومالنا
 وفي الله ان لم يعدلوا حكم عدل
 كانهم لم يشهدوا لي وقعة
 ولم يعلموا من كان قبل له الفضل
 وقيناكم حر القنا بصدورنا
 وليس لكم خيل سوانا ولا رجل
 فلما بلغت نيل ما قد اردتم
 وطاب لكم فيها المشارب والاكل
 تغافلتم عنا كان لم نكن لكم
 صديقا وانتم ما علمتم لنا وصل

*Poem addressed by
 Abu al-Khattab Ibn
 Safwan, a former
 supporter of Bishr Ibn
 Safwan, to Caliph
 Hisham, lamenting the
 scheming and ingratitude
 of the new governor,
 'Ubay da Ibn Abd-Ar-
 Rahman, and reminding
 him of his own and his
 people's dedication to the
 cause of the Banu
 Marwan (the Umayyads).
 Chroniclers report that
 this message caused the
 fall of 'Ubayda !*

A Byzantine marquee re-used in the Zaytuna Great Mosque. Some sources attribute its foundation to 'Ubayd Allah Ibn al-Habhab.



Egyptian glass weight in the name of 'Ubayd Allah Ibn al-Habhab, governor of Ifriqiya (734-741).

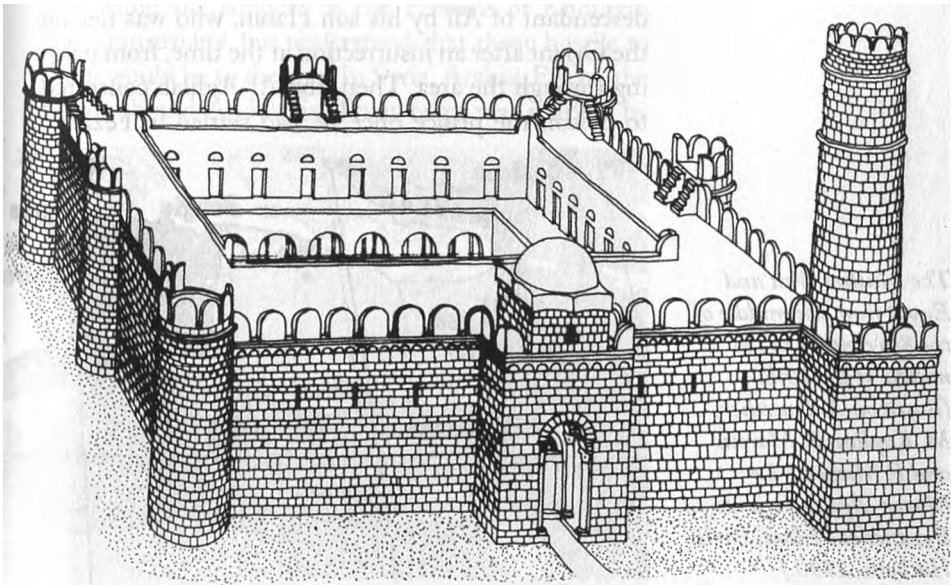


water-carrier who was quickly replaced by Khalid Ibn Hamid Al-Haturi, a Zenata. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of 70,000 men sent by the Arabs on the banks of the Sebou River. The situation became more and more difficult for the central power. In 742, the Arabs were again defeated at Zab (Algeria) but turned the tables in their favour by triumphing over two great Kharijite chiefs, Al-Fazari and Al-Hawari. The following year, the Deputy Governor of Andalusia, Abd-Arrahman Ibn Habib, succeeded in a power grab by landing in *Ifriqiya* and settling in Tunis, obliging Governor Handhala Ibn Safwan to leave the country for Damascus. Caliph Marwan Ibn Muhammad endorsed the change. But with the end of the Caliphate Umayyad from Damascus, Abd-Arrahman gave his allegiance to the

Abbasids of Baghdad. Muslim power in the Maghreb was no longer united. The Sofrite Khawarij of the Berber confederation of the *Warfajuma* took over Kairouan in 755 and put an end to Ibn Habib's dreams of seizing the Maghreb and Andalusia. However, the Khawarij were also divided : the Ibadis from Tripolitania, who were more moderate, drove out the Sofrites, who settled at Sijilmasa in Morocco. In 756 the new kingdom of Umayyade would be created in Andalusia. Omar, founder of the Muhallabi family, was appointed to succeed Governor Ibn Al-Achaath, who had driven the Ibadis from Kairouan in 761 ; he settled in *Ifriqiya* from 768 to 794. In 776, the Khawarij Rustamids, Ibadis from Tripoli, settled first in Kairouan, then in central Algeria. In 788, the Idrisid kingdom was proclaimed in eastern Morocco, supported by the Awraba Berbers. Kairouan was no longer the headquarters for Islam in the West.

Sousse ribat.

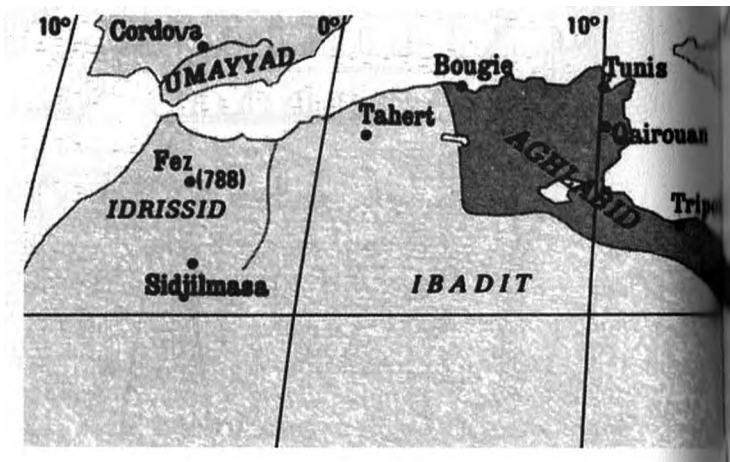
Constructed in the late 8th century under the governor of Ifriqiya, Yazid Ibn Hatim (the tower was built in 821). M.I.T. drawing.



AN AUTONOMOUS KINGDOM : AGHLABID *IFRIQIYA*

The Aghlabid representatives were very familiar with the Maghreb. The first of them, Ibn Salim, succeeded Governor Ibn Al-Ash'ath after his resignation in Kairouan in 765. His son, Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab, was governor of Zab, west of the Aures, and during these troubled times, he tried to keep Prince Idris, a descendant of Ali by his son Hasan, who was fleeing the Orient after an insurrection at the time, from passing through the area. Then, Ibn Al-Aghlab conspired to poison the prince once he had settled in Fez. He

*The Muslim West and Egypt from the middle of the 8th century to the middle of the 10th.
(Based on A. Ducellier, M. Kaplan, B. Martin and E Micheau, Le Moyen-Age en Orient: Byzance et l'Islam, Paris, Hachette, 1990.)*

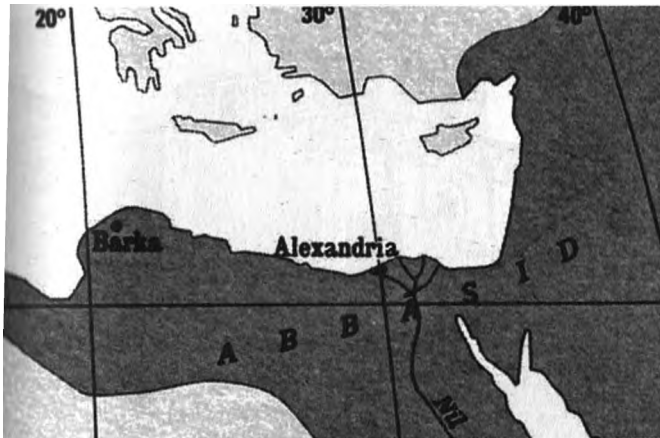




knew how to render himself invaluable to the court of Baghdad. He was named governor of all of *Ifriqiya* and in July 800, the Abbasids granted that his emirate would become hereditary.

Aghlabid dirham issued during the reign of Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab.

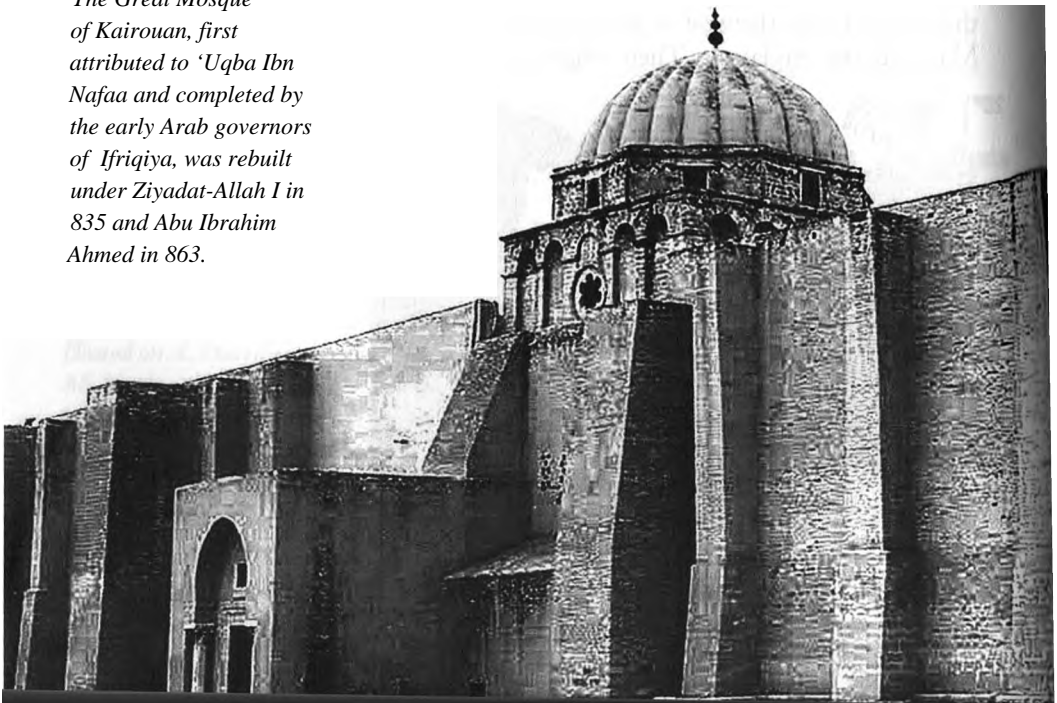
The Abbasids did not take the reins of a monolithic empire. By making Baghdad their capital, they benefited from the support of the Persians of Khorasan and Transoxiana, but understood that those hostile to them would be to the west in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, the Maghreb and Andalusia. Their reign was marked by



Persian cultural influences and the appearance of what one could call *shu'ubiya* or anti-Arab chauvinism. Having a kingdom favourable to the Abbasids in *Ifriqiya* served them well because it was a buffer state between the Kharijites in Algeria and the Idrissides in Morocco, but especially against the Umayyads in Cordoba that the Aghlabids did not hesitate to aggress.

This was the first independent Muslim kingdom in the history of Tunisia. Apart from a formal allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdad, the Aghlabid princes, satisfied with the title of Emir, were independently managing the country and their foreign affairs. However, it was first necessary to bring the country under control, which was not turning out to be easy. Curiously, it wasn't only because the Berbers were resisting, but also because of their own Arab army, with Khuraysh Al-Kindi revolting in Tripoli in 801, another revolt in Tripoli in 805 and a mutiny among the ranks of the entire army in 810. The Sardinian expeditions, no less than five between 807 and 821, did not satisfy the

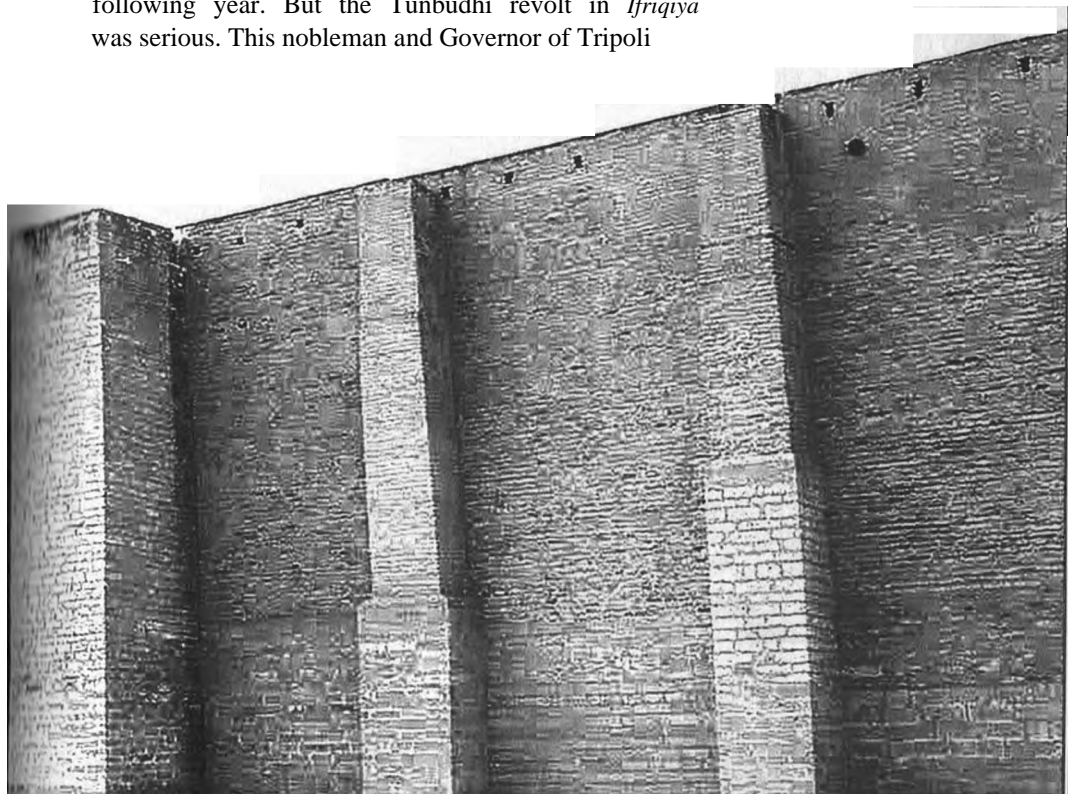
The Great Mosque of Kairouan, first attributed to 'Uqba Ibn Nafaa and completed by the early Arab governors of Ifriqiya, was rebuilt under Ziyadat-Allah I in 835 and Abu Ibrahim Ahmed in 863.



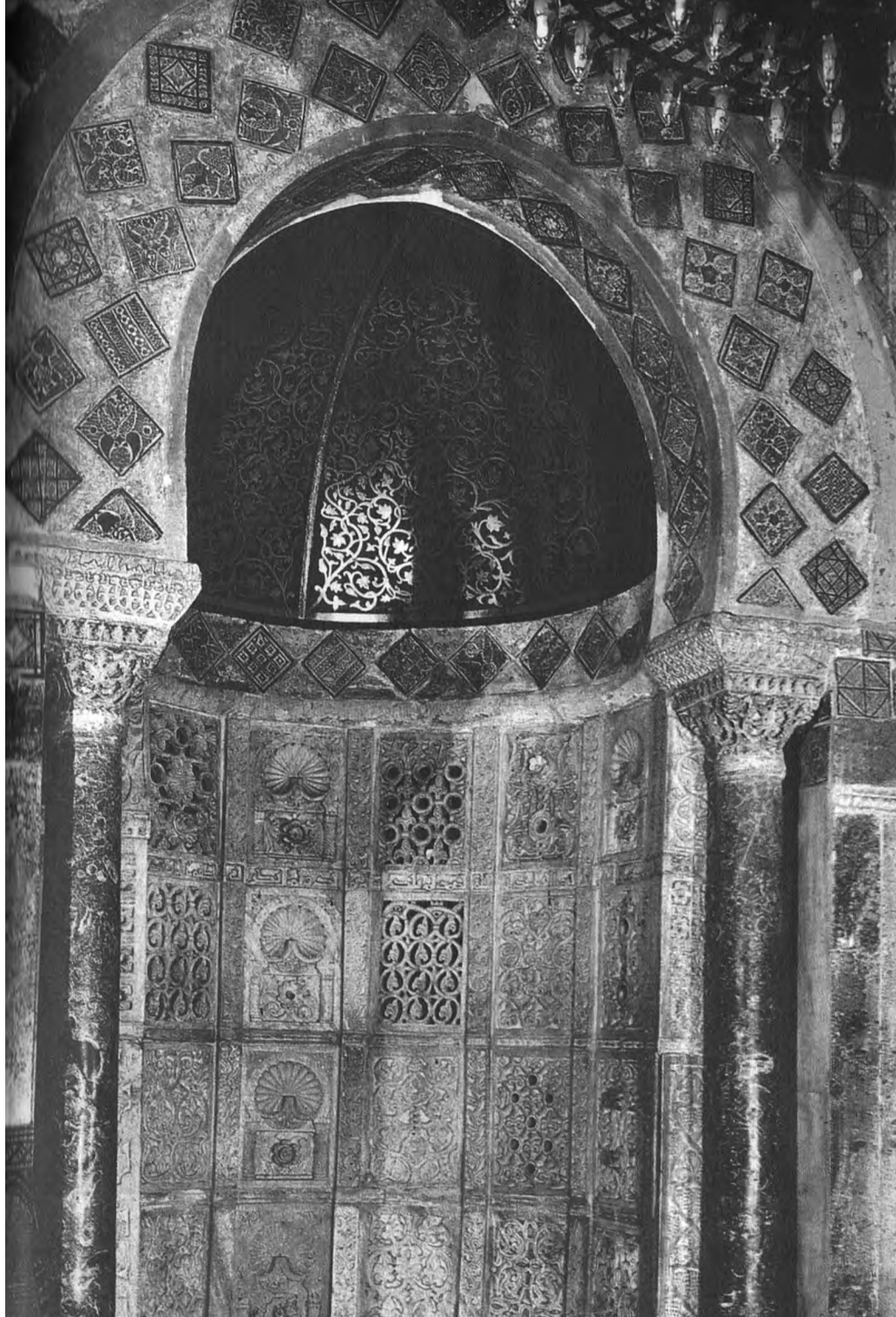
greed of the soldiers and officers. A revolt led by Ziyad Ibn Sahl exploded in Fahs and then another happened in Kasserine in 823, which was more difficult to contain. At the head of this revolt was a nobleman from the Qays tribe, named Mansur Ibn Nasr, also known as Tunbudhi.

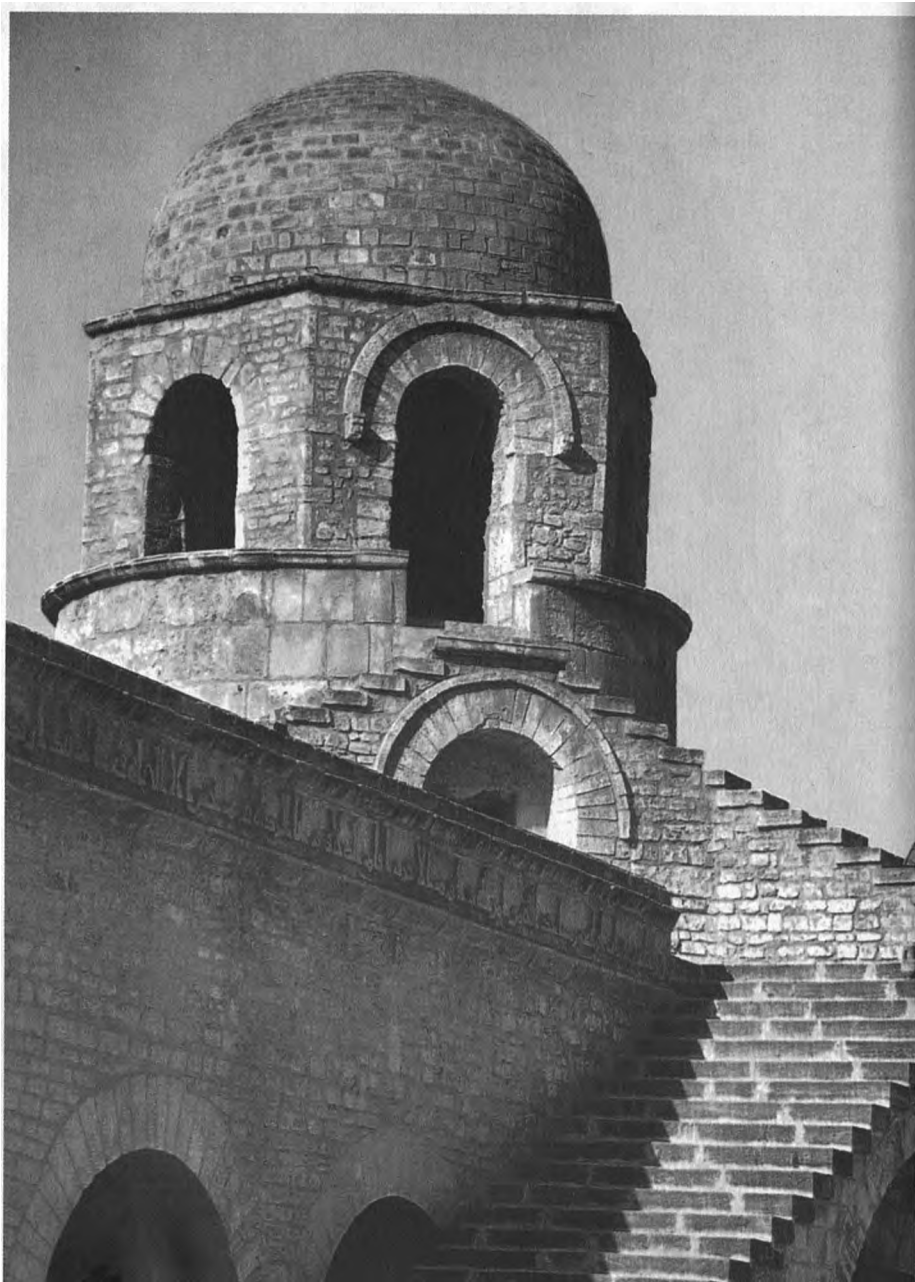
In 812, Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab, founder of the dynasty, died. It was a difficult time, because in the Orient, a war of succession had begun between two Caliphs, Al-Amin and Al-Ma'mun. The Aghlabids did not want to make enemies in the two camps and remained neutral. The two Caliphs of Baghdad recognised Abd-Allah as Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab's successor. On top of that, when Ibrahim Ibn Al-Mahdi, also known as Ibn Shakla, proclaimed himself Caliph, the Aghlabid, Ziyadat-Allah, who succeeded his brother in 817, refused to acknowledge his claim. Al-Ma'mun was grateful when he won definitively the following year. But the Tunbudhi revolt in *Ifriqiya* was serious. This nobleman and Governor of Tripoli

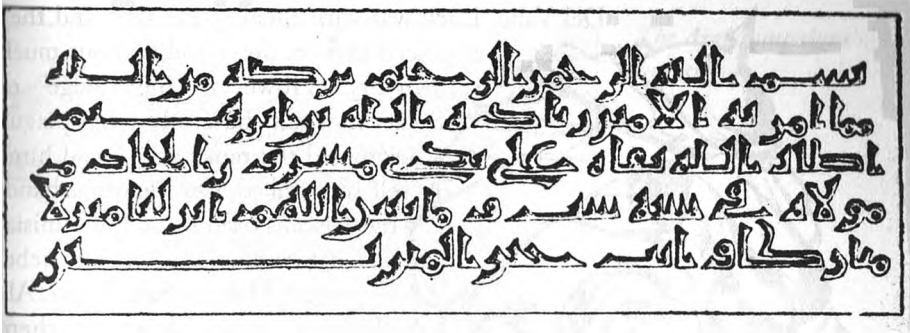
*Overleaf (double page):
Minaret and mihrab of
the Great Mosque of
Kairouan, built during
the reign of Ziyadat-
Allah I (817-838).*









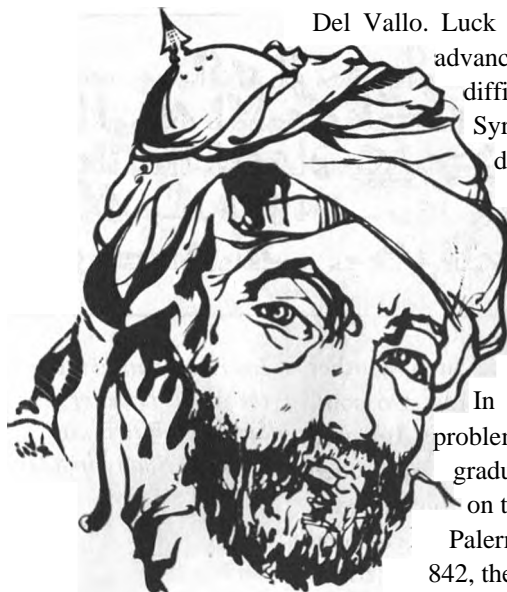


was outraged that Ziyadat-Allah executed another Arab rebel, Amr Ibn Muawiyah and his two sons. Tounboudhi took up arms and battled the Aghlabid forces in Tunis. Defeated in Kairouan, they barricaded themselves in Tunbudhi's castle near Mohammedia. Amr Ibn Naff took up the cause in 825, crushing Ziyadat-Allah's army, which he had pursued to Kairouan. Mansur returned as head of the allies and a major part of the country had escaped a central authority. The Emir's cousin, Sufiyan Ibn Sawda, took control of the situation with the help of a coalition of Nefzaoua and Zenata Berbers, blacks and mercenaries, and inflicted defeat on the Arab rebels at Taqyus (Thiges near Degache). The rebellion was not totally stopped, but the situation favoured the Aghlabids, and Ziyadat-Allah emerged as the victor. From time to time until the end of the century, insurrection resurfaced despite the efforts of the central authority to defuse the situation by trying to focus on other, more glorious objectives.

The greatest issue during the Aghlabid reign was abroad - the conquest of Sicily - and matters would turn out better for them. The first attempt was in 820, and in 827, 10,000 men and 700 cavalry under the command of the great Qadhi of Kairouan, Assad Ibn Al-Furat left the port of Sousse on 100 small craft and headed to Sicily, where they would land at Mazara

*Inscription attributing
the watch-tower of
Sousse ribat to Emir
Ziyadat-Allah I in 821.*

*Opposite page:
Sousse mosque built
during the reign of the
Aghlabid Emir Abu
al-Abbas Muhammad
(841-856).*



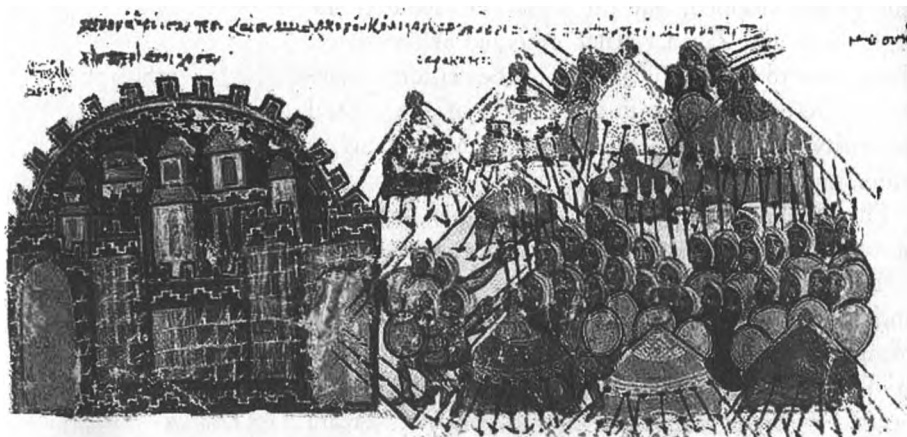
*Portrait of Assad Ibn
Al-Furat. Drawing
by Zeryat.*

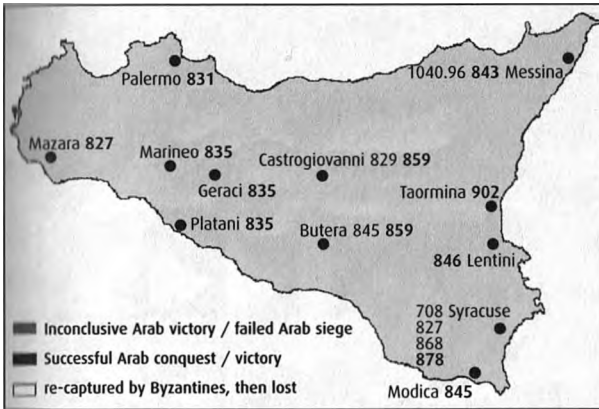
Del Vallo. Luck was with them at the start and they advanced east on the island without much difficulty. However, the Siege of Syracuse would be costly : the plague decimated the ranks and Assad himself succumbed. On the other hand, the Tuscans tried to land in Tunisia, and it was another Aghlabid rebel in power, Abd-As-Salam Ibn Al-Mufarraj, who defeated them between Utica and Carthage in 828.

In spite of the epidemic and other problems, the Arabs remained in Sicily and gradually established Aghlabid authority on the western part of the island, with

Palermo as their base. Messina was taken in 842, then Modica and Ragusa in 849. A mili-

tary column marched on Rome after landing at Ostia in 846, leaving a portion of the neighbourhoods in ruin and damaging Saint Peters Cathedral. Prior to that, the Arab columns moved forward to southern Italy, reaching Benevento, Taranto and Brindisi. The conquest of Sicily continued in 858, when Enna was taken and Syracuse in 878 as well as the Taormina,





The Arab campaigns in Sicily.

etc. Sicily remained under Muslim *Ifriqiyan* control for more than two centuries, and their impact would be felt for centuries more.

The Aghlabid dynasty not only had to contend with insurrections by its Arab army, which led them to recruit Blacks for their guard, but the Blacks also revolted and the leadership slaughtered them in 878, replacing them with mercenaries or slaves. On another note, the Emirs had to defend their independence against Baghdad's attempts to regain control of *Ifriqiya* in 826, and then later under Caliph Al-Mu'tasim

*Opposite page:
The Aghlabid seat of Messina in 842.
Illustration from
Skylitzes' Byzantine
Chronicles. National
Library of Madrid.*

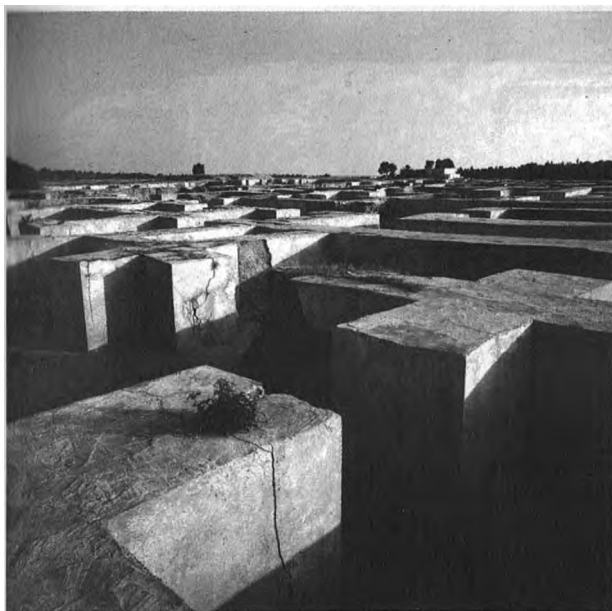
*The conquest of Syracuse.
Skylitzes' Byzantine
Chronicles. National
Library of Madrid.*



*“Muhammad is the
messenger of Allah”.
Inscription on a column
of the Great Mosque
in Kairouan.*



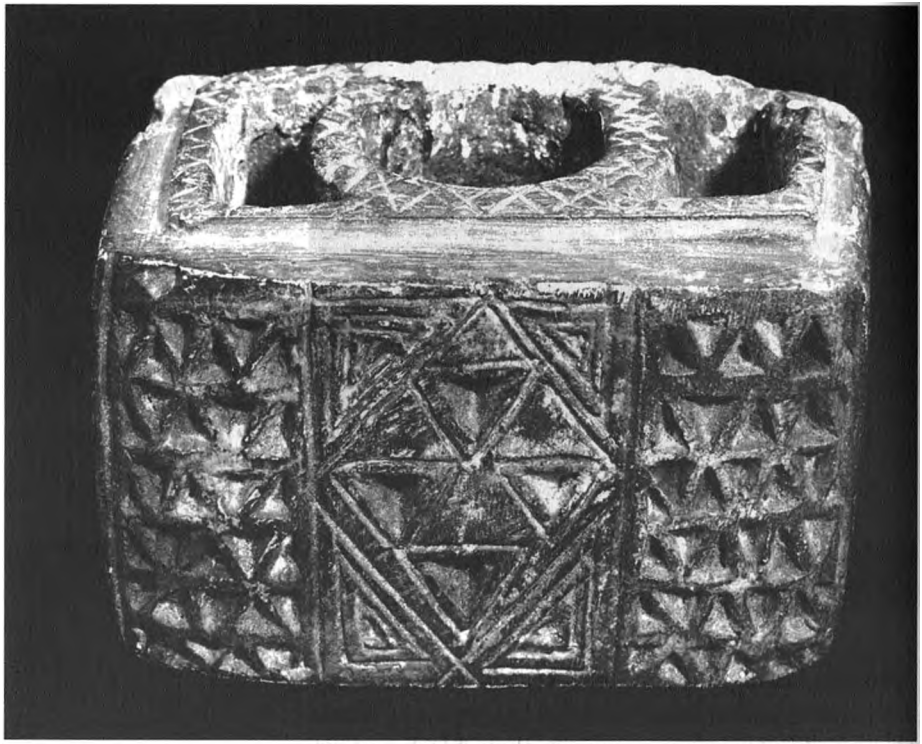
(833-42) and against the Tulunids of Egypt in 878. They managed to maintain their independence and, having saved the residents of Tripoli against the unspeakable violence of Al-Abbas Ibn Ahmad Ibn Tulun, Emir Ibrahim II was able to extend his kingdom to the Gulf of Syrte. On the other hand, they distanced themselves from the population in 833 by adopting Mutazilism, formalised in the East by Caliph Al-Ma'mun, whereas the religious leaders in Kairouan were traditional Sunni and Kharijism was prominent among the Berbers. This religious orientation, to which the Aghlabid Emirs remained loyal to the end, caused concern and led to revolts (the Zouagha, Louata, Meknessa Berbers of Gafsa and Jerid) from 838 to 841, as well as opposition from the Ibadite Berbers from Jebel Nafiisa in Tripolitania and their co-religionists in Zab in Algeria. In a nutshell, the kingdom experienced a number of Berber



The ruins of Raqqada, the princely city founded in 876 by the Aghlabid Emir Ibrahim II.

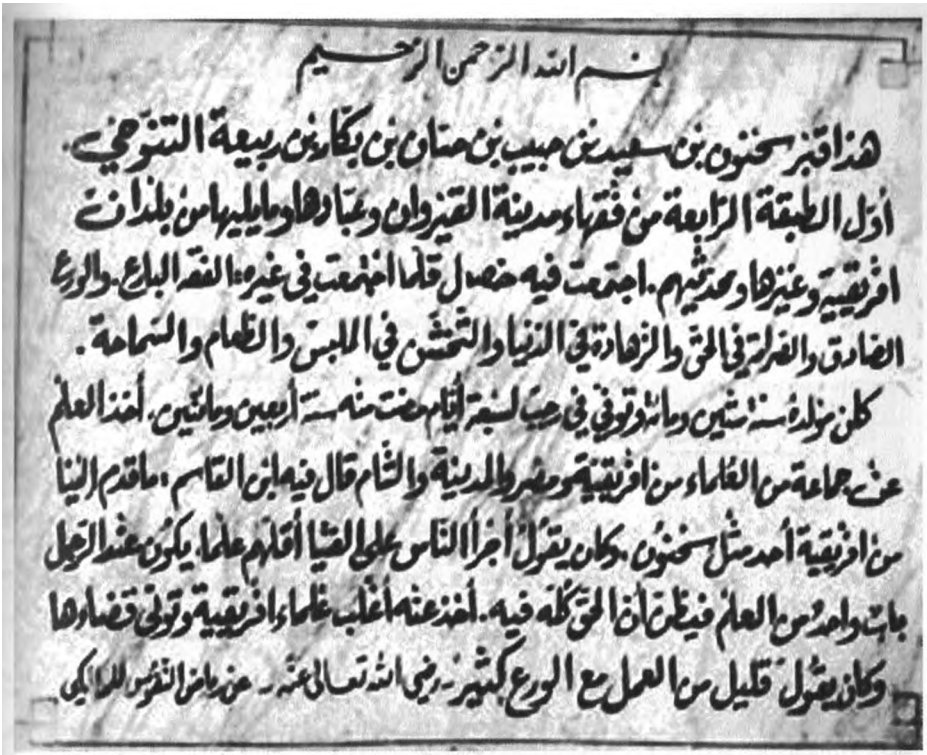
uprisings lasting until the last decade of the century. The Berbers were more inclined to rise up against a tyrannical power going against their black guards, their own courtiers, their own Sunni *Ulama* and their own Arab lords; more so than other sectors of the population. Needless to say, this was a situation that the Fatimids knew how to exploit as they began to take power in the Maghreb.

The Aghlabid era was approaching its end : a dramatic and shameful finish to a dynasty that had resisted dangers both from within and abroad for more than a century. The last Emir killed his father in order to take his place under the name of Ziyadat-Allah III. He tried to deal with the Fatimid army columns coming from the West. His own army defeated at Lorbeus, he left his residence at Raqqada with his harem, courtiers, guard and supporters, along with the entire public treasury, and headed to Tripoli. His



*9th century inkwell
from Raqqada. Raqqada
Museum of Islamic Arts
and Civilisation,
Kairouan.*

cousin, Ibrahim, who arrived at Raqqada to support him but too late, realised that he had fled. He tried to build an army by calling on the people of Kairouan to provide necessary subsidies, but they refused and expelled him from the city. He followed the trail of Ziyadat-Allah and joined him in Tripoli. No urging could convince him to retake what was his. The fugitive had only one idea in his mind : to go to Baghdad and live in opulence under the protection of Caliph Abbasid, whose family had served for a century. However, driven back from Iraq, he died after going back and forth between Egypt and Syria. We don't know exactly where he is buried, but some say in an ancient latrine ! Even if this is not true, it's a strong symbol in any case.



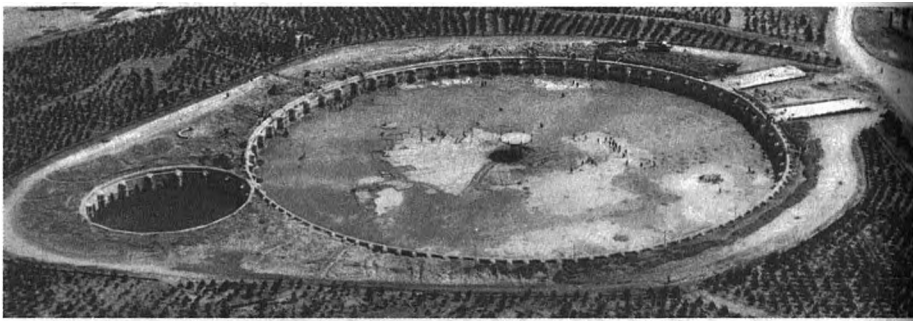
Be that as it may, the first Aghlabid era was one of asserting independence, the spread of traditional moderate Sunni Islam that resisted attacks from Mutazalites, Kharijites and Shiites thanks to the continuous resistance by the *Ulama* from Kairouan. It was during the first half of the Aghlabid century that the bright star of Muslim studies under the grand Imam Suhnnun, Abu Said Ibn Said Ibn Habib Al-Tannukhi, would shine. He was the great propagator and defender of Malekite law in the Maghreb. Born in Kairouan in 776, he studied in *Ifriqiya* and the East, returning to his home city to teach students who came from all over (some say that he trained more than 700 *faqih*s). He combined in one volume, *Al-Mudaivana Al-Kubra*, the entire *Fiqh* of Medina Malik Ibn Anas

*Inscription (recent)
citing a passage from
Abu Bakr Al-Maliki's
Riadb an-Nufus,
which decorates the
mausoleum of Imam
Suhnnun in Kairouan.*

وقال من ابدع عليه وسلم عبيدكم يا رسول الله
 العلم والادب والدين فيك جميع العلم والادب والدين
 رسول الله وان لم يكن فيك العلم والادب والدين
 لان من ابدع العلماء من ابدع من ابدع جميع الخلق
 اذ على اخصرهم يا اخصرهم وهذا رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم علمه اجمع فيك يا ابي اسحق بن ابي
 كاشم من الحكمة شيئا ودمهم المنع من يوم النسيان
 الامم اعزب عبيدكم والهم في يوم النسيان انما
 يوم النسيان من يوم النسيان واما في جميع
 ايتي من عبيدكم يا ابي اسحق بن ابي كاشم
 عليه يوم النسيان من يوم النسيان واما في جميع
 من عبيدكم يا ابي اسحق بن ابي كاشم من عبيدكم
 وجوههم وجميعها كالخوف وفي ايديهم العلم
 لمن احبوا من اهل العلم والادب والدين
 الامم احب فاستان والاعلم على ابدع الخلق
 ايتي حقة فاستان كجوابهم ايتي حقة
 النسيان فان ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة
 تقيت ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة العلم
 والادب والدين ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة
 والمرام على ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة
 فليعلم وجميعها ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة
 حقة كالجواب ايتي حقة ايتي حقة ايتي حقة

فف
 على من عبيدكم
 ايتي حقة

Manuscript of the
 Ajwibat (Answers) by
 Imam Suhun.



Aghlabid pools.

Constructed by Emir Abu Ibrahim Ahmad in 862. Extending over more than a hectare, the capacity is estimated at 53,000m³ of water.

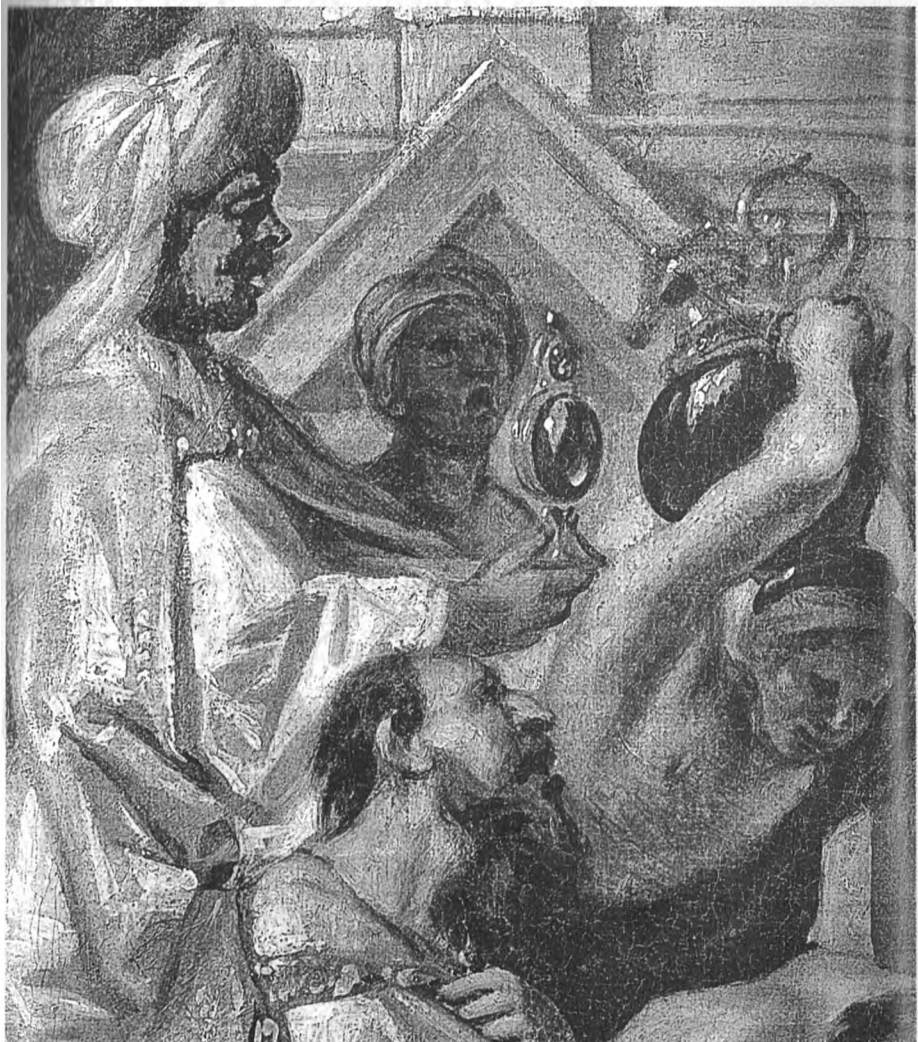
Opposite page:

An Aghlabid accompanies the Abbasid embassy to Charlemagne (Chares the Great). Detail from The Tribute of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid to Charlemagne. Oil on canvas by Jacob Jordaens, circa 1651. Musée des Beaux Arts, Arras.

from Medina. He died in 854. His work would become the reference volume for Malekism in the Maghreb.

The Aghlabid era was also one of civil construction (mosques) and military construction (*ribats* and fortresses), urban development (at least two districts in Kairouan : Al-Qasr Al-Qadim and Raqqada) and overtures to the western Mediterranean. In addition, it was an era of influence abroad. The Aghlabid dynasty entered into trade agreements around the Mediterranean, resuming local traditions. It was an Aghlabid in 800 who accompanied the Abbasid ambassador to meet Charlemagne in the Piedmont. The fragmenting of Italy at the time without a doubt encouraged expansion projects in the southern part of the boot. Their greatest success was the lasting conquest of Sicily. The Aghlabid territory was not quite the size of the great Muslim province ruled the previous century by Kairouan, but it was nearly equal in size to Carthage during the Punic era when it extended from the Gulf of Syrte to the base of the Aures, and even further, including the plateau and Chott Hodhna and Zab, the southern part of Constantine that doesn't have specific borders but was an *Ifriqiyan* outpost. Controlling the entire territory was not easy, but it held its borders to the end. Relations between the Aghlabid kingdom and their neighbours to the east, notably the Tulunids from Egypt, and in the west, the

principalities of the Algerian Kharijites and the Cordoban Umayyads, were contentious. In fact, these circumstances reflected the state of the Muslim empire, that was everywhere subjected to centrifugal forces and that the spiritual dominance of the Caliphate was able to conceal behind a benevolent regard.



909

THE FATIMIDS : A SHIITE CALIPHATE IN SUNNI AND KHARIJITE MAGHREB!

When the Umayyad Abd-Arrahman and Hassanid Idris came to the Maghreb, it wasn't because they were certain of creating a kingdom, at Cordoba for the former and Fez for the latter, but because they both had Berber mothers. In reality, they had fled persecution in the Orient, taking refuge in the land of their maternal ancestors, and luck smiled upon them. It was the



Horseman wearing a turban. From a bowl by Sabra Al-Mansuryya, 10th century. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

Berbers who helped the Fatimids to create a Caliphate from the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima, hence the name Fatimid. The devotion the Muslims of the Maghreb had for the Prophet's family was nothing new. Historians need to look back to the beginnings of Islamisation for this devotion to those we call *Ahl-al-Bayt* (the members of the family), which did not necessarily imply an adherence to the political and ideological doctrines that gave rise to the different branches of Shiism. However, what would the *Mahdi*, founder of the dynasty, have gained, no matter his greatness, without the Kutamas, Constantinian Berbers who took a key role as talented leaders, steered by an outstanding propagandist and chief such as Abd-Allah As-Sanaani ? Undoubtedly, the Fatimids would have preferred to establish their power in the Orient, but the Abbasids diverted them, to their own advantage.

Nevertheless, the choice of the Maghreb was not a coincidence. Many descendants of the Prophet by his grandson Al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi-Talib had peacefully settled in the ninth century at the head of cities or regions that are part of today's Algeria. The historian Mohamed Taibi, in his major work on the Aghlabid dynasty, took a count based on the work of the geographer, Al-Yaqubi, in the Mitidja Valley : there were more than six. They were also at Tlemcen, at the banks and mouth of the Chelif, in the centre between Msila and Tahert, as well as at Bouira. They were accepted and respected by the Matmata, Zenata, Sanhaja and Zwara Berbers. But having a fondness for the descendants of the Prophet did not automatically mean people would take up arms in their name. For that to happen, there had to be a particular kind of conditioning.

Trained in the Orient, Abd-Allah, also known as *As-Sanaani* (because he came on behalf of Sanaa,



Dinar issued at Tukhla (Yemen) in the name of Al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allah (909-934).

Yemen), and Abu-Abd-Allah *Ad-Dai* (the Predicator), came to the Maghreb looking for an audience to recruit to the Ismaili branch of Shiism, a branch that had gone underground due to persecution and whose leader lived in anonymity in Salamiya, a small village between Hama and Homs in Syria. In 893, he found a receptive audience in the Babor Mountains in the Petite Kabylie region where the Kutamas Berbers lived. They had converted to Islam, but never really accepted the succession of rulers in Kairouan. They lived in isolation, nearly surrounded by garrisons in the foothills and plains that watched over their movements. The Predicator, having met some Kutamas pilgrims at Mecca, followed them into the mountains.

His task wasn't easy. It took him ten years to convert the Kutamas to Ismailism, to bring the different

factions together that had been adversaries, create a strong, disciplined army and amass enough money to move forward. He was able to take a step forward when in 902, with his supporters, he settled at Ikjan, a Casbah between Mila and Setif. Mila had been re-occupied by the Aghlabids before being taken back again by the Kutamas. This was a decisive victory

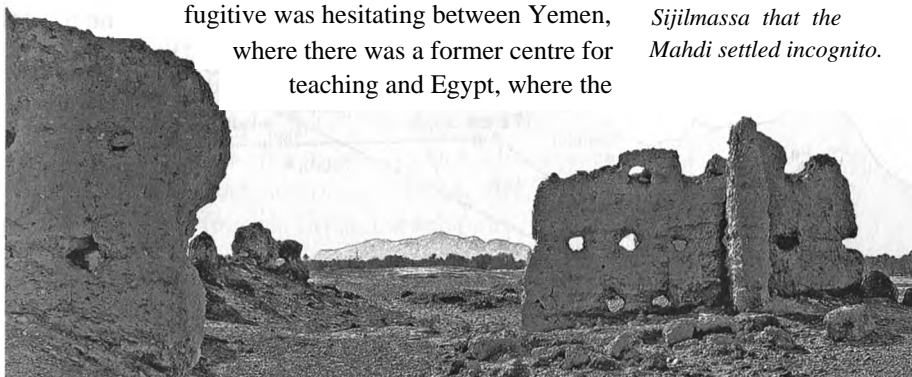
because the city was one of the garrisons that surrounded the Kutamas, so they were no longer totally surrounded. From that point forward, the expeditions multiplied but without immediate results. The respite between two conquests gave the new followers of Fatimism time to learn more about it and heal the old wounds remaining from confrontations between rival factions. In 904, Setif would fall into the hands of the Predictor. The great Battle of Lorbeus (in Tunisia) took place in 909, which completely defeated the Aghlabid army and provoked panic and caused Ziyadat-Allah III to flee, which we previously talked about. In 907, the Aghlabid fief at Zab (in the southern Aures) fell, and on March 21, 909, the Predictor, Abd-Allah As-Sanaani, made his formal entrance into Kairouan, abandoned by the last of the Aghlabids.

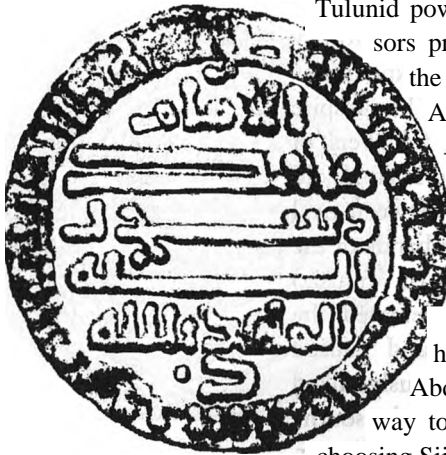
While it was a total victory, the *Mahdi*, leader of the Fatimid Ismailis, had to garner the victory by going there, but he was imprisoned at Sijilmasa in the far reaches of the Moroccan Sahara. Besides, the Predictor, who had been working on this for more than ten years, had not yet met him.

The *Mahdi*, when still in hiding, had left Salamiya in 902. The situation had become dangerous. The

Abbasid Caliphate triumphed over the Zinj revolt in Mesopotamia and the Qarmatians in Arabia. The fugitive was hesitating between Yemen, where there was a former centre for teaching and Egypt, where the

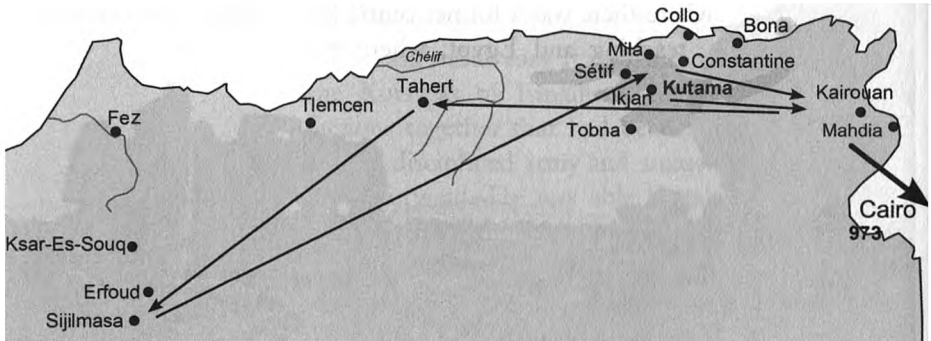
The ruins of Sijilmasa, Morocco. It was at Sijilmasa that the Mahdi settled incognito.





Coin in the name of the Caliph Al-Mahdi, Kairouan, 912.

The Fatimids in North Africa from 909 to 973. (Map based on Edmond Jouhaud, Histoire de L'Afrique du Nord, Les Deux Coqs d'Or, Paris, 1968.)



Tulunid power was faltering. It seems that his advisors preferred he go to the Maghreb, far from the power of Baghdad, where Abu Abd-Allah Ad-Da'i was making inroads. So the *Mahdi* headed west. He passed through Tripoli and Qastilya (the Jerid) and had planned on meeting the Predictor at his base in the Kutamas' region. Yet in 904, the Aghlabids regained strength in the fight against the insurgents. Setif had not yet fallen into the hands of Abu Abd-Allah. The fugitive continued on his way toward the furthest point of the Maghreb, choosing Sijilmasa in the southern part of Tafilelt. He settled there incognito.

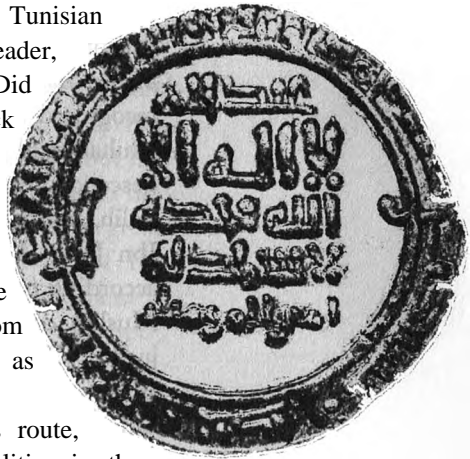
But news travels : Baghdad learned that the *Mahdi* had left Salamiya and the Abbasids alerted their representatives. In 905, Egypt fell under their dominion. The Aghlabids were fighting in *Ifriqiya* and Baghdad even succeeded in replacing Emir Ibrahim II with his son in 902. The governor of Sijilmasa discovered the true identity of the traveller and his friends. He arrested them and threw them in prison just in case. However, in Petite Kabylie, Abu Abd-Allah was amassing victories. When and where did he know that his leader was at Sijilmasa ? It's interesting to see his list of conquests in the northern part of Constantine toward

Zab and Jerid along what is now the Tunisian border. He could not ignore that his leader, coming from Egypt, had headed west. Did he want to go meet him ? He went back up toward Lorbeus, was victorious there, and then entered Kairouan.

Looking back on what happened next, it seems logical that the *Mahdi* would come from the Orient to the Maghreb to take possession of a kingdom ready to accept the Fatimid Caliphate as the leading power. It wasn't that easy.

Neither the traveller's doubts, nor his route, nor the state of the different principalities in the Maghreb would lead one to believe it could happen. He also fled trouble in the Orient to take refuge in the Muslim west. Although Sijilmassa was not a safe place, it was far from the big cities, and he therefore settled there, incognito, until he was arrested. Abu Abd-Allah, the tireless Predecessor, understood perfectly well that the danger was great. So for the first time, the authorities were able to put their hands on the *Mahdi* that everyone was looking for. Anything could happen ! Abu Abd-Allah was escorted by an army to free his leader. He succeeded after a confrontation with the troops belonging to the Midrarite lord in Sijilmassa and after overthrowing the Kharijite Rustamid regime in Tahert along the way. His liberation was a bit muddled. The Predecessor mistook another prisoner for his leader. The mistake was quickly rectified and the great story was ready to happen in all its glory. The escapee finally arrived at Raqqada on 21 March, 909, having earlier taken a detour via Ikjan, the religious home of the Kutamas, where they found war treasures that they took.

But who was this *Mahdi* in reality ? The Abbasids and the Sunnis in general were doubtful of his true

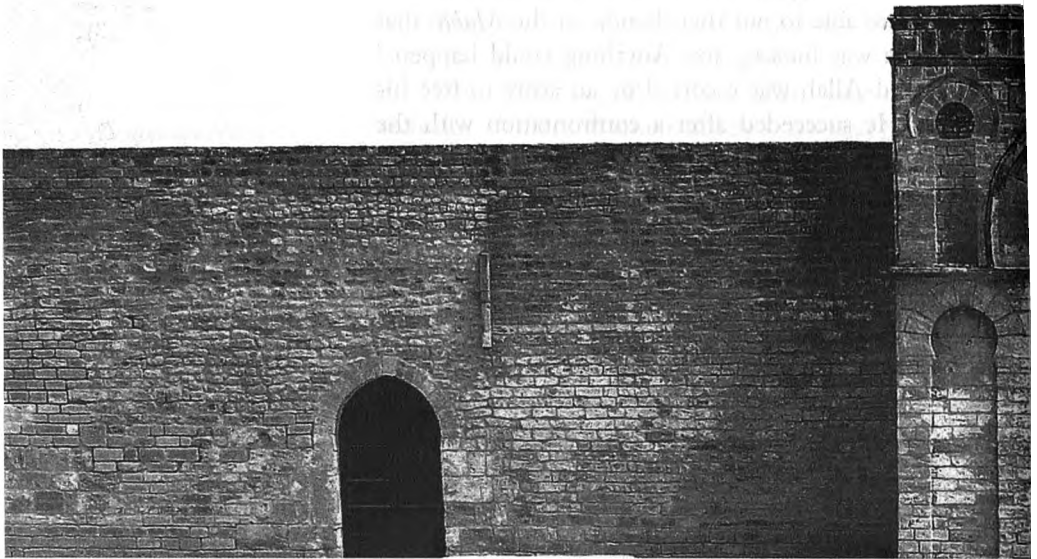


Coin in the name of the Caliph Al-Mahdi, Mahdia, 926.

ancestry, encouraged by the fact that the Shiites were deceptive in order to conceal the identity of their *hidden imam*. No matter. For history's sake, he was recognised by the Ismailis, their followers like Abu Muhammad Abd-Allah Al-Mahdi Billah who was descended from the Prophet by Fatima, Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, and the branch of the seventh grandson, Ismail Ibn Ja'far As-Sadiq, as the hidden imam until he, according to the Shiite belief in taking charge of the Muslim community, spoke out to assure peace and justice. The Ismailis believed strongly even if their adversaries preferred to diminish his importance by calling him the nickname 'Ubayd-Allah.

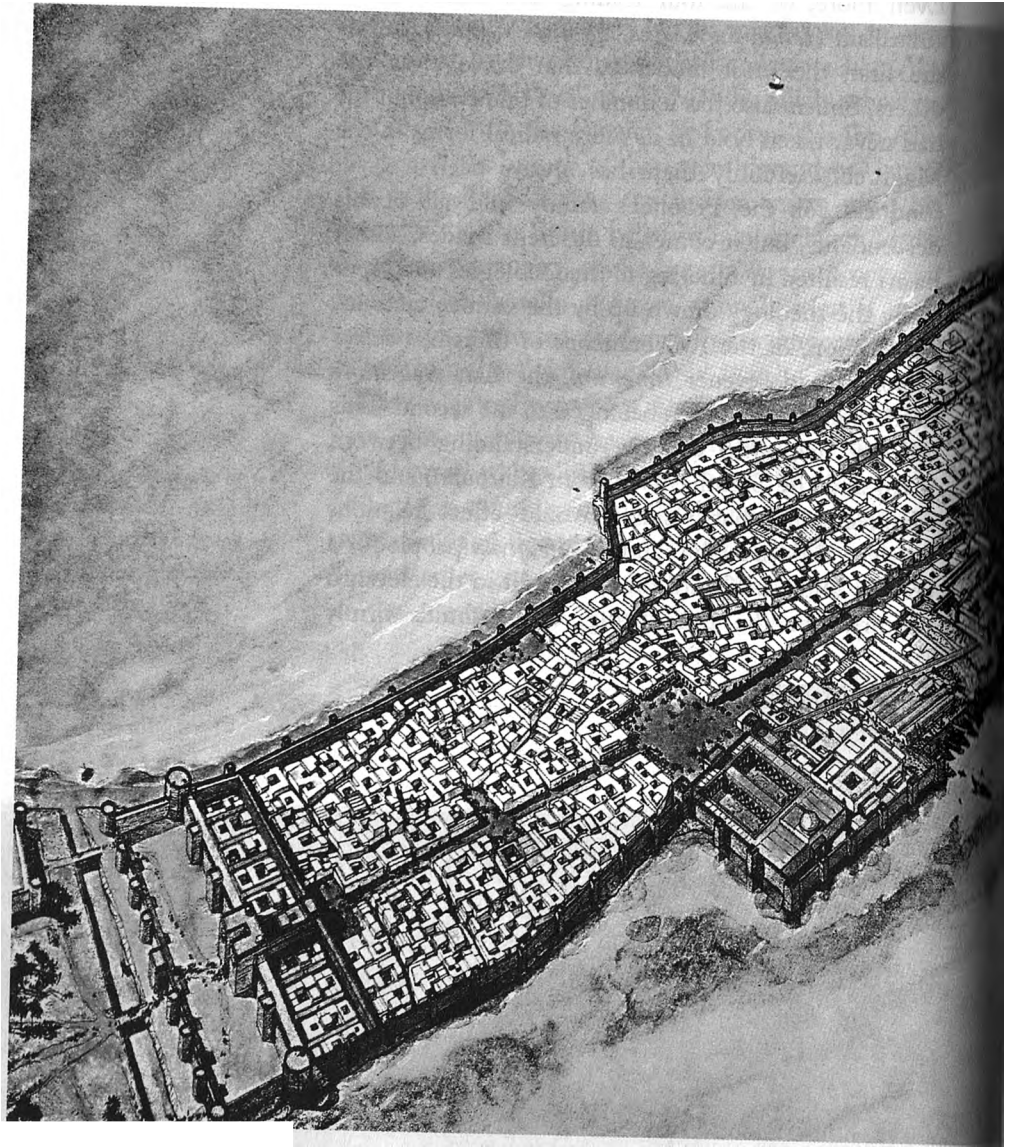
They acquired power by force. It remained for the new leader to rally the hearts of the people, a task that would prove to be difficult. Islam for the majority of *Ifriqiya* was Sunni, generally Malekite, very moderate, traditional, and they avoided theological controversies. Some Berber groups adopted Kharijism, still present in the mountainous regions near the Sahara. All

The Great Mosque of Mahdia, by Al-Mahdi, 916. Rebuilt in keeping with the original design in the early 1960s.



attempts to impose it as a primary doctrine failed. I Sven more, of the four leading denominations of Kharijism (*Ibadi*, *Sufri*, *Azariqa* and *Nukkan*), it was (lie first, the most moderate, that drove away the others. Shiism also has a number of branches, but his had never taken hold in its more radical forms in the Maghreb. Certainly there has always been a great fondness for the Prophet's family and all of his descendants, but it comes in different shades, and it hasn't resulted in adhering to the ideologies and especially the theology drawn up by the various factions. In addition, of the two branches of Shiism, twelver *Imamism* and sevenser *Ismailism*, the first was more moderate. The Fatimids belonged to the second. This did not help with creating understanding between them and the Sunni *Ulama* from Kairouan, and the disagreements that resulted would affect relations between the leadership and the *Ifriqiyan* people for a century and a half until the great split in the eleventh century. For the time being, the Fatimids firmly

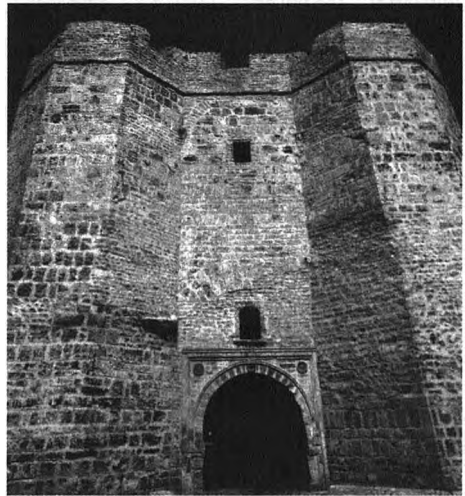






*Opposite:
Mahdia, the Fatimid city founded by
Al-Mahdi in 916, a peninsula approx.
1,400 metres in length and 500 metres
wide. Reconstruction by Jean-Claude
Golvin.*

*Bab Zouila, known as Skifa el-Kahla, an
imposing fortified gate standing at the
entrance to the Fatimid city of Mahdia.*





Simeon (left) sends an emissary to the Caliph Abu Abd-Allah Al-Mahdi (right). Skylitzes' Byzantine Chronicles. National Library of Madrid.

intended to rule and expand as far as they could from east to west.

The problems began right away. In 910, a Zenata uprising in the centre of Algeria was quelled. The following year it became more serious. The Kutamas believed that they had been deprived of the rights that they had had for seventeen years under Abu Abd-Allah Ad-Da'i, and they revolted. Al-Mahdi responded violently against the Kutamas. The Da'i and his brother, Abu Al-Abbas, were executed. From that point forward, the Caliph was the only leader who could mobilise those among the Kutamas who remained loyal in order to bring those who were resisting, like in Kairouan, under control. In the same year, 911, the Aghlabid supporters who remained at Qasr Al-Qadim near Kairouan revolted. They were defeated and expelled. Finally, also that same year, Sicily seceded. Another riot erupted in Kairouan, where 700 Kutamas (again !) were slaughtered. The Fatimid leadership responded by persecuting the Sunni Ulama accused of being behind the riots. The Zenata from the Ibadi region in central Algeria

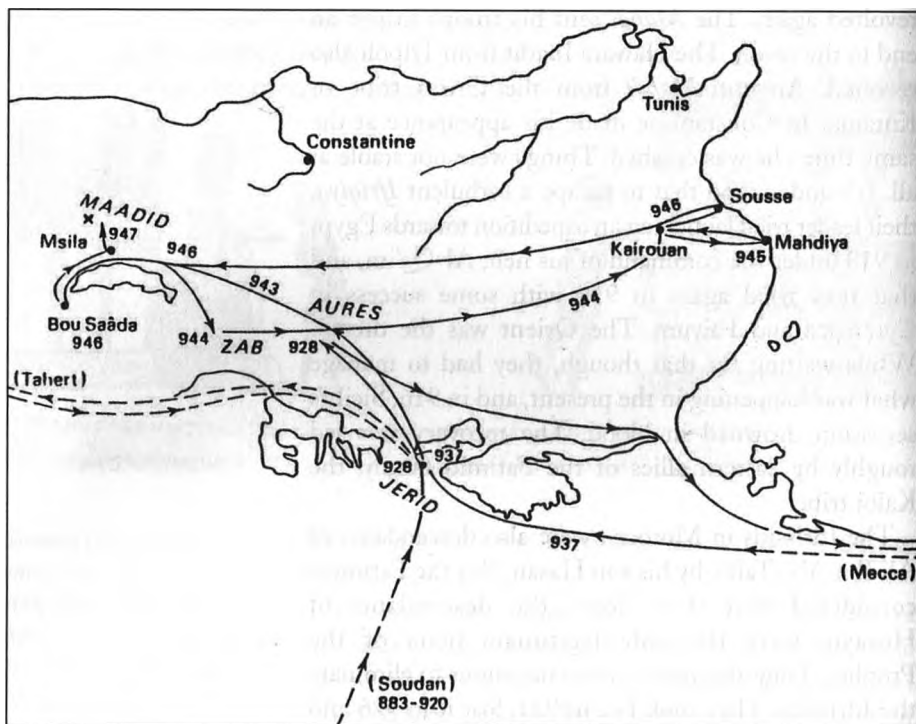
revolted again. The *Mahdi* sent his troops to put an end to the revolt. The Hawara Ibadit from Tripoli also revolted. An anti-*Mahdi* from the Orissa tribe of Kutamas in Constantine made his appearance at the same time ; he was crushed. Things were not stable at all. It's understood that to escape a turbulent *Ifriqiya*, their leader tried launching an expedition towards Egypt in 913 under the command of his heir, Al-Qa'im, and that they tried again in 919 with some success in Cyrenaica and Faiyum. The Orient was the dream. While waiting for that though, they had to manage what was happening in the present, and in 916, Sicily's secession drowned in blood. The recovery was led roughly by eastern allies of the Fatimid family, the Kalbi tribe.

The Idrissids in Morocco were also descendants of Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, by his son Hasan. But the Fatimids considered that they alone, the descendants of Husayn, were the only legitimate heirs of the Prophet. They also tried on two occasions to eliminate the Idrissids. They took Fez in 921, lost it in 926 and attacked Morocco again in 928. What was at stake was the threat of Morocco falling to their Cordoban neighbours, especially since Abd-Arrahman III, the leader of Andalusia, responded to the first Fatimid advance toward Fez by taking Melilla and on the second attempt taking Ceuta.

After a quarter century and a difficult reign, Obeid-Allah Al-Mahdi died in 934 at the age of 63. His son, Al-Qa'im Bi-Amr-Allah succeeded him. He was experienced, having already led his father's army toward Egypt, then Morocco. He returned earlier than anticipated to *Ifriqiya* in 927 because of a plot to try to replace him as crown prince with his brother Abu-Ali. After that he no longer left Mahdia. He was not well liked in the capital. He understood now the risks of being away. Thus, he would continue to stay put for

Coin struck in the name of "Al-Imam Al-Qaim Bi-Amr Allah Amir Al-Mu'ninin".





The campaigns of Abu Yazid, Sahib al-Himar, "the man with the donkey". (From the Encyclopedic Berbère.)

Opposite page:

Coin struck in the name of Abu Yazid, Kairouan, 944.

Coin struck in the name of the Caliph Al-Mansur, 948.

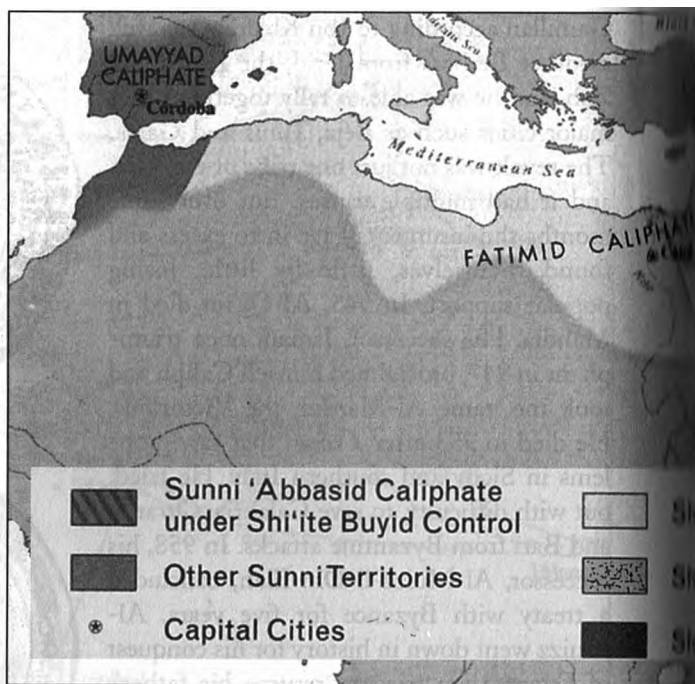
Coin struck in the name of the Caliph Al-Muizz, Cairo, 969.

ten years, focused on strengthening his power that was subject to challenges. This power would become endangered in 944 by the largest uprising of his reign, that of Makhlad Ibn Kaydad, who was derisively called *the man on a donkey* since he chose to ride a donkey to get around due to his limp. The mockery didn't keep the revolt from lasting for three years, nor did it keep him from being able to get the entire country to rise up to the point where there was little Fatimid power left, with Mahdia besieged. Only Sousse resisted the attacks. The man on a donkey was a Zenatan Kharijite. However in five months, he was able to get both the Sunnis and the Kharijites to revolt. The Ulama from Kairouan blessed his actions. He enlisted the Hawara and notably the Bani Kamillan (or

Gamillan according to Ibn Khaldun) as well as other Berbers from Jerid, the Aures and Zab, and he was able to rally together other major cities such as Beja, Tunis and Gafsa. The revolt was not just one tribe or one sect, and it had multiple causes. But over some months the insurgents gave in to excess and found themselves, little by little, losing popular support. In 945, Al-Qa'im died in Mahdia. His successor, Ismail, once triumphant in 947, proclaimed himself Caliph and took the name Al-Mansur, the Victorious. He died in 953 after a reign that saw problems in Sicily and southern Italy. He tried, but with difficulty, to save Calabria, Otranto and Bari from Byzantine attacks. In 958, his successor, Al-Muizz-li-Din-Ulah, concluded a treaty with Byzance for five years. Al-Muizz went down in history for his conquest of Egypt, then tried to resume his father's policies in all directions. He organised a raid on Almeria in Andalusia ; the Umayyads responded with a raid of their own on Sousse. He retook Sijilmassa, but failed in taking back Fez ; he headed southwest in Morocco in the direction of Soussa, then pushed his troops to the ocean before heading north again, taking Fez with the help of the Sanhaja Berbers in 959. But the Orient remained his primary objective. Ten years later the Fatimid General Jawhar succeeded in taking the capital of Egypt, Fustat, founded by the Arab conqueror Amr Ibn-Al-As. The only thing Al-Muizz needed to do was choose where he wished to live. In truth there wasn't much hesitation. His ancestors had always dreamed of establishing a Middle Eastern

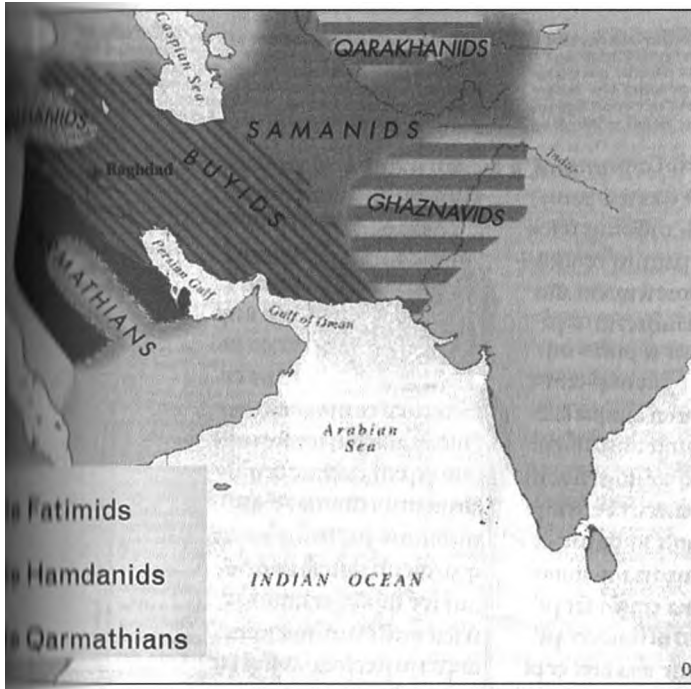


*Territorial extent of the
Fatimid caliphate.*



Caliphate. The dream was fulfilled during his reign. The army built its base to the north of Fustat and a palace for their leader as well as a mosque. The new base was called Al-Qahira, the *Imperious*, and the mosque, Al-Azhar, the *Brilliant*; it was a launchpad for spreading the Fatimid doctrine.

The Kutamas supporters accompanied the Caliph to Cairo. Sicily was entrusted to the Caliphate's eastern allies, the Kalbi and placed under the authority of Cairo. The Maghreb was entrusted to the Sanhaja and their chief, Buluggin Ibn Ziri. His father, Ziri Ibn Manad, distinguished himself by taking over Zab. His son and his clan remained Fatimid followers, and he demonstrated his loyalty many times. We will see that the Sanhaja, also known as the Zirids in reference to their patriarch, Ziri Ibn Manad, would do their best to



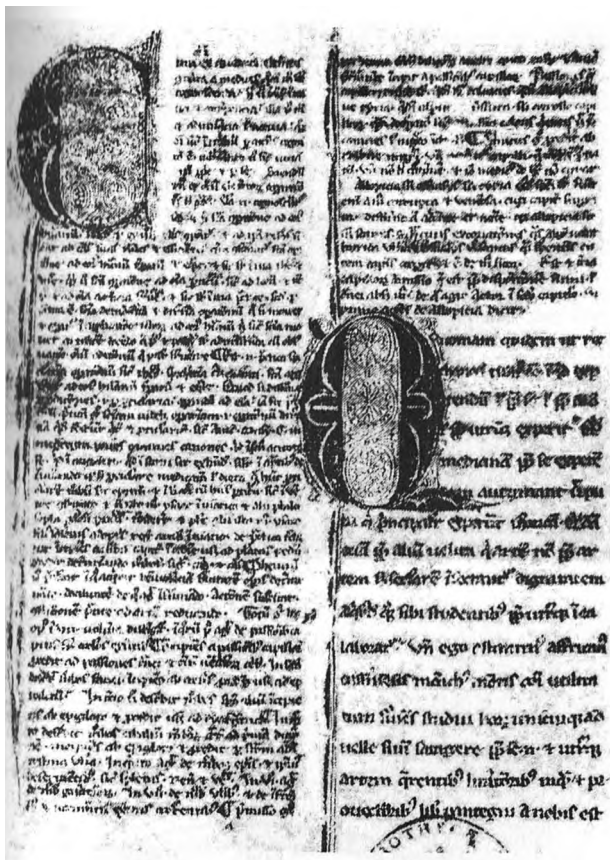
remain loyal to their leader in Cairo despite many problems in their relations with the Sunnis.

We should note that during the Fatimid era, Abu Ja'far Ibn Ibrahim, who became famous through his family name of Ibn Al-Jazzar, was a great name in *Ifriqiyān* medicine. He was born at the beginning of the century and died about 978. He was a student of a famous Jewish doctor, Ishaq Ibn Sulayman. One could say that he outpaced his mentor, writing four medical guides, one of them on pediatrics, which was translated into Latin, as well as other works on history, notably on the Fatimids. The Fatimid court had its bard in the great poet Ibn Hani', to whom the erudite Mohamed Al-Yaalaoui devoted a masterful thesis. Born in Andalusia in 932 of a father who was from Mahdia and perhaps of Oriental origin, he emigrated to

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p quod l'et
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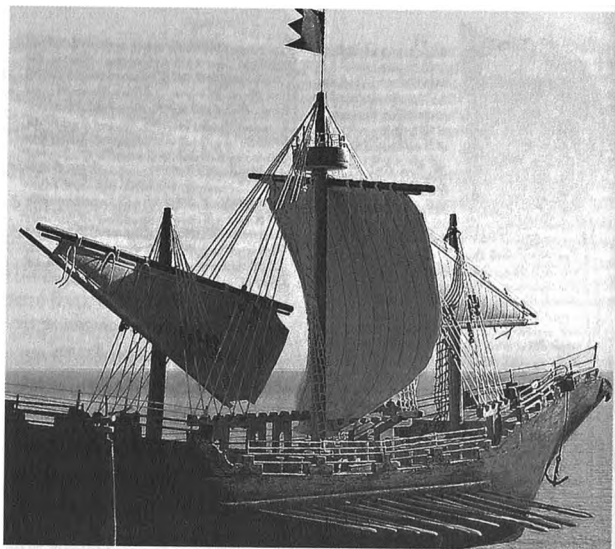


*Ibn Al-Jazzar,
Zad al-Musafir,
Latin translation.
Reims Bibliotheque
Municipale.*

Ifriqiya and began working for the Fatimids, primarily Al-Muizz, who he followed to Egypt where he died in 973, not long after settling in Cairo. Ibn Hani' was a poet devoted to the past, creating his verse using the classical model, so well that he was often considered the *Mutanabbi* of the Maghreb. More than his style which in itself is admirable, his poetry is a constant hymn to the glory of the Caliph, with overindulgent language that has caused many authors to hesitate in quoting him in their work. One time, he spoke of Al-Muizz, giving him attributes generally reserved for God :

*Opposite page:
Ishaq Ibn Sulayman,
Kitab al-himyat,
Latin translation.
BnF, National Library
of France.*

*Model of a Fatimid
warship, Algiers.
ARR.*

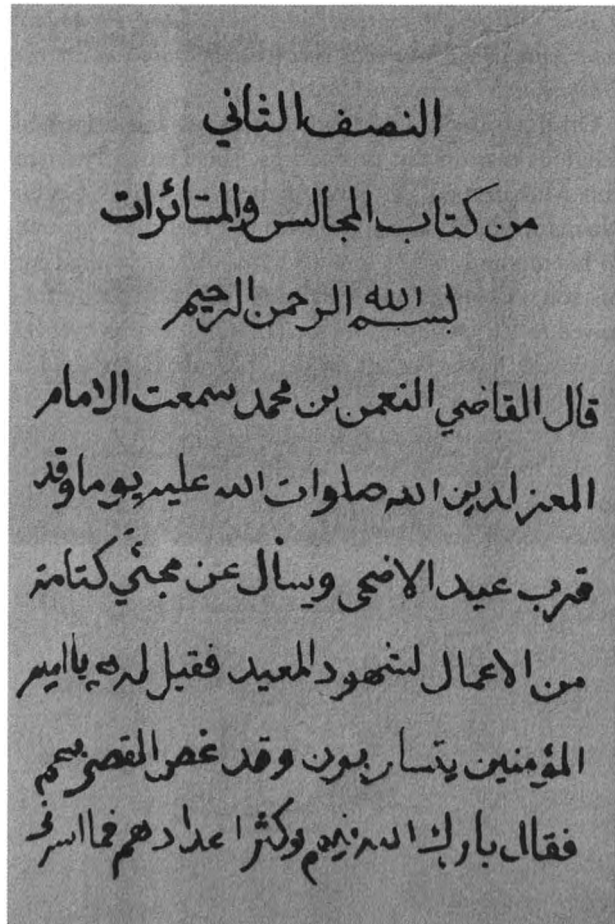


Your will reigns supreme, even over fate ! Pronounce your sentence ! Make your decision ! Because you are the Unique and Triumphant One!

On the other hand, the most famous and respected religious man in this period was Abu Hanifa Nu'man Ibn Muhammad At-Tamimi, best known as Qadhi Nu'man, whose official job with the Fatimids was tied to his reputation. He knew 'Ubayd-Allah, worked for his son, Al-Qaim, and finally Al-Muizz who he followed to Egypt, where he died in 974. He was over 80 years old. However, he is better known, not for his sentences doled out as a judge, but for his essential work on Ismaik thought and theology. He wrote many books, perhaps as many as forty-two according to some researchers, others claiming forty-four. We only know about twenty for sure. Some of the ideas he



The Fatimids used the weapon known as "Greek fire", as described by the famous fatimid poet Ibn Hani Al-Andalusi. Skylitzes' Byzantine Chronicles. National Library of Madrid.



developed in his works were under the dictation of the Caliphs themselves. To list some that we have at hand :

- *Daaim Al-Islam* (The Pillars of Islam), a book on the Ismaili *fiqh* that would have been written at the express request of Al-Muizz ;
- A critical interpretation of the *Da'aim*, entitled *Educating Believers* through an Exact Esoteric Understanding of Religious Matters;

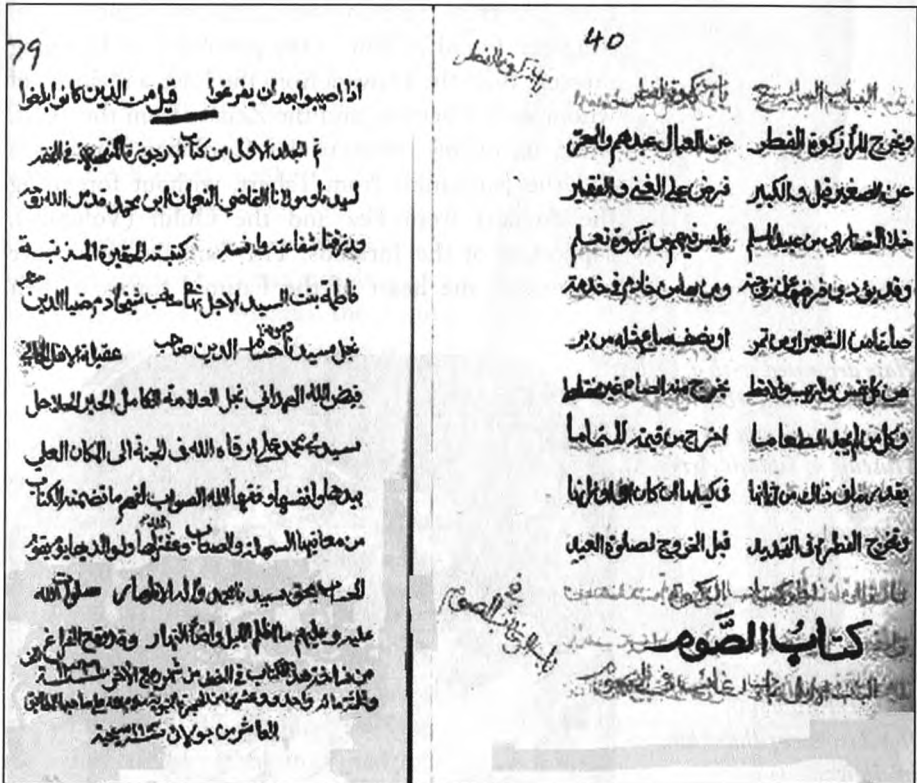
- An *Asas At-Ta'u'il* (Basis for Interpretation), which gives the keys to understanding sacred texts ;

— *Al-Majalis Wa-l-Mussayarat* (The Sessions and Supporting Documents), a sort of transcript of what the Caliphs said in the course of their relationships with each other;

— *Iftitah Ad-Da'wa* (The Beginning of the Predication), a book often used by historians that recounts all of the work of Abu Abd-Allah with the Kutamas up until the success of the Fatimids.

All of the works of Qadhi Numan have been widely studied, analysed and critiqued, and even translated by the Ismailis worldwide.

*Manuscript of
Qhadi Nu'mans
Kitab al-Muntakhab.*



972

THE DIFFICULT ZIRID VICARIATE

How can one govern in fairness a Sunni population in the name of a Shiite Caliph who is far away when you are first of all an uncompromising soldier ?

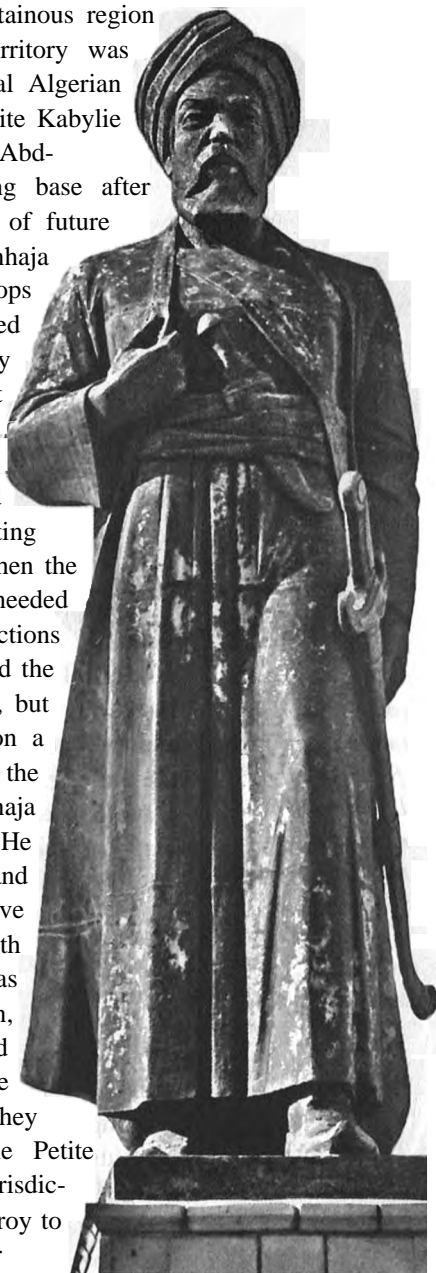
Such was the fate of the Zirids ! These warriors from the great Sanhaja confederation of the central Maghreb found in Shiism the possibility of lessening pressure from the Hawara from the East, a majority of whom were Kharijite, and the Zenata from the West, while balancing between the Cordoban Umayyads and the Rustamids from Tahert, without forgetting the Awraba from Fez and the Oulili (Volubilis), supporters of the Idrissids. The Sanhaja could have constituted the heart of the Fatimid forces if their

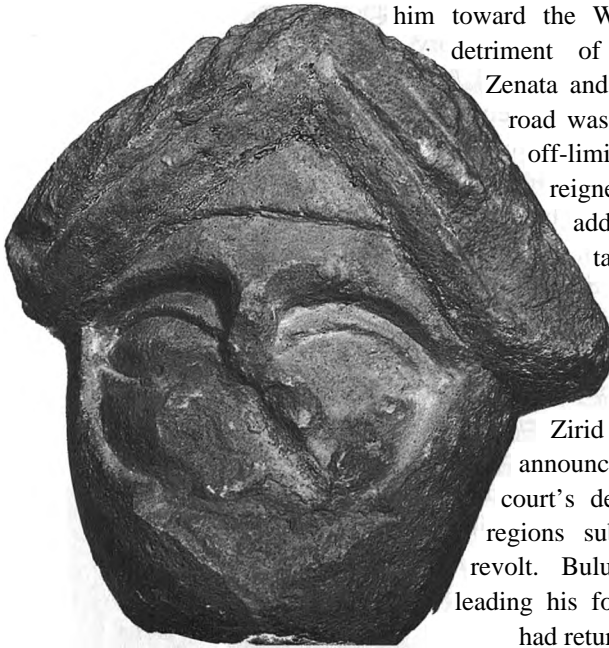
Plate decorated with a battle scene, late 10th century. Raqqada Museum of Islamic Arts and Civilisation, Kairouan.

*Opposite page :
Statue of Buluggin
Ibn 7Ari Yusuf Bulukkin
in Algiers.*



region had been similar to the mountainous region of Kabylie. The centre of their territory was Achir, south of Medea on the central Algerian plateau. But in fact, it was in the Petite Kabylie of the Kutamas that the Predicator Abu Abd-Allah found his successful recruiting base after indoctrinating the soldiers on behalf of future Fatimid Caliphs. Nonetheless, the Sanhaja had their chance when the Shiite troops took Zab, then Tahert and pushed forward to Sijilmasa. After that, they demonstrated unimpeachable support for Fatimism. It was in their interest when they did not have the best relationship with the Kutamas and they were not unhappy to be competing against them. Their time had come when the first Caliph, 'Ubayd-Allah Al-Mahdi needed to reestablish order in the different factions within the Kutamas' ranks. He subdued the insurgents and killed their anti-Mahdi, but he understood that he had to rely on a back-up force to counterbalance the Kutamas. Ziri Ibn Manad, the Sanhaja chief, was the right man for the job. He had served to the end of the dynasty, and when Al-Muizz decided in 972 to move his capital to Egypt, bringing with him a force of Kutamas loyalists, as mentioned he entrusted Ziri's son, Buluggin, with *Ifriqiya*. The Zirid dynasty was born. All the same, the Fatimids took some precautions. They removed Tripolitania, Sicily and the Petite Kabylie from under their territorial jurisdiction of power. If they wanted this viceroy to leave his territory, they only had to steer





The dogma followed by the Fatimids allowed the human figure to be depicted. Turbaned head in stucco found at Sabra Al-Mansuria, late 10th century. Raqqada Museum of Islamic Arts and Civilisation, Kairouan.

him toward the West, that's to say, to the detriment of their Kharijite, Idrissid, Zenata and Umayyad adversaries. The road was blocked at Tripoli, the sea off-limits, and the Kutamas reigned in Petite Kabylie. In addition, the Caliph maintained taxation powers and oversaw the Zirids' war activities.

This was a particularly difficult situation for the Zirid prince. Since the announcement of the Fatimid court's departure toward Egypt, the regions subdued by force began to revolt. Buluggin Ibn Ziri began by leading his forces against Tahert, which had returned to Kharijism. Then they

subdued Tlemcen and then the Zenata in the north.

However, the Caliph ordered the offensive to stop, and then he opposed an increase in taxes. Even worse, the Buluggin brothers tried to hatch a plot in 981. Having been found out, they fled to Egypt. The Caliph received them, lavished them with gifts and sent them back to *Ifriqiya* with orders for them not to be harmed. In 983, the Zirid prince defeated the Zenata and pushed further to Ceuta, where he met resistance. It was in the course of this offensive that the Caliph demanded an envoy of 1,000 Sanhaja cavalry ! Apparently, the Caliph feared that his vassal would become intoxicated by his successive victories.

Buluggin died in 984. His son, Abu-l-Fath Al-Mansur, succeeded him. To mark his authority, he obliged the dignitaries from the Zirid state to come to Achir, the cradle of the Sanhaja, to demonstrate their allegiance. However, if his father had unwavering

loyalty for the Fatimid Caliph, Al-Mansur affirmed his independence vis-a-vis Cairo. He changed his stance about the Sunni *Ulama* and gave them gifts. He increased his popularity with the people and ordered the construction of a city, Al-Mansuria, on the spot of his camp south of Kairouan. He made his first official visit in December. But the true side of Al-Mansur would brutally show its face when a preacher was assassinated. He was a *kateb* (scribe) recently converted to Ismailism that Caliph Al-Aziz had appointed *Dai* and sent to *Ifriqiya*, ordering Al-Mansur to take an oath before him. The vassal complied but the following year, he organised a set-up and assassinated the *Da'i*. This was big. It triggered a revolt by the Shiites in Kairouan and the Kutamas rose up. Al-Mansur quelled the insurgents and went to Petite Kabylie, where he fiercely crushed the rebellion in neighbouring Setif, captured Abu-Fahm, the special envoy from Cairo, and slit his throat in front of two other envoys, who he sent to the Caliph as witnesses. Al-Aziz took the insult without reacting. He died soon after, and his successor An-Nasir did not react either. Al-Mansur died in 996 at Al-

Gold dinar, struck in Mahdia in 990, in the name of the fifth Fatimid Caliph Al-Aziz (975-996).





*Pool with lion motifs
in the Manar Palace at
the Al Qal'a of Bani
Hammad. (After
Qantara.)*

Mansuria. Six months later, An-Nasir died in Cairo. It was a sea change in the relations between the Fatimid leadership and their representatives in *Ifriqiya*.

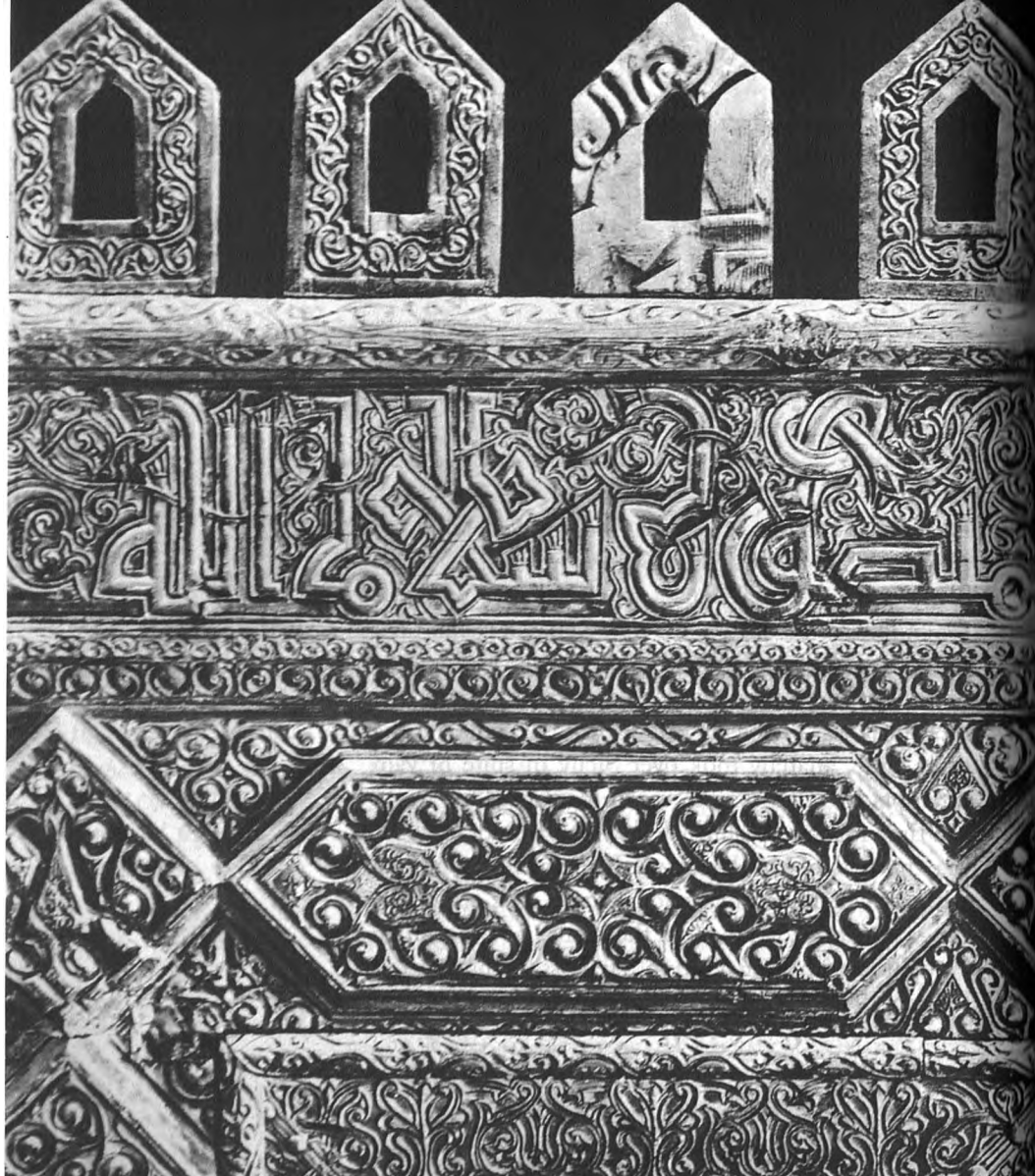
Al-Hakim's reign began in Cairo, and in the Maghreb, the reign began with a 12-year-old, Badis Ibn Al-Mansur. Relations were reestablished, you could say fondly : Al-Hakim sent experts to train the young emir, who demonstrated exemplary obedience. The leader of Cordoba, Al-Mansur Ibn Abi-Amir, had taken advantage of the turbulence in the Zirid kingdom under Al-Mansur Ibn Buluggin to invade Morocco. Badis, becoming *Nasir-ad-Dawla Abu Manad* by virtue of Al-Hakim's decree, was no longer interested in central Maghreb, which he entrusted to his Uncle Hammad. The latter aspired for more. He built the Qalaa that would carry his name (*Qaida of Bani Hammad*), and taking advantage of a revolt in Tripoli, attacked the Sanhaja kingdom of his nephew.

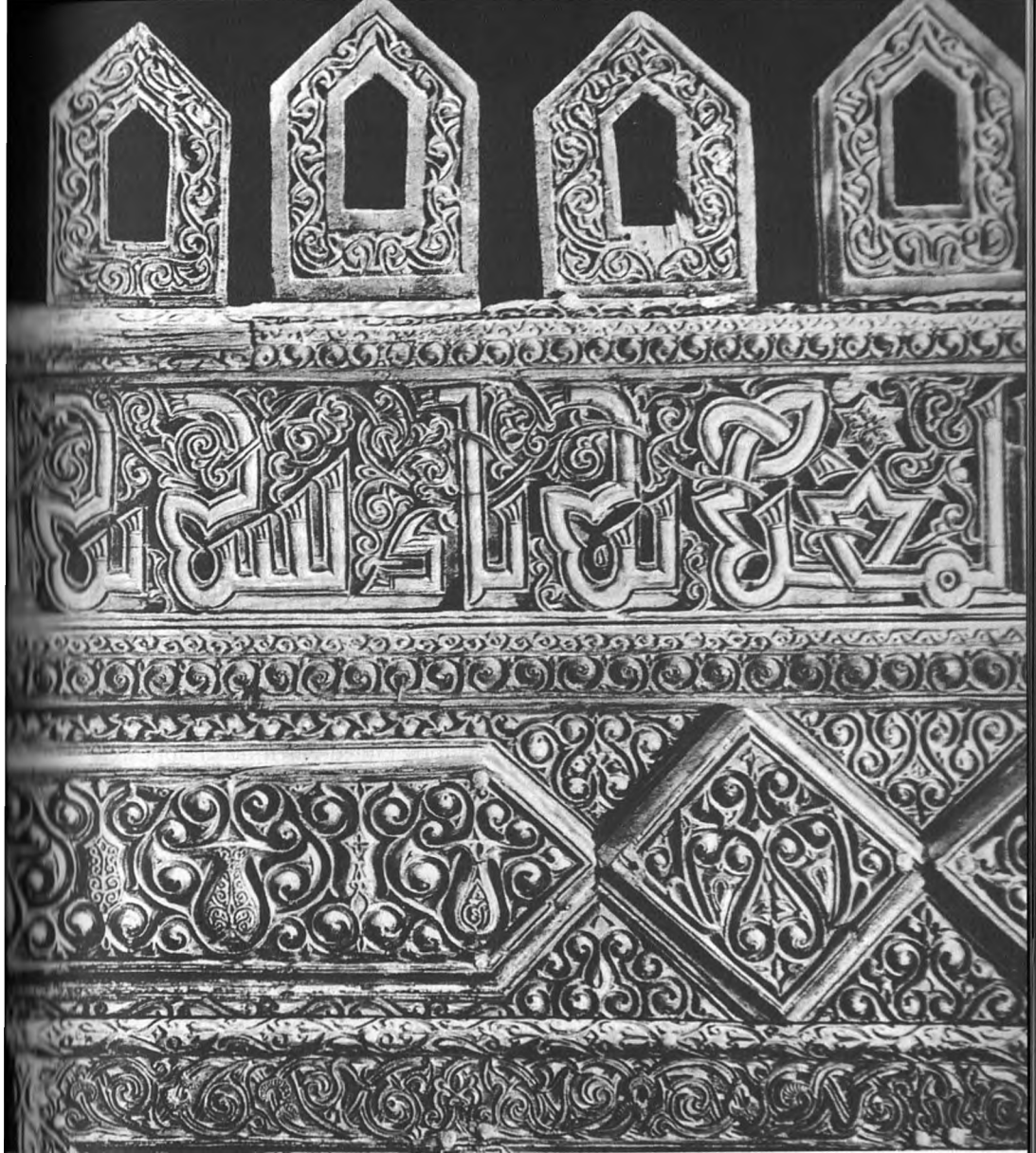
The two Sanhaja armies clashed for two years. The ungrateful uncle took refuge in the Qalaa. Badis besieged it in 1016, but on the eve of the decisive attack, Badis died at the age of thirty-one. The death of this prince who was supposedly protected by Caliph Al-Hakim triggered Shiite massacres across all of *Ifriqiya*. Badis' son, Al-Muizz Ibn Badis, nine years old and left in Mahdia for safety, succeeded him. Peace was concluded between Al-Muizz and Hammed who accepted handing over his son as a hostage.

Al-Muizz acceded to the throne in extraordinary circumstances. He was young. He was well-trained by his excellent educators, and he would leave behind the image of a cultivated man. However, in 1027, Tripolitania fell to a Zenata chief and *Ifriqiya* lost it for good. On top of that, the new Zenatan leader took hold of the Zirid Kingdom. The Sanhaja, at the price of a bitter fight, drove him off, but the southern half of Tunisia was practically cut off from Mahdia. At the same time, anarchy took over Sicily in spite of vain attempts by Al-Muizz to regain control. This was a sad time for the Muslim West, which would, in 1031, see the end of the Umayyad Kingdom of Cordoba without benefit to any regional force. The era of the *Reyes de Taifas* or kings of the clans, now began in Andalusia with Bani-Hud in Saragossa, Dhu-Nun in Toledo, Bani-Abbad in Seville, Bani-Ziri in Grenada,



*Dinar in the name of
Al-Muizz Ibn Badis.*





The Al-Muizz Ibn Badis maqsurah in the Great Mosque in Kairouan, circa 1022 (detail): a private enclosure that the Caliph reserved for himself inside the prayer hall.

Bani-Al-Aftas in Badajoz, Bani-Hammoud Al-Idrissi in Malaga, Bani-Jawhar in Cordoba and Bani 'Amir in Valencia. It is a sad sight for us who have the advantage of knowing the calamities that Spanish Muslims would face because of this explosion, but looking deeply into it, it is the same case as in the rest of the Maghreb all the way to the East. Changes that took place in the eleventh century would cause deep transformation in the balance of power. The Normans arrived in Sicily and the century would end with the First Crusade.

Historians disagree on the dates : it was between 1041 and 1045 that Al-Muizz gave his allegiance to the Abbasids of Baghdad. The rupture happened in 1049 when the Friday sermons were given in the name of the Abbasid Caliph. It would have heavy consequences, certainly, but it was understandable. On the one hand, Al-Hakim's reign had engaged the Fatimid Caliphate in questionable theological beliefs, and this progression was abruptly ended when he disappeared mysteriously in 1020. On the other hand, the regime established in *Ifriqiya* had at no time been accepted by the Sunni majority or the Kharijite minority. Each bout of tension led to riots and reprisals. To refuse to give allegiance to the Shiites' authority implied supporting the Sunni majority, and was a harsh blow to the leadership in Cairo. Caliph Al-Mustansir (1036/1094) responded, on advice from his minister, Al-Bazuri, by causing a massive migration with the aim of punishing *Ifriqiya*, but which would change the structure of the entire Maghreb. This is the era of the Bani Hilal.



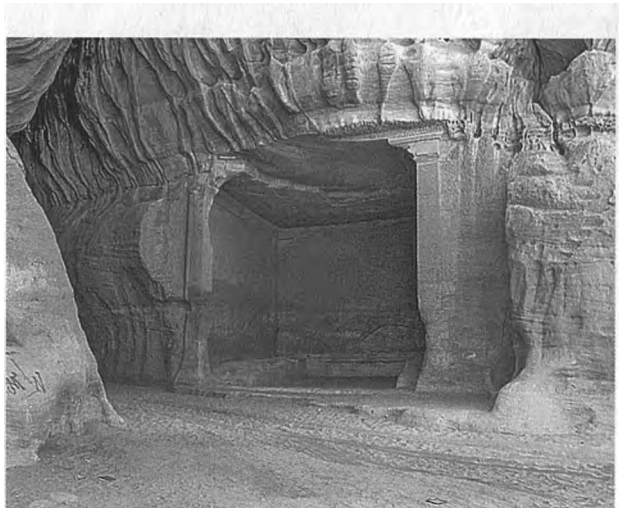
*Bronze lamp in the
name of Al-Muizz
Ibn Badis
(1032-1051).
Raqqada Museum
of Islamic Arts and
Civilisation,
Kairouan.*

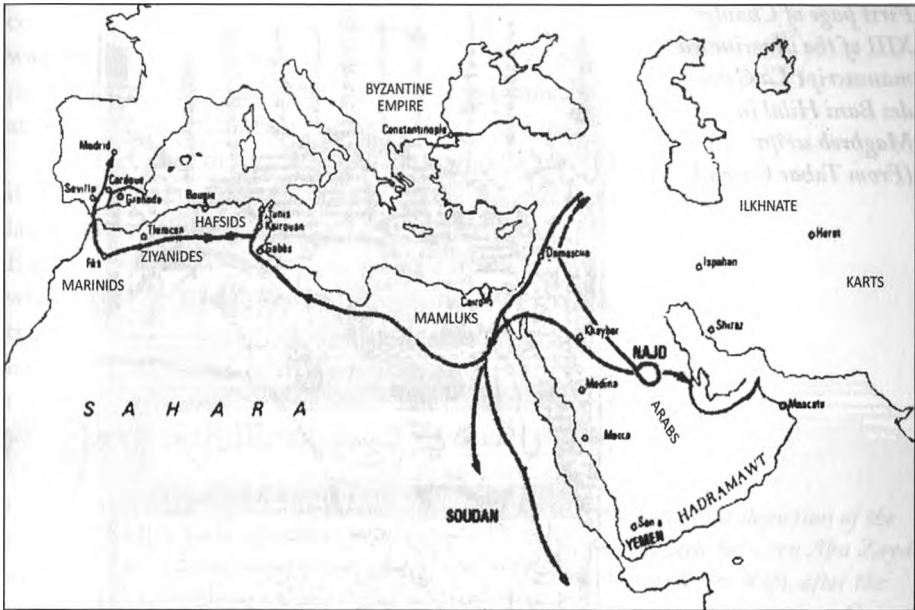
1048

BANI HILAL, RIAH, SULAYM, DURAYD...

Who were these invaders who we refer to generically as the Hilalians ? They were from a large group of Bedouins from central Arabia who worried the Muslim community and its leaders, starting with the Prophet himself, who cursed the Dhakwan, a branch of the Bani Sulaym. They were nomadic, roaming over the vast Najd Plateau, from Mecca to southern Syria and from Hejaz to the region that we now call Bahrain on the Gulf coast. They were able to rob caravans and, if necessary, run raids into Medina, Mecca and south to Mesopotamia. Both the Umayyads and the Abbasids, worried about the security of their pilgrims,

*Nabataean monument
to Mada'in Salih in
Saudi Arabia, which
legend says is the palace
of Abu Zayd al-Hilali.*





making great efforts to keep them out of harm's way. When the Ismaili dissidents, the Qarmatians, grew toward the end of the ninth century, it was thanks to the Hilalians that these unruly Shiites were able to occupy Mecca in 930 and steal the famous black stone of the Kaaba that was brought from Bahrain. The authorities returned the stone to its proper place twenty-two years later.

The original inspiration of the Qarmatians - Hamdan Qarmat - who they were named after - was Ismaili and he was a Predecessor for the Fatimids. However, the *Mahdi*, in hiding, lost control of the movement and it became independent, adopting socio-economic ideas. This independence made it a target of the Fatimids as much as the Abbasids. The Qarmatians menaced Syria and even Egypt. It was the Fatimid Al-Muizz who finally defeated them in 971, two years after Egypt had been taken. To free the

The wanderings of the Hilalians. (Based on Lucienne Saada, La Geste Hilalienne, Paris, Gallimard, 1985.)

First page of Chapter
XIII of the illuminated
manuscript *La Geste
des Bani Hilal* in
Maghreb script.
(From Tahar Guiga.)



roads in Arabia, the Hilalian tribes remained in the eastern desert between the Nile and the Red Sea where they were left on arid land under surveillance. They lived somehow, by from time to time attacking oases, the cultivated lands next to rivers and even approaching cities. They no longer had the edge that their ancestors did, but they did pose a constant threat, especially during famine years. The leadership in Cairo was finally able to contain them, and lo and behold, in the middle of the eleventh century would

come the dispute between Mahdia and Cairo. This was the perfect occasion for Cairo to get rid of them permanently. Apparendy the Caliph was not convinced at first, but his minister was able to persuade him.

The migration did not all happen at once. Far from it. The Bani Hilal had many branches and some were larger than others. On the one side, there were the Bani Hilal and on the other the Bani Sulaym with whom they shared ancestry. Within the Bani Hilal, there were the Athbaj (in which the Drid formed the largest group along with the Guirra and the Kirfa), the Bughba, the Jashm and Riah. These groups made up the largest federation along with the Amir, Sunbir, Dahman (including the Bani Jami from Gabes) and the famous Mirdas who would spread themselves over many regions. The Riah were the first Hilalians to arrive in *Ifriqiya*. The others arrived later in successive waves. Within the Bani Sulaym were the Kaab (including the Dhakwan, cursed by the Prophet), the

Popular depiction of the battle between Abu Zayd and Ibn Rafi, after the Egyptian version. Cairo, early 20th century.



Popular depiction of the jezia on a reverse glass painting.



Dabbab, the Hayb, the 'Awf, who were then split into another group called Merdas (not to be confused with the other group of the same name) and the 'Allag (split into the Dallaj, Khamir, Hakim and Trud). One of the Khamir groups, the Yaacoubis gave birth to Abu-l-Lil, who would be a power for centuries.

There were many confrontations with the inhabitants and the distribution of territory changed with each new wave of immigrants. The Banu Hilal Riah were the first, but they had to make room for others and disagreements and even violent confrontations



took place between the different tribes, adding to the general confusion in the region. It seems that when the territory was first organised, the Bani Sulaym, before leaving Egypt had to stay in Cyrenaica, even Tripolitania. But how could they resist the temptation to spread to the West ? From north to south, the area was systematically taken over. The Hilalians from the beginning were all over what is today Tunisia and settled in the plains of Constantine, too. They were also found in the mountainous regions of Dhahra in southern Tunisia, the Aures, the Nememchas, the

Abu Zayd al-Hilali on a reverse glass painting.

Manuscript page from Masalik al-Absar by Ibn Fadhl Allah Al- 'Umari, who helped to reconstruct apart of the lost work of Ibn Rashiq, Unmudhaj az-Zaman, an anthology of poets from Kairouan. BNF, Paris. (Based on the edition of M.L. Metoui and B. Baccouche, MTE, Tunis, 1986.)

Hodhna and the Babors as well as areas just north of the Sahara. However, the Almohads, starting in the twelfth century, drove out entire tribes from western Algeria and Morocco all the way to the Atlantic. A similar fate was reserved for certain unruly Berber tribes. It's worth noting that in the flat zones, the Berbers and Arabs truly integrated. One example is the Hawara from *Ifriqiya* who over time became "Arabised" and integrated with the Bani Sulaym in the region. Ibn Khaldun remarked that the assimilation was so complete you could not distinguish between the Sulaym and Hawari.

In the middle of the tumultuous eleventh century, the scholar Ibn Rashiq came to prominence. Abu Ali Hasan Ibn Rashiq Al-Azdi, known as Al-Kairaouani, was born in Mohammedia, between Tunis and Zaghuan, around 994. It was in Kairouan that he received his literary education. He became famous as a poet in the court of Al-Muizz Ibn Badis. He would become better known in posterity for his fundamental work on Arab poetry, *Al-'Umda*, which remains a reference work, than for his own poetry and criticism. After Al-Muizz, he regularly visited his son Tamim, then emigrated to Mazara del Vallo, Sicily where he died in 1063.

وما ذكر له قول

قاصر اذا المضي يديه قوله فوي السراج لكل امرئ شكل
راضت تجاربه الزمان وراضها فاما داصعه برأي فعمل
جعل السباح شعاعه ودثان فبمنه وشماله كالشهاب
يلقي العفاه بيشم ونواله وياض غره وجهه المنهل

ومنهم عبد الله بن فلاح هو اخذ ما اخترته من الامونج
اشترته من جنني لك الشهيد الذي لم يخرج لم يقر له يد ولا عرف
لا وفلاح له اب وجد قال ابن رشيح كان صذرا

لفزان مشهورا ذلك ذكيا لودعيا ملج الشعز وما انشد له قوله

يملك من قلبي وسمعي وناظري حمي لم يجه مذات مبع

واني وان ابصر منك قهر على ما بقلبي من هوي ليحج

تقول اناس قد سلوت واني لفي حزن ان تغدي واروح

تمكن من حتمي الصني فاذا به فما انا ابلع والعود صحيح

قلت وهذا شعر يرق نضان ويذوب غصانه يستبيح العطر الاعم ولين قوي الجلاء

قال ابن رشيح وسطابا بالسيف بالجناد ورثي لخوا في له يحسن الوداد

ايا من رأي قبرا ضمن زمنه اناس كره ان يغوي الى الحشر

واصبح وجهي بعداي نضانه كناه ايلي ثوبا يحدمع الدهر

وهذا اخذ المتأخر الامودج فاما ما وقع على الاحصار من حواير الدرعه ودماء افر الدود وما ذكره

وطايفه

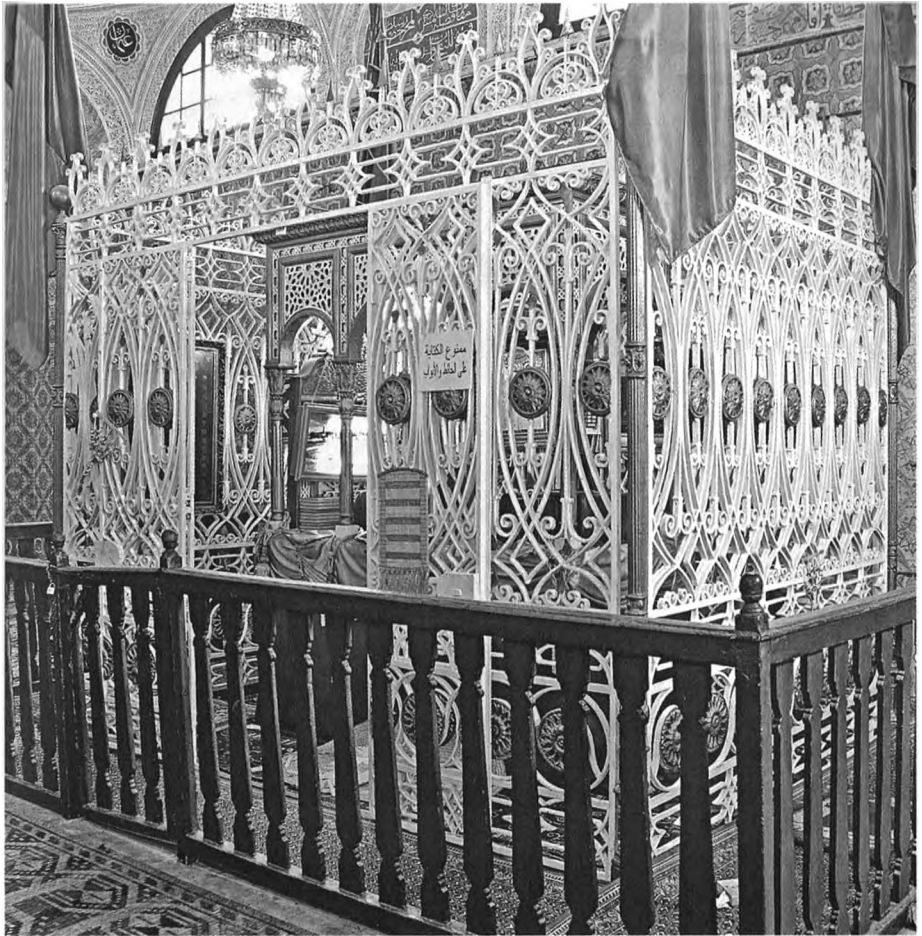
1050

THE ZIRIDS II: POWER DISINTEGRATING

When the Zirids broke with Cairo, it triggered Shiite massacres throughout *Ifriqiya*. A truly bloody manhunt happened in all of the cities. We don't have reliable statistics, but the victims must have numbered in the thousands. It is clear that no one among those who stayed could say that they were Shiite. One of the most well-known moments was in Tunis where a man of high standing, an uncompromising Sunni, became the head of the city before being sanctified. Muhriz Ibn Khalaf massacred Shiites and protected the Jews, who for the first time were living within the ramparts of the city. The city would later become the fiefdom of the Bani Khorassan, placed in power by the Bani Hammed, the second branch of the Sanhaja.

*The Maghreb and Egypt in the late 10th century. (After A. Ducellier, M. Kaplan, B. Martin and F. Micheau, *Le Moyen Age en Orient: Byzance et l'Islam*, Paris, Hachette, 1995.)*

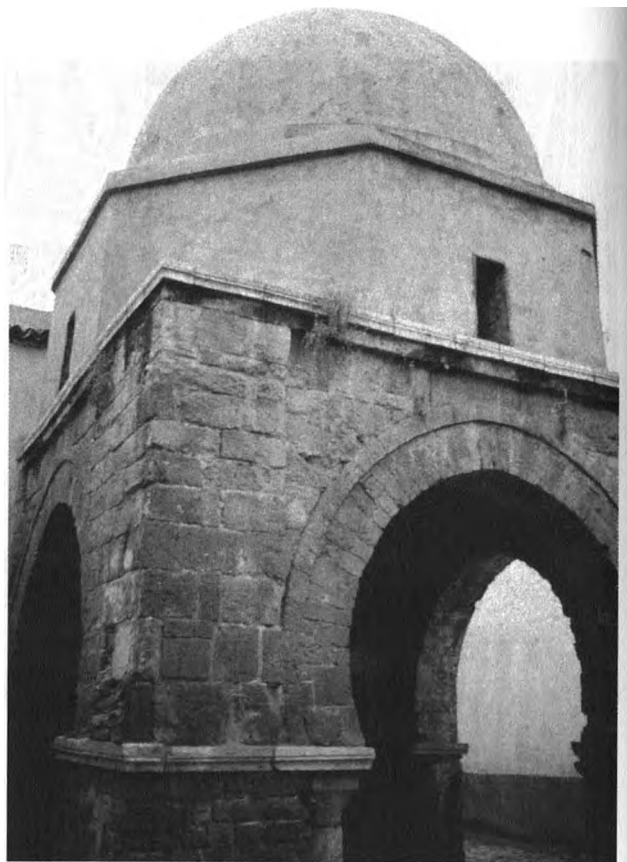




The Zirids were indebted to the Fatimids. By breaking with his overlords, Al-Muizz did not save his dynasty. It condemned it to death. Nevertheless the illusion was maintained because the official end of the dynasty would only happen a century later. During that time, the Zirid prince lost power. The next era would be focussed on the Bani Hilal, a generic name that concealed the diversity of the different Arab nomad tribes who would spread through *Ifriqiya* and

The tomb of Muhriz Ibn Khalaf in Tunis, better known as Sidi Mihriz.

*The mausoleum of the
Bani Khorassan princes
in Tunis, better known
as Sidi Bukhrissan.*



contribute little by little to the Maghreb as a whole, leaving the definitive mark of their Arab culture. In fact, there were many waves, one after the other, for half a century. The details are buried in legend, making a true epic ballad that has been passed on for centuries, some calling it epic poetry, others a tragedy. Were the Bani Hilal, recognised for having Arabised the region, a factor in the economic slide that hurt the region's prosperity ? The debate on this issue has continued since the twelfth century. What is certain is that their successive waves into the territory accelerated the breakdown of the Zirid state. They occupied the countryside. The inhabitants moved into the cities

within the ramparts, and in order to continue to cultivate their crops, had to form accords with the Arab Bedouins, paying them tributes and sometimes fighting them. In the cities, and sometimes in the more vast regions, fiefdoms were created.

In post-Umayyad Andalusia, we speak about the *Reyes de Taifas*, kings of regional communities. There was an equivalent phenomenon in the Maghreb. Principalities developed everywhere. Tunis was given to the Bani Khorassan dynasty. Gafsa went to its governor, Abd-Allah Ibn Ar-Rand, a Jerbian from Sidghyan who declared himself independent and whose descendants would remain in power for a century. In Gabes, it was the Arabs among the Bani Hilal and Bani Jami tribes who took power. Other Arabs, the Ibn Al-Wards, took over Bizerte and the surrounding area. In Beja, Tebourba, Le Kef, Lorbeus and



*Khorassan inscription
on the door of the Great
Mosque of Zaituna,
opening onto Souk
el-Attarine.*

Zaghouan, local chiefs defended their urban territories. Thus the Zirids saw their authority dwindle to the point where they only had a thin band along the coast between Sousse and Sfax, and even within this territory, they had to fight the Normans, who had settled in Sicily in 1041, and captured the most important maritime destinations from the Sahel to Tripoli, including the entire island of Jerba. Is it still possible to talk about a Zirid state at this point ? Historians cease referring to it, as if the state disappeared in the middle of the eleventh century. Still the Riah, the first wave of immigrants, had to conclude their accords with the Zirids. Tamim, the son of Al-Muizz Ibn Badis, made desperate attempts to ward off bad luck : he temporarily took back Sfax, which had seceded in the hands of the Barghouata Berbers, as well as Mahdia, occupied by the Normans, by paying them 300,000 dinars. His successor Yahya tried to create a navy in order to be able to deal with dangers coming from overseas, considering that they were more serious for Muslims. However, he died suddenly in 1115 at his home in Mahdia. His son Ali, thanks on the one hand to an agreement between a small number of Arabs and an army of Sanhaja, succeeded in obliging the independent Prince of the Bani Khorasan of Tunis to pledge his allegiance, at least for



*Norman ship from the
Bayeux Tapestry.*



a time. He even mobilised a group of Riah Arabs against the Bani Jami¹ chief of Gabes, but this local leader, Arab as he was, decided to make an agreement with the Normans, who sent him a rescue fleet. Ali died in 1121 without having successfully retaken Gabes.

The historian Ibn Khaldun took pleasure in recounting the multiple episodes during this period that bring delight to those who love historical novels. Remember that the last of the Zirids, Hasan, the son of Ali, who had acceded to power at the age of 12 in 1121, was captured in Mahdia by George of Antioch, the former military advisor of his father, rallying behind the Norman, Roger of Sicily. He abandoned the capital, searching in vain for a place to take refuge, finally settling in Algiers. Abd-al-Mumin Ibn Ali, the first Almohad Caliph, met him there on his advance east, brought him back to Mahdia in 1159 and called him to Morocco two years later. Hasan died en route, probably in 1162.

The prince and the musician. Bas-relief from Mahdia. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

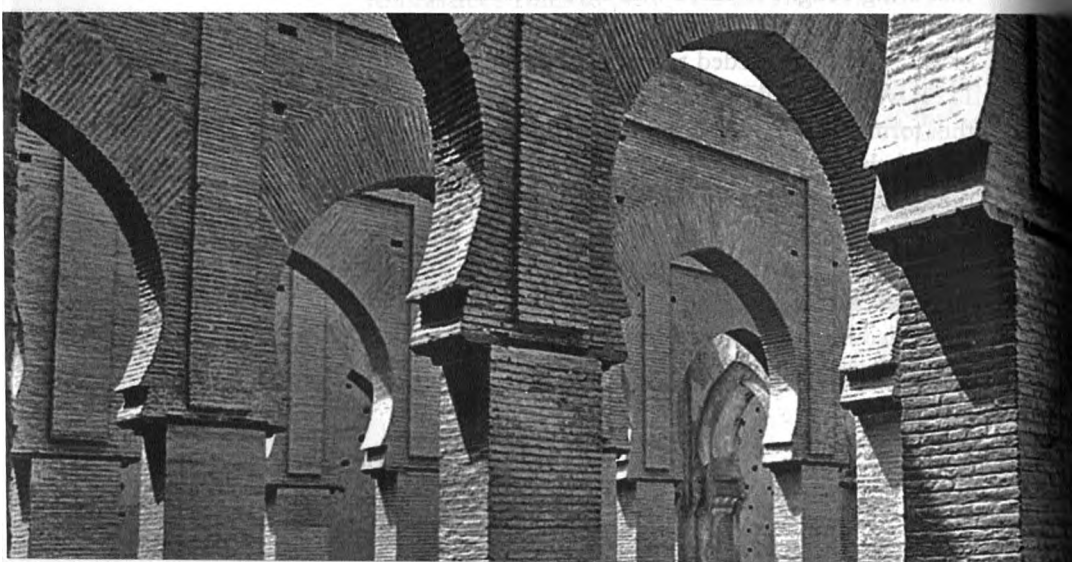
The historian Faouzi Mahfoudh thinks it is possible to make out Roger of Sicily.

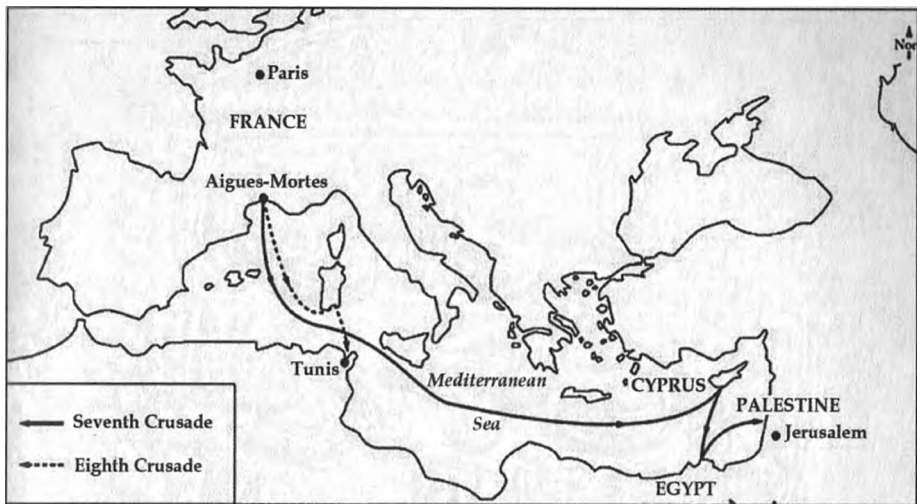
1160

AL-MUWAHHIDUN IN MAHDIA

The people called the *Almohads* in European languages are known as the *Mu'wahhidun* (Unitarians) in Arabic, because their doctrine rested on the uncompromising idea of Muslim monotheism. They appeared at the beginning of the eleventh century when the man behind their doctrine, Ibn Tumart, the *Mahdi*, settled in Tinnel in the Moroccan Atlas Mountains in 1125. He was born among the Masmuda Berber confederation, more specifically from among the Hintata. Another important figure was Abd Al-Mumin Ibn Ali, one of his first followers. They had met in Algeria after returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. Within five years, thanks to the support of the Hintata, the Almohads imposed their doctrine on the region and mobilised sufficient forces

*Tinnel Mosque
in Morocco.*





to end the Murabitin reign (known as the *Almoravids* to historians). The Almohads' doctrine was founded by Abd-Allah Ibn Yasin in 1030 in the Sahara on the Atlantic coast and was made successful by the great chief Yusuf Ibn Tachiffine, from the Lamtouna Berber tribe. He founded a new capital, Marrakech, and at the peak of their glory they Islamised Senegal, Mali and the ancient kingdom of Ghana. Then, they returned north, occupying Sijilmassa, Taroudant, Fez

*The conquests of
Abd-al-Mumin Ibn Ali.
(Based on Maghreb
Medieval, Aix-en-
Provence, Edisud 1991.)*





*Silver Almohad
dirham in the name
of Abu Muhammad
Abd-Al-Mumin
IbnAli.*

and all of the western Maghreb to Algiers. They moved into Spain, called by the princes of the *Taifas* to help against the Christian Reconquista, achieved a great victory at Zallaqa in 1085, and later, in 1103, controlled all of southern Spain. Perhaps this was too large and diverse a territory to keep unified ? Blood would flow again for the Hintata Masmuda mobilised to serve the Almohads.

The history of the twelfth century can be seen in different ways. The ardent defenders of Maghreb unity sing the praises of the great march of Abd-Al-

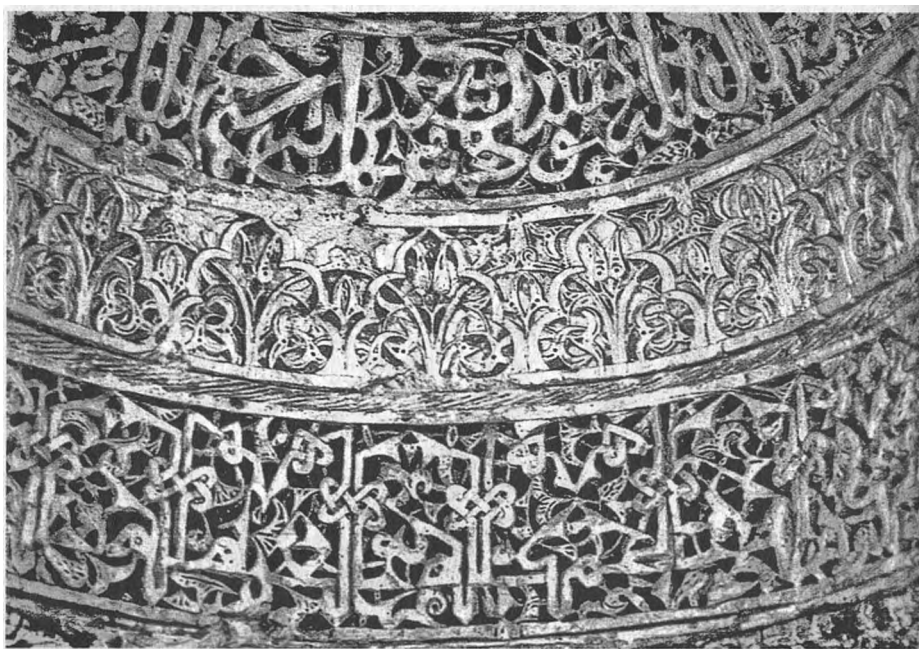


Mumin Ibn Ali from the western Maghreb to Tripolitania. Nothing stopped him, and he realised the dream of a united Maghreb for generations of Maghrebians. The truth is a little more mundane.

Not only had the Almoravid empire crumbled, but the rest of the Maghreb that was not under their control imploded in the eleventh century when the Hilalians arrived and the Zirid state as well as the Hammadite branch in central Algeria fell. The Almohad army only had the remains of a state before them. As we've previously seen, in the twelfth

Square dirham:

*"Allah is our God,
Muhammad is our
Messenger, Al-Mahdi
is our Imam. "*



Stucco decoration on the mihrab in the « Bled al-Hadhar » mosque in Tozeur, where an Almohad influence is discernible.

century, stability was faltering in many regions of the Euro-Mediterranean world. Pope Gregory and the Council of Clermont, having begun the Crusades to end the wars between neighbouring Christians, had begun to push forward at the end of the previous century. The Fatimids, who had lost Syria to the Seljuks, the armed faction of the Abbasids, took and then lost Jerusalem, which was conquered by the Crusaders in 1099. The Abbasids only had a small amount of power in Baghdad. They had lost control of the north where the Hamdanites had carved out a principality in the tenth century, going from the Kurdish zone to the Phoenician coast, and made famous by Emir Sayf-Ad-Dawla and the poets Al-Mutanabbi and Abu-Firas Al-Hamadani. In Egypt, Salah ad-Din (*Saladin* in history), whose family swept out the Hamdanite princes from Aleppo in 1169,

taking over the post of counsel to the head of Cairo, simply ended the Fatimid dynasty in 1172. In *Ifriqiya*, the Normans occupied Jerba and Mahdia in 1134, Tripoli in 1146, Gabes and Sfax in 1148. It's not surprising that the people of the Maghreb — having been extorted by the Hilalians, torn apart by rivalries between local principalities and the Christian occupation of the *Ifriqiyān* coasts - saw Abd-Al-Mumin as a liberator.

The Almohads expanded their control of the Maghreb in 1161. That doesn't mean though that they had subdued all its nooks and crannies. Gafsa was only taken in 1180. There were a number of dissident towns that were looked after by Ibn Ghanya, an offshoot of the Almoravids. The irony of the story is that the Almoravid dynasty, which had never succeeded in setting foot in the eastern part of the Maghreb, saw the possibility of reconquering North Africa in Ibn Ghanya, who had first settled in the Balears, taken in 1185. They landed at Bejaia (Bougie), where the Hammadites had been driven out by the Almohads. His idea was met with opposition, but that did not stop him and his descendants from finding help among the Arab Bani Sulaym. For a short time they occupied Biskra in the south, Bone in the north and passed through Tunis, Mahdia, Gabes and Tripoli. In short, it would take time for the Almohads to defeat Ibn Ghanya, pursuing him as far as the Sahara. It was not until the Hafsīd dynasty at the end of the first third of the thirteenth century that the chapter on Ibn Ghanya's supporters ends.

1228

THREE AND A HALF CENTURIES OF HAFSIDS

It was a difficult start for the Hafsid dynasty. It began with the patriarch, Abu Hafs ‘Umar Al-Hintati, who put in place the new doctrine of the *Muwahhidin* (Almohads), empowering his Hintata tribe, a branch of the Masmuda from the Moroccan High Atlas Mountains. To seal the association with Imam Ibn Tumart, Abu Hafs gave his daughter to Abd al-Mumin Ibn Ali, the *Kumi* Berber (a branch of the Zenata) who had been a follower of the imam since he began his teachings in the central Maghreb. Abu Hafs had a Berber name, *Faska O'mzal Inti*. It was the imam who gave him his Arab name, ‘Umar, after ‘Umar Ibn Al-Khattab, the Prophet’s right-hand man, and *Abu-Hafs* because historically, ‘Umar gave his daughter Hafsa in marriage to the Prophet. Proud of this connection to a prestigious family line, all of *Faska's* descendants would keep the name *Hafsiyin* (Hafsid).

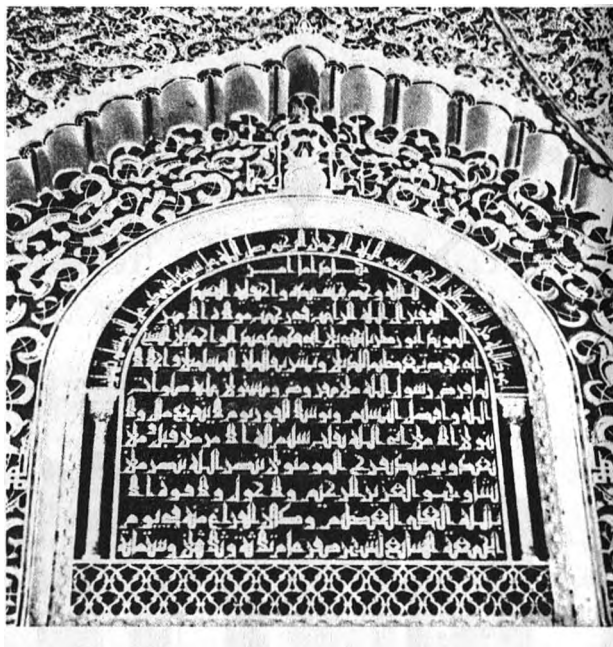
On Imam Ibn Tumart’s death, it became evident to Abu Hafs that he needed to work on the council of the ten Almohad Sheikhs - the Shura Council - so that Abd al-Mumin Ibn Ali, who had already commanded troops when the imam was alive, could succeed him as chief of the Hintata, who were the heart of the Masmuda army serving the doctrine. Abd al-Mumin



The Casbah Mosque, designed by the architect Ibn Kasim, is a jewel of Hafsid monumental art. It dates back to the reign of Abu Aakarya Yahya ; construction lasted four years, from 1231 to 1235.

did not live long after the conquest of the entire Maghreb. Before dying in 1163, he recommended to his son Yusuf that he take care of the Hintata. Thus his descendants remained in power and were called *Sada* (plural of *Say id*). The members of the Abu Haf's family were known as *Sheikh's*. There was turmoil in the Maghreb when Abd al-Mumin died, and Yusuf travelled all over to suppress revolts. At Gafsa, for example, there was an insurrection in conjunction with Tripolitanian forces led by a Mamluk called Karakush, and Arabs. The troubles would continue

*Inscription at the top
of the mihrab in the
Casbah Mosque.*



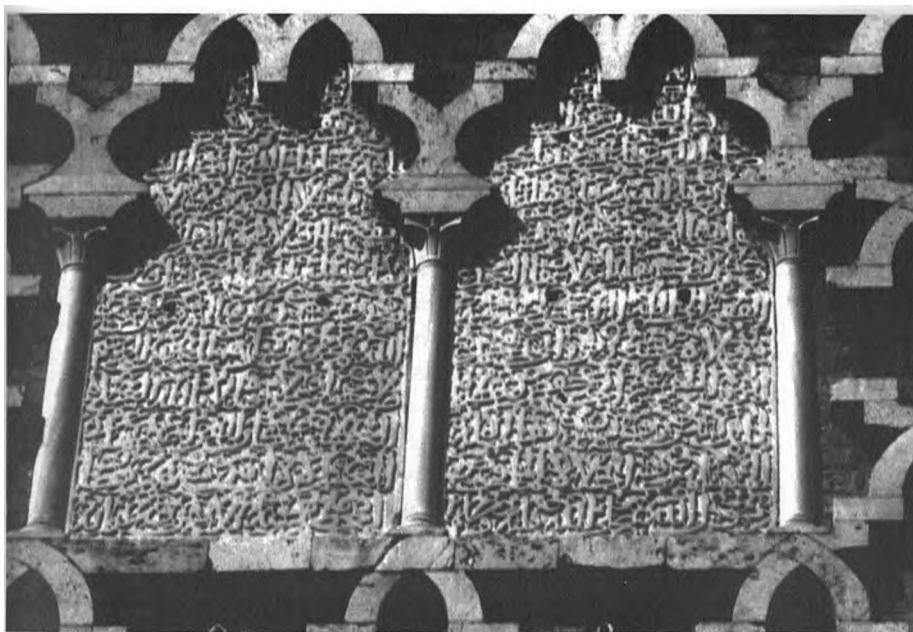
*Marble capital from the
Casbah Mosque.*



for ten years. In 1184, Ali Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ghanya, the Alomravid who had escaped the massacre in Morocco when the Almohads took power and who took refuge in the Balears, landed at Bejaia (Bougie), which proved difficult to conquer. He concluded an alliance with the Arab tribes, notably the Bani Sulaym, took

Algiers and Miliana and lay siege to Constantine. The same year, Yusuf Ibn Abd al-Mumin died in Marrakech, and his son, Ya'qub succeeded him. He was called Al-Mansur, the victorious. He is the one who took back Gafsa, Gabes and Tozeur from the Arabs and Tripolitarians.

He drove a group of the revolting Riahs to Morocco. Ya'qub died in 1198 and his son, An-Nasir, took over. With Ah Ibn Ghanya dead, it was his son Yahya who continued the fight and took Mahdia, Kairouan, Beja, Annaba and Tunis. He also declared his allegiance to the Abbasids of Baghdad ;



the Almohad An-Nasir took back Tunis and left Sheikh Abd al-Wahid Ibn Abi Hafs as governor, a governor who was able to crush the dissidents.

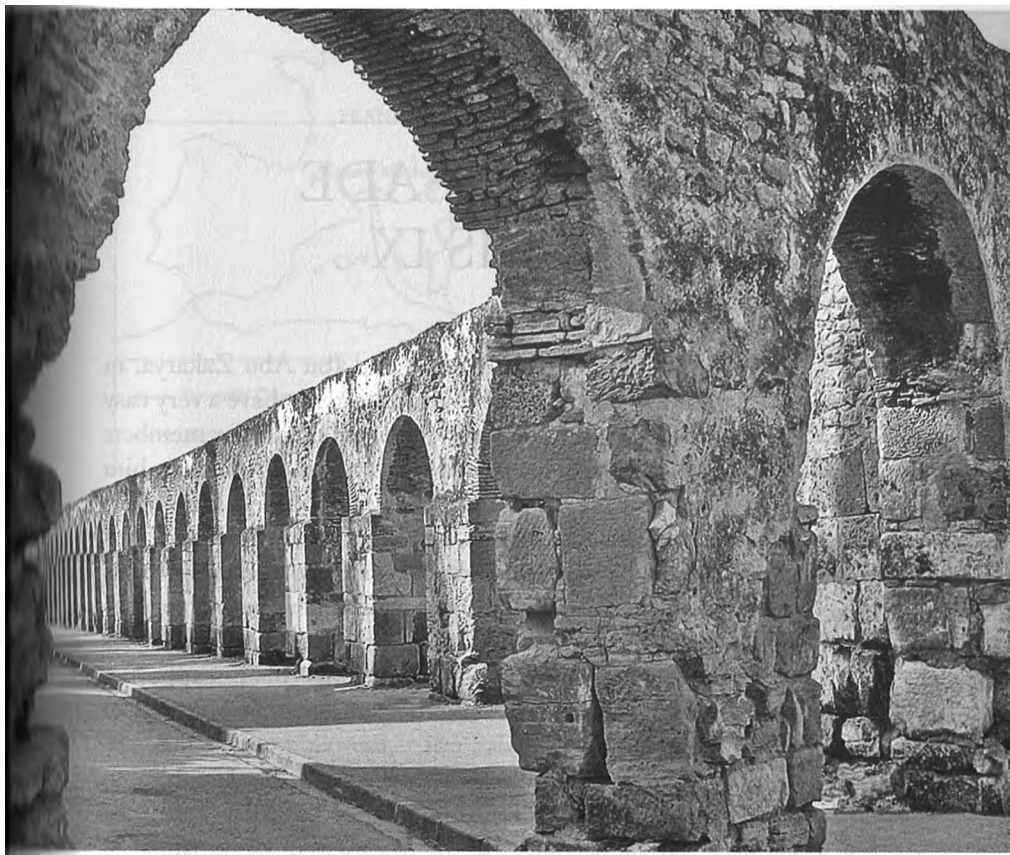
However, succession in *Ifriqiya* was not completely clear. When the *Sheikh* died in 1221, the Almohad Caliph, Al-Mustansir appointed a successor from the line of Abd al-Mumin. It was only six years later that Caliph Al-Adil appointed the son of Abd al-Wahid, Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad. However, in 1228 in the name of Almohad orthodoxy the new governor opposed the appointment of Al-Mamun as Caliph. This was when Marrakech gave power in *Ifriqiya* to the true founder of the new dynasty : *Sheikh* Abu Zakarya Yahya Ibn Abd al-Wahid Ibn Abi Hafs 'Umar. Having had 63 years of direct Almohad rule, *Ifriqiya* would take another path under the Hafsids for three and a half centuries. The new 26-year-old governor proved an exceptional leader during his

Inscription on the minaret of the Casbah Mosque, featuring the name of Abu Zakarya, dated 1233.

twenty-two-year reign. He calmed the country by crushing the Dhawawda (a branch of the Riah), helped the Merdas and the Kaab (of the Bani Sulaym), and drove entire tribes out of one region or another to break off dangerous alliances and reinforce his authority from Syrte to the borders of Morocco. It's true that circumstances helped. The irony here is that his brother, Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad, was excluded from power because he opposed him in the name of Al-Mamun and Almohad orthodoxy in Marrakech. However, what followed showed that he was right. The Caliph rejected the strict doctrine of Imam Ibn Tumart in 1229.

Abu Zakarya Yahya, the new governor, used this renunciation to proclaim independence as well as leadership of the original doctrine. However, the true Almohad Caliph was in Tunis and not Marrakech. Abu Zakarya Yahya received the allegiance of his followers across the Maghreb and after 1245 from Andalusia (Seville, Jerez, Murcia, and Almeria) without being able to stop the fall of Valencia, then Seville to the Christians. He created small buffer states on the edge of Morocco and in central Algeria (like the territories of the Bani Tujin, Bani Mandil and Mallikch tribes). He reinforced the dynasty of Abd-al-Wad (*Abdal'wadids*) at Tlemcen in 1242 after forcing his emir, Yagmurassin Ibn Zayan to break his ties with Marrakech. He added his name in the prayers for the Prophet's successors, *Al-Khulafa Ar-Rashidin* or the main caliphs. *Ifriqiya* emerged newly independent, more than during the Aghlabid dynasty. This time,





there was allegiance to no one. The European states, Venice in 1231, Pisa in 1234, Genoa in 1236, created accords on trade and navigation plus reciprocal peace agreements with Abu Zakarya. Marseille began trade with Bejaia (Bougie).

When the dynasty's founder died in 1249, he left his son, Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad (the future, Al-Mustansir) a vast kingdom and influential empire. His successor would have an extraordinary fate, live a long life and be counted among the great Hafsid sultans.

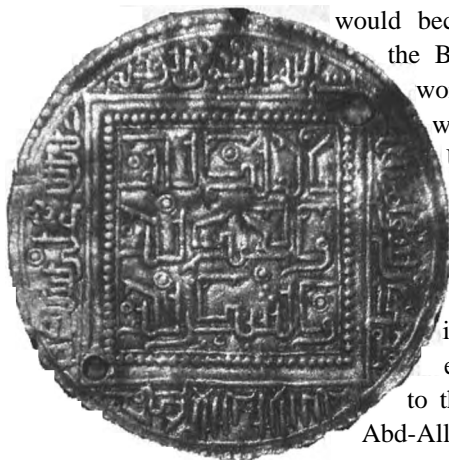
The Bardo aqueducts, designed by Abu Abdallah Al-Mustansir in 1276, fed the casbah and the royal gardens of Ras Tabia and Abu Fihir. The Abu Fihir pools now lie inside the walls of the Cite des Sciences in Tunis.

1270

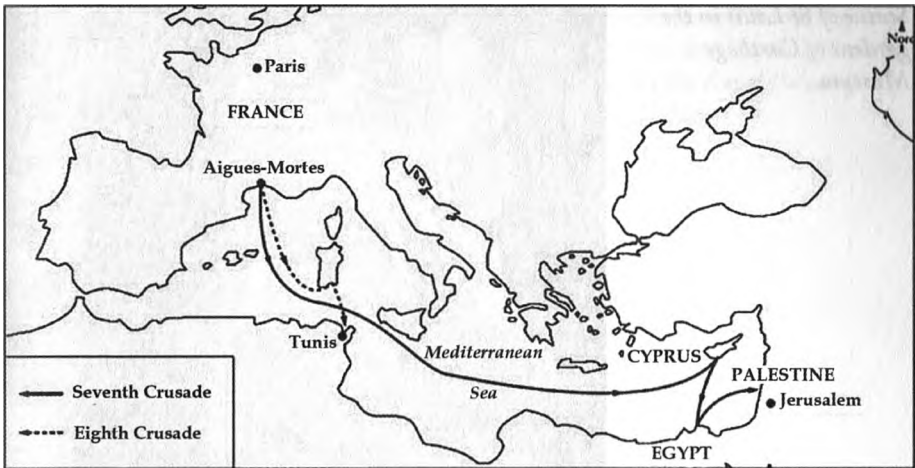
THE CRUSADE OF LOUIS IX

Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad Ibn Abu Zakarya, in spite of what one would think, did not have a very easy task. His ascension was contested by certain members of his family. There was a plot hatched to replace him with his cousin, but it ended in bloodshed. One of his brothers, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, escaped from Tunis where he was being watched, and took refuge with his family's enemy, the Dhawawda. There he put together a force, seized Biskra and began to march on Gabes when he was abandoned by his main supporter, General Dhafir. He fled to Tlemcen and from there to Andalusia.

*Coin in the name of
the Hafsid Sultan Abu
Abdallah Muhammad,
Bejaia (Algeria),
1249-76.*



The young sultans entourage encouraged him to proclaim himself Caliph in 1253, which meant he would become *Amir Al-Muminin* or Commander of the Believers, for all believers in the Muslim world. In fact, the position was open : there was no chief anywhere recognised by the Umma, not at Cordoba (from the end of the Umayyad dynasty in 1031), nor in Cairo (from the end of the Fatimid dynasty in 1172), nor in Marrakech (since Al-Mamun had stepped aside), nor in Baghdad with the Mongols advancing, et, even today, Muslims feel an attachment to the Caliphate, a symbol of unity. So, Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad from this time forward



would be called *Al-Mustansir* (one who asks God for victory), and he was confirmed as honourable Caliph by his successive allegiances from the Maghreb, Andalusia and other Muslim countries, especially after the fall of Baghdad in 1258. Thus he received the title of Sharif of Mecca in 1259, inspired, they say, by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Sab'in. In Egypt, after some uncertainty and a document in 1260 calling the Hafsids leader *Amir Al-Muminin*, the Mamluk Baibars, chose to invite a surviving descendant of a Caliph from Baghdad to come to Cairo to begin the second line of Abbasids. It's true that Baibars took power after an assassination and needed to become legitimate to give credibility to the reign of the Mamluks. In this context, having an Abbasid spiritual leader who might not have any real power was still better than a distant Caliph far away who did have it.

Route of the 7th and 8th crusades led by Louis IX.

On another note, *Ifriqiyas* foreign relations with other Mediterranean states were good. The brother of the king of France, Charles d'Anjou, worked to protect Sicily from the last of the Hohenstaufen who

*Statue of St Louis in the
gardens of Carthage
Museum.*

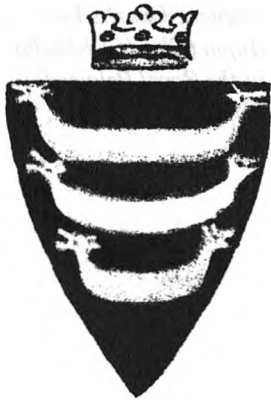


had inherited the Norman kingdom. To do this, he needed the support of the Sicilian Muslims whose protector was the Hafsid sultan. Yet, here was his own brother, King Louis IX, convinced that he had a religious mission to accomplish, organising an expedition in 1270 against *Ifriqiya* ; a mission whose objective was not very clear. Was it a crusade to erase the memory of defeat in Egypt in 1254 (in Damietta and Mansoura) when Louis IX was imprisoned and then only released after a ransom was paid, or was his



*Statue of Charles I of
Anjou (Charles of Sicily)
in the Royal Palace of
Naples.*

intention, as they say, to convert the Hafsid sultan to Christianity ? The latter is a curious idea, inspired perhaps, by the friendly gestures of the monarch toward Christians during the intensification of the Catholic Reconquista in 13th century Spain, when Muslims were driven from the Baleares by the Aragon kingdom, and the French were fought over Sicily. Abu Abd-Allah, in fact, out of respect for his Christian mother, Atf, had a private church built. Abu Abd-Allah renewed treaties with Genoa in 1250 and



*Coat of arms of
Haakon IV, King of
Norway. Abu Abd-Allah
maintained close ties
with the crowns of
Europe.*

Venice in 1251, as well as with Florence. He had excellent relations with Charles d'Anjou. He had Catalans in his cavalry as well as his personal guard. He exchanged ambassadors with Catalonia and Pisa. Furthermore, he sent a delegation to attend the marriage of Christine of Norway with the brother of the King of Castille, Alphonse X in March 1258, at Valladolid. Haakon IV, King of Norway, created an embassy for him in 1263. If we think about the fact that the Muslims had lost Cordoba in 1236, Seville in 1248 and Murcia in 1265, these developments were what you could call a practical approach to diplomacy on the part of the Hafsids. But how is it possible to believe, even in the Middle Ages, a desire to try to convert a leader who was a Caliph, Amir Al-Muminin, the religious leader of all Muslims ?

The "crusade" moreover, is a bit puzzling. It lasted from July 18, the day they landed in Carthage, until November 18, 1270, the date the last of the Europeans were sent away, after four months spent more on tending to the wounded and burying the dead. At the beginning, Charles d'Anjou wrote a letter to his brother, Louis IX on July 24 asking him to wait until his arrival before attacking. He wrote another letter on July 29 to explain his delay. He finally landed on August 25, finding his brother, the king of France, dead that very day and that cholera had already killed one of the king's sons, the Count of Nevers, as well as the representative of the Pope, Cardinal D'Albano and that it had decimated a portion of the crusader army. What was he going to do ?

After arriving, the crusaders had created a trench around their camp after expelling the Muslims in Carthage and Maalga. The Muslims mobilised everyone who responded to the Caliph's call for Jihad : the Berber tribes of the Bani Toujane led by Amir Abu Zayan Ibn Abd-al-Qawi, volunteers from the Sahel



and Kairouan, among whom were Sheiks Al-Qadidi and Abu Ammar (the Sidi Ammar of Ariana), and the sovereign's army. They set up camp at La Soukra, near Ariana. Their commander-in-chief was Hafsid

*St Louis in Tunis.
Painting in the
Pantheon, Paris.*



*The death of St Louis
in Carthage.*

*Opposite page:
Recumbent statue of
St Louis in the gardens
of Carthage Museum.*

Sheikh Yahya Ibn Salah Al-Hintati, but the Sultan himself was present, and also present in his tent, his advisor gathered all the commanders plus two Castillian noblemen, Frederick of Castile and Frederick Lancia, who were Charles d'Anjou's adversaries. At first there were only skirmishes that were not terribly serious, but then there was an attempt by the crusaders to cross the Lake of Tunis on September



avec son père le bon Roy Rich
 Picardie. Cy finent les chapitres
 du Roy père saint loys.
 Cy commencent les chapitres du Roy
 saint loys. Le premier comment le
 Roy saint loys fut couronné à Roy



Nous devons avoir enue
 moult les furs et les bail
 lances de puissance et
 de l'auoir honneur. Et nous devons

4 which was not successful. Then there was a Muslim counterattack on October 2, which would be disastrous, ending in occupation and pillage in the Hafsid camp. The two leaders met for negotiations that led to a treaty on October 30 that was ratified by the Muslim leader on November 5. The treaty was established for fifteen years between the Hafsid leader *Al-Khalifa Al-Imam Al-Muayad Al-Mansur Amir Al-Muminin Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad* (as it appeared in the text) and by way of the Great King Philippe *by the grace of God King of France*, the Great King Charles *by the grace of God King of Sicily*, the Great King Thibault *by the grace of God King of Navarre*. The text guaranteed peace between the signatories, the exchange of prisoners, the security of their subjects in the territory of each signatory, and a payment of 200,000 pieces of gold by the Muslim leader, one part now and the other later, guaranteed by the European subjects residing in Hafsid territory. The King of Sicily also gained what he had been owed the two previous years, the subject of litigation that had dragged on. The evacuation of the crusaders happened from 10 to 18 November, 1270.

Neither what happened during, nor the outcome of, this dispute would totally satisfy the two adversaries. It is clear that they were in an impasse. There was not a war in this Eighth Crusade, however, this temporary episode was one in which the Crusaders found themselves besieged. The Muslims were enthusiastic while mobilising, but not terribly effective on the ground. Everything happened as if neither adversary really wanted to go further. The tribes that mobilised wanted to return to their homes by the beginning of autumn. Charles d'Anjou got away with a fair amount of money. Abu Abd-Allah saved his country from permanent occupation by paying. Many Muslim dignitaries broke away from the negotiations entrusted to General Abd-al-Qawi and not their Commander-in-Chief

The coffin of St Louis is carried aboard ship in Tunis. Grandes Chroniques de France, circa 1470.

*Overleaf:
Peace agreement between Philip III the Bold and the King of Tunis. Grandes Chroniques de France (jusquen 1350). Lyon Public Library. Ms. 880.*



"Peace and trade treaty signed following the death of St Louis, between Al-Mustansir Billah, and Philippe III of France, Charles of Sicily and Theobald I of Navarre, on November 21, 1270. "Musée des Archives Nationales, Paris.

Al-Hintati. The treaty was signed by Sheikhs Sadafi, Ibn Zaytun and Tamimi as witnesses. The English Prince Edward, son of Henry III, who arrived too late, looking in vain for glory in the Orient, was covered by the clauses in the treaty as if he had participated from the beginning. Philip III (the Bold) landed there as the Count of Toulouse and left Carthage as King of France, surviving cholera, which had made him bedridden from the moment his uncle Charles arrived.

Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad *Al-Mustansir* (or *Al-Mansur* in the treaty) continued his reign until 1277.

1277

A CENTURY OF TURMOIL

A century is a long time in human terms, three or four generations. Men and women are born, live and die having only experienced periods of turmoil where their main concerns were for their wellbeing and security. Abu-Abd-Allah Muhammad died in 1277 after reigning for twenty-eight years. His designated heir was his son, Al-Wathiq, but his brother, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, returned from hiding in Grenada, landed at Bejaia, reclaimed succession and marched on Tunis with the help of Arabs always ready to support any challenge to central power. Al-Wathiq abdicated in favour of his uncle who immediately killed him and his three sons. Thus began an era of confusion with numerous incidents. Ibrahim was ousted by a pretender to the throne, Ibn Abi 'Umara, who killed him. Abu Hafis Umar, one of Al-Mustansir's brothers, supported by the Kaab tribe, decapitated Abu 'Umara. In the meantime, the King of Aragon, who dislodged Charles d'Anjou of Sicily

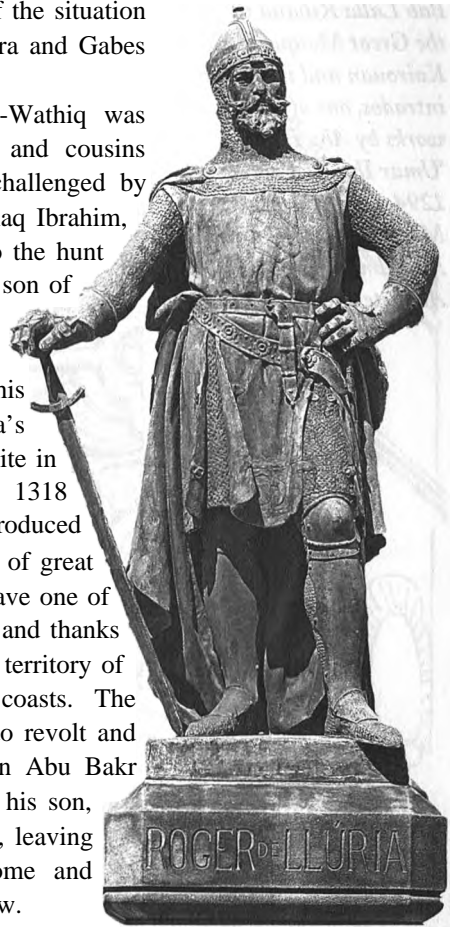
Borj Ghazi Mustapha in Jerba, also called Borj d'Abu Faris (Al-Hafsi). Built on the site of the fortress constructed by Roger of Lauria, who seized Jerba in 1289.



and supported Ibrahim, took advantage of the situation to occupy Collo and Jerba. Bougie, Biskra and Gabes rejected the authority of Tunis.

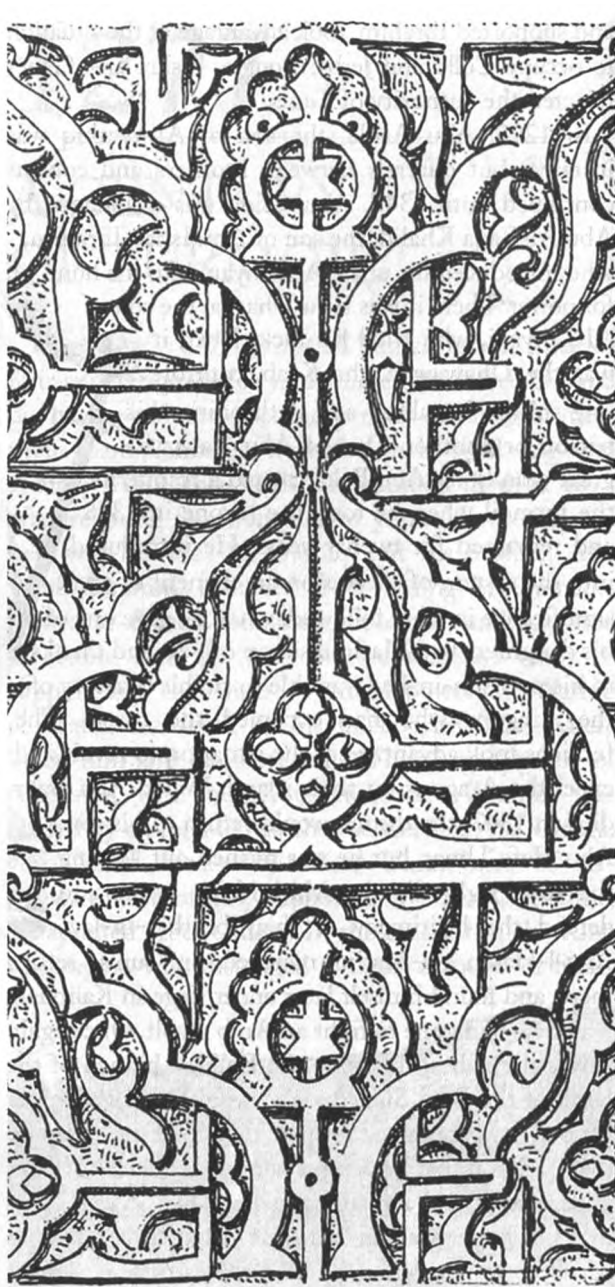
In 1295, Abu Asida, the son of Al-Wathiq was instated, but quarrels between brothers and cousins continued until 1347. Abu Asida was challenged by Abu Al-Baqa Khalid, the son of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, who introduced his uncle Al-Lihyani into the hunt for power. Then, it was Abu Dharba, the son of Al-Lihyani, who tried his luck. Next, it was the Dhawawda, the Kaab, controlling things, installing and dethroning this person or another. One of Abu Zakarya's great-grandsons, Abu Bakr, created a respite in the turmoil when he took the throne in 1318 and remained for twenty years. He introduced into the system of succession an element of great significance in what followed, when he gave one of his daughters to a Marinid sultan of Fez, and thanks to his new son-in-law was able to rid his territory of the Aragons who had occupied the coasts. The Jerbians took advantage of the situation to revolt and expel the Aragons on their island. When Abu Bakr died in 1347, the throne would return to his son, Abu Hafs 'Umar, but he was pushed out, leaving the time right for the Marinids to come and defend the legitimacy of their brother-in-law.

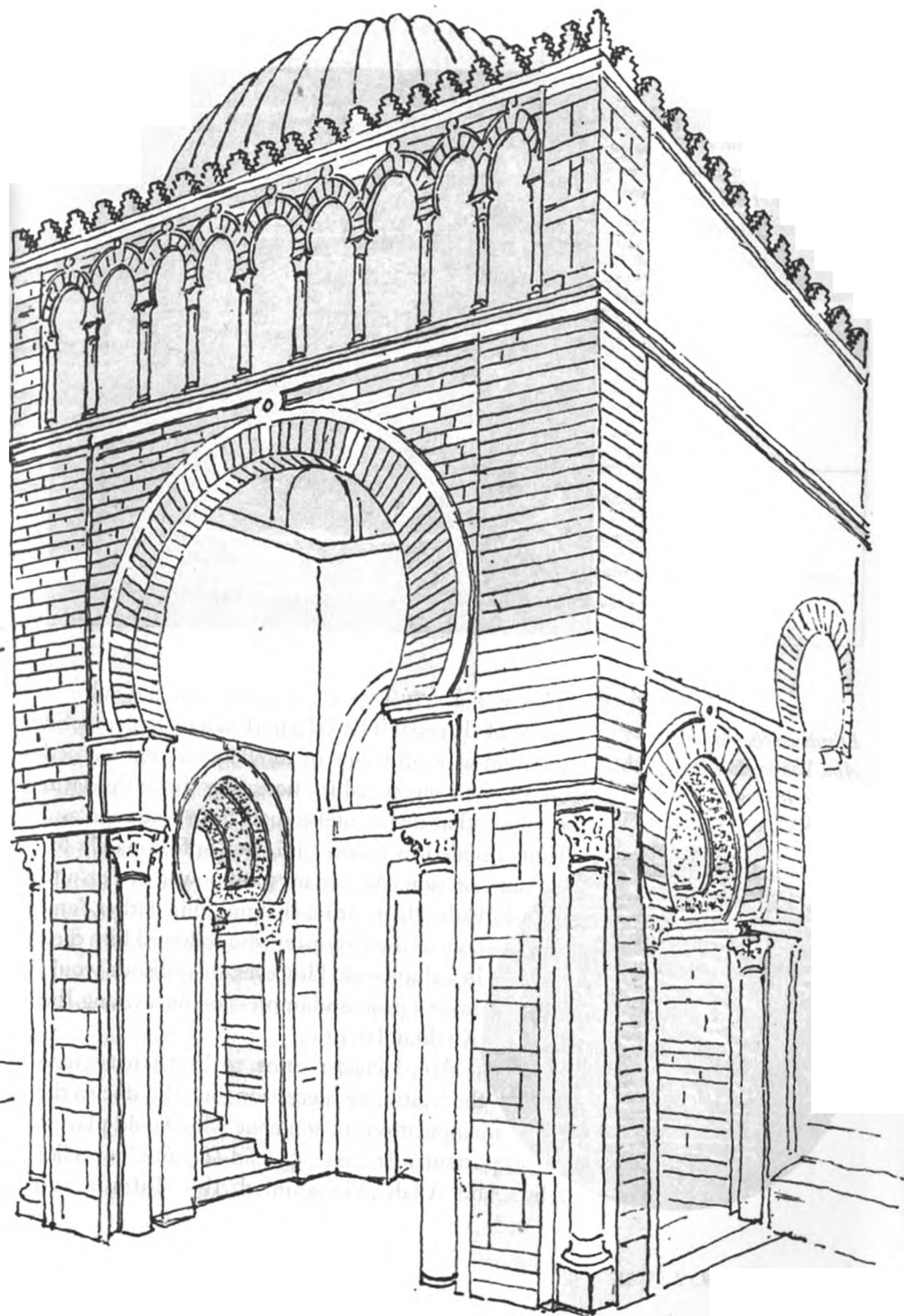
Abu-l-Hasan Al-Marini marched on Tunis, settled there, and found himself later under siege in Kairouan, where he had gone to fight an Arab revolt. Once again it was the tribes, this time the Bellil, a branch of the Kaab of the Bani Sulaym, who would have the upper hand. They guaranteed to spare the life of the sultan on the condition that he accepts being taken back to Tunis under escort and remaining there. Then it was Tunis that no longer wanted him. He decided to return to Morocco by sea, since the land routes were no longer safe for him.



*Statue of Roger of Lauria
in Barcelona.*

Bab Lalla Rihana in the Great Mosque of Kairouan and its ornate intrados, one of the finest works by Abu Hafs 'Umar Ibn Abd al-Wahid, 1294. (From Georges Marçais, Manuel d'Art Musulman, Vol. II, Paris, Auguste Piccard, 1927.)

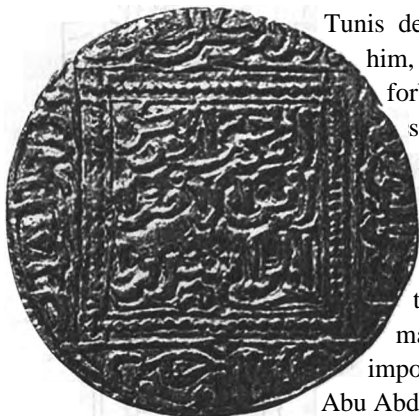




*Copper alms measure
in the name of the
Sultan Marinid, Abu
al-Hasan. Musee des
Antiquites et des Arts
Islamiques, Algiers.*

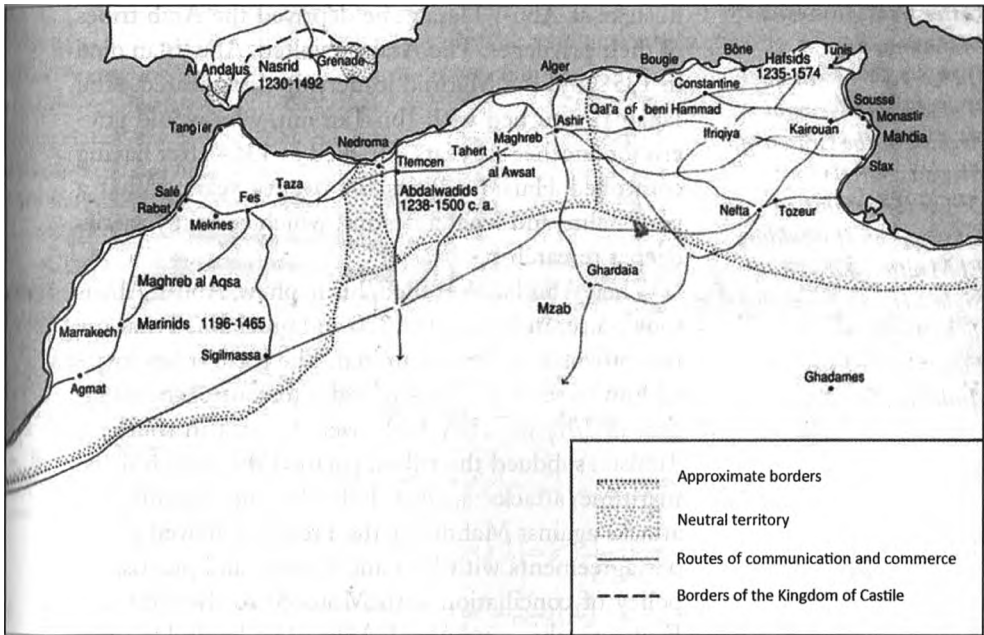


*Dinar in the name of
Abu Yahya Abu Bakr,
1318-46.*



This was a very important episode in the cultural history of Tunisia. The Marinid sultan had a solid reputation as a protector of intellectuals and learned men and had succeeded in increasing the enthusiasm for culture that many intellectuals from Kairouan and Tunis decided to follow him. But unfortunately for him, his son, Abu Inan, took power in Fez and forbade them from helping his father, and some of the *Ifriqiyans* who followed him died in a shipwreck. However, this episode would leave a profound impression on a young Ibn Khaldun later on.

Abu-l-Hasan came to Tunis to defend the legitimate succession, but also due to the manipulations of someone who would play an important role later : Hafsîd {*hajib*} Chancellor Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad Ibn Tafaqqin, an



Almohad sheikh. He was similar to Cardinal Mazarin or the advisors to the Court of Florence, always setting up diplomatic partnerships through marriages, subsidies and short-lived alliances. He was the one behind the alliance between the Hafsids and the Marinids. He had Abu-l-Hasan's son, who was only Hafsid on his mother's side, replaced by his half-brother, Abu Ishaq II, who was Hafsid by both parents. He took advantage because the new sovereign let him have the power to do what he wished. However, many regions rebelled and refused to answer to Ibn Tafrajin, such as Gabes, Jerba, Tripoli, Sfax and the entire Sahel. The Hafsid leaders in Constantine and Bejaia rose up against Tunis. So Abu 'Inan, like his father before him, began his march eastward, taking Tlemcen, then Constantine, then Tunis. Abu Ishaq II and Ibn Tafrajin fled. Abu 'Inan made the same

The Maghreb in the 14th century. (Based on Maghreb medieval, Collectif, Aix-en-Provence, Edisud 1991.)

*Letter from Abu Asida
Muhammad
(1295—1309) to Jacques
II of Aragon. General
Archive of the Crown of
Aragon, Barcelona.
(From the exhibition
catalogue on Ibn Jaldun.
El Mediterraneo en el
Siglo XIV. Auge y declive
de los Imperios,
Fundacion El Legado
Andalusi, Seville, 2006.)*

mistake as Abu-l-Hasan : he deprived the Arab tribes of their privileges. The Arabs revolted. Abu 'Inan died in 1358 and the Marinid leadership disappeared. Abu Ishaq II returned with Ibn Tafrajin, who would govern for another six years. He died in 1364 after having controlled Hafsids politics for twenty years. What a personality and what a destiny, which certainly merits deeper research !

When Abu Ishaq II died, his nephew, Abu-l-Abbas took power in Bougie in 1370 and proclaimed that the two provinces were now united. The Kaab tribes invited him to settle in Tunis in order to control the situation in *Ifriqiya*. They took over the area in southern Tunisia, subdued the tribes, pacified the Zab, resisted maritime attacks against Jerba by the Italians and attacks against Mahdia by the French, renewed previous agreements with Pisa and Genoa, and practised a policy of conciliation with Morocco to the west and Egypt to the east. Abu-l-Abbas left behind a great legacy to his son, another great Hafsids sultan, Abu Faris, when he died in 1394.

The fourteenth century had its share of turmoil and brutal changes of fortune. The Hafsids state of Abu Zakarya and his son, Al-Mustansir, fell victim to the conflicting ambitions of brothers and cousins who were just as inclined to make pacts with the Arab tribes as they were with the Moroccan dynasties. The Marinids settled twice in Tunis, and true, they had a historical link by marriage. The Aragons, the Sicilians and the French profited by occupying Mahdia, the Sahel, Jerba and the west coast of Collo, and took their chances with Bejaia (Bougie) and Annaba. At the same time, the standing that the two first sultans had no longer existed, and the Reconquista had spread in Spain, with only Grenada under Muslim authority. The Sicilian Muslims no longer had a protector. It was a sad state of affairs for the region. Had a state emerged

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله والشكر لله

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد
والشكر لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد

الحمد لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد
والشكر لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد

الحمد لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد
والشكر لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد

الحمد لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد
والشكر لله الذي جعل في خلقه منافع لا يحصى ولا تعد



*Mausoleum of Ibn Arafat
in Djellaz cemetery,
Tunis.*

with well-defined borders and infrastructure, it would have been enough. But alas ! The successors still fought; Abu-l-Abbas had rectified the situation well, but further solutions would be the great work of his son, Abu Faris.

Nonetheless, when passing judgement on this century, we have to take into consideration the cultural background. The great lexicographer Ibn Mandhur, a native of Gafsa and author of the most well-known Arab language dictionary, *LisanAl-Arab*, died in 1311. The religious masters moved from Kairouan to Tunis with the Az-Zaytuna (Zitouna) Mosque taking the place of the 'Uqba Ibn Nafi Mosque. However, Kairouan remained a great home for Muslim culture with Imam Abu-l-Hasan Al-Gabsi. In Tunis, it was Imam Muhammad Ibn Arafat (1315/1399). The teachings of these masters (Muhammad Ibn Abd-As-Salam and Muhammad Ibn Salama), their works and those of their disciples (Muhammad Ibn Khilfa Al-Ubbi, Abu-l-Qacim Al-Burzuli) and the works of

*Statue of Ibn Khaldun
(1332-1406), Tunis.
By Zoube'ir Turki.*





Al-Gabsi served as the bases for Malekite Sunni studies in the entire Maghreb and Mauritania.

This was also the century of Abd-Ar-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (born in 1332, died in 1406), who knew how to find lessons in the upheaval he saw in his lifetime and his voyages. Knowing the events of his time sheds further light on his writings, enabling us to better understand the judgements he placed on his contemporaries, on many different parts of the population and especially on the tide of history.

Opposite page:
A number of countries claim paternity of Ibn Khaldun as a result of his wanderings and frequent travels: not just Tunisia, where he was born and raised, but also Spain, Morocco and Egypt. Bust of Ibn Khaldun in Bejaia, Algeria.



First page of the Prolegomena (Al-Muqaddima) manuscript, held in Istanbul, 1491. The square, top left, is said to be by the hand of Ibn Khaldun.

Overleaf (double page) :
an easily readable manuscript of the Kitāb al-Ibar by Ibn Khaldun, held in the Yale University library, 1728.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه قال سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى والى الدين
فاضى المسلمين ابو زيد عبد الرحمن بن خلدون الحضرمي المالكى ادام الله ايامه . واعتز احكامه . وسنة
نفسه وابرامه . وختم بالصالحات امامه بفضله وكرمه . انه ولي ذلك والقادر عليه وهو على كل شئ
قدير الحميد لله الذى له العزة والجبروت . وبه الملك والمكرت . وله الاسماء الحسنى والنقوت .
العالم فلا يعزب عنه ما ينظره التوى او يخفيه السكوت . القادر فلا يعجز شئ في السموات والارض
ولا يفوت . انشأنا من الارض نساء . واستعمرنا فيها اجبالا واماء . وتبثر لنا منها الرزاقا وقسما .
تكتفينا الارحام والبيوت . ويكفلنا الرزق والقوت . وتبكينا الايام والوفوت . وتغورنا الاجال
التي خط علينا كتابها الموقوت . وله البقاء والنبوت . وهو الخى الذى لا يموت . والصلوة
السلام على سيدنا محمد التى العربى المكتوب في النورية والانجيل المنعوت . الذى تحض نفساله
الكويت قبل ان يعاقب الاحاد والسبوت . ويتباين زحل والبهوت . وشهد بصدقه الحمام
العنكبوت . وعلى اله واصحابه الذين لهم في حجة واتباعه الامر البعيد والكسيت . والكشم
الجميع في مظاهرة وتعدوهم الشمل الشيت . صلى الله عليه وعليهم ما افضل للاسلام حقه المنوت
وانقطع بالكفر جله المبتوت . وسلم كثيرا . اما بعد فان فن التاريخ من الفنون التى تتداوله الامم
والاجبال . وتشهد له الركاب والرجال وتسمو الى معرفته السوفة والاعمال . وتنافس فيه
اللوك والاقبال . وتنسأوى في فهمه العلماء والجمال . اذ هو في ظاهره لا يزيد على احيان عن الايام
والدول . والسوابق من الفرون الاولى . تنمق لها الاقوال ونصرف فيها الامثال . ونظرف بها
الاندية اذ اعصها الاحتفال . وتودى لنا شان الخليفة كيف تقلبت بها الاحوال . واتسع للدول
النطاق فيها والمحال . ونعمرو الارض حتى نادى بهم الارضمال . وحان منهم الزوال وفي باطنه
نظرو تحقيق . وتقبل المكاشات ومبادها دقيق . وعلم بكفبات الوقاع واسبابها عميق . فهو
لذلك اصل في الحكمة عريق . وجد بر بان يعة في علومها وخلق وان . فحول المؤرخين في الاسلام
قد استوعبوا اخبار الايام وجمعوها . وسطروها في صفحات الدفاتر وادعوها . وخطوها
المنطقون بدسائس من الباطل وهو فيها وابندعوها . وزخرف من الروايات المنفعة لتفوقها
ووضعوها . واقتفى ذلك النازل الكثير من بعدهم واجمعوها . وادوها البناء كما سمعوها . ولم يلاحظوا
اسباب الوقاع والاحوال ولم يرعوها . ولا رخصوا ترهات الاحاديث ولا دفعوها . فالتحقيق قليل

وطرف التفتيح في الغالب كليله والغلط والوهم نسيب للاخبار وحليله والتقليد عربيه
والادمين وسليله والتظليل على الفنون عربيه طويله ومرعي الجمل بين الانام وبينه والحق
ايقاوم سلطانه والباطل يقذف بشهاب النظر شيطانه والناقل انما هو على وينقل
والبصيرة تنفذ الصحيح اذا تمقل والاعلم بكلولها صفحات الصواب وتبطل وقد دون النا
في الاخبار واكثره واجمعوا نوايخ الامم والدول في العالم وسطروا والذين ذهبوا بفصل
الشهرة والامامة المعبرة واستغروا واوين من قبلهم في صحفهم المتأخرة فهم قليلون
لا يكادون يجاوزون عدد الانامل ولا حركات العوامل مثل ابن اسحق والطبري وابن الكلبى
وتجد بن عمر الواقدي وسيف بن عمر الاسدي والمسعودي وغيرهم من المشاهير والمتميزين
عن الجاهل وان كان في كتب الواقدي والمسعودي من المظن والمغمر ما هو معروف عند الباحثين
ومشهور بين الحفظة النقات الآن الكافة اختصوهم بقبول اخبارهم واقتفاء سننهم
في التصنيف وانتاع انارهم والناقد البصير فسطاس نفسه في تزييفهم فيما ينقلون او
اعتبارهم فللعمران طباع في احواله ترجع اليها الاخبار وتجل اليها التروايات والاثار ثم
ان اكثر التواريخ لهؤلاء عامه المناهج والمسالك لعموم الدولتين صدر الاسلام في الافاق
والمالاك وتناولها الجعد من الغايات في المأخذ والتأريخ ومن هؤلاء من اوعب ما قبل
الملة من الدول والامم والامر العم كالمسعودي ومن غماهم وجاء من بعدهم من عدل
عن الاحلاق الى التعبد ووقف في العموم والاحاطة عن النساء والبعد فقيده سوارده
واستوعب اخبار فقهاء وقطره واقتصر على احاديث دولته ومصر كما فعل ابن حبان موضح الاندلس
والدولة الاموية بها وابن الرقيق موضح افرقيبة والدولة التي كانت بالقيروان ثم لم يأت من بعده
هؤلاء الا مقلده وبلبد الطبع والعقل او مبتلده بنسج على ذلك المنوال ويحتدى منه بالمثال
ويدهل عما حالته الايام من الاحوال واستبدلت به عن عوائد الامم والاجبال فيجلبون
الاخبار عن الدول وحكايات الوقائع في العصور الاولى صوراً قد تجردت من موادها وصفاً
انتخيت من اغماها ومعارف تستنكر للجمل بطارقيها وتلاذدها انما هي حوادث لم نعلم
اصولها وانواع لم تغير اجناسها ولا تحققت فصولها بكترون في موضوعاتها الاخبار
المتداولة باعيانها ابتاعها من عني من المتقدمين بشائنها ويعقلون امر الاجيال الناشئة
في ديوانها اعوز عليهم من ترجمانها فتستجهم صحفهم عن بيانها ثم اذا نرضوا لذكر الدولة
تسففوا اخبارها تسفاه محافظين على نقلها وهما اوصداق لا ينعرضون لبدايتها ولا يذكرون
السبب الذي رفع من رايها واظهر من ايها ولا علة الوفوف عند غايتها فيبقى الناظر منتظماً

1394

THE RETURN OF THE HAFSID ABU FARIS

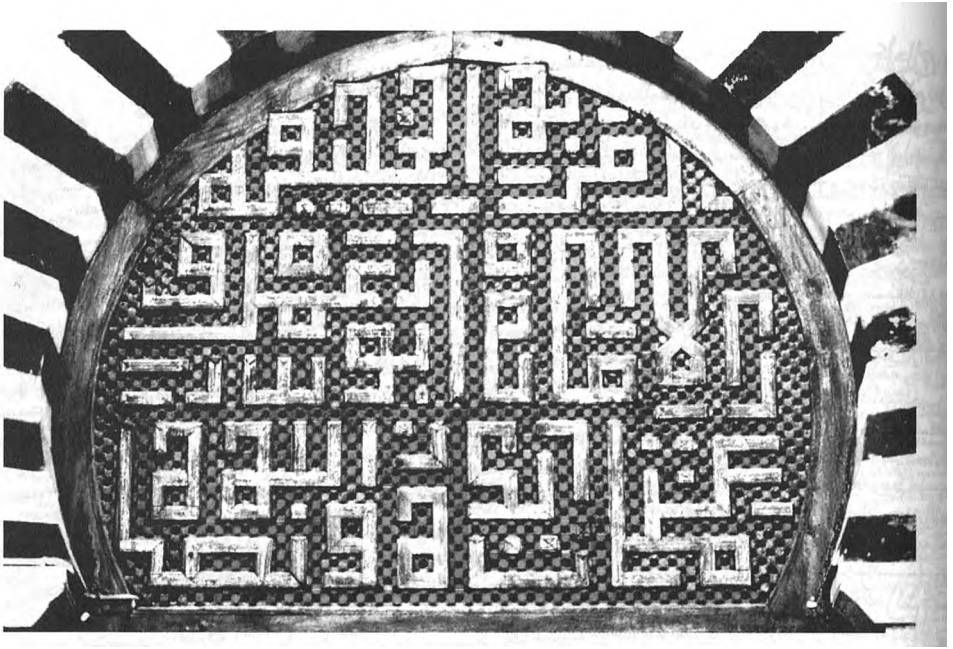
The consolidation of Hafsîd authority had already begun with Abu-l-Abbas, as stated earlier, but with Abu Faris, the dynasty would experience a true renaissance. The new sultan, who took the title of Al-Mutawakkil Ala-Allah, was more commonly called « Azzuz », a short form of Abd-Al-Aziz, his nickname at birth. His mother was from the Mhamîd tribe, an offshoot of the Dabbab of the Bani Sulaym. Therefore, he could hope to benefit from good support from this side of the family. Some of his brothers who were in the capital when their father died weighed in on his side against their uncles. He was already known for his firmness and bravery, notably in the fight against the Christians to defend and recover Mahdia. Over his forty-year reign, he had many obstacles to overcome. Some of his many brothers were against him, as well as some cousins and men in his own government, but he triumphed. He diminished the small states created in Tripoli and Gafsa, where he defeated the Awlad Bellîl, Tozeur, and Gabes where he subdued the Ibn Al-Makki, and Biskra. He led his own expeditions east to Fezzan and to the Moroccan border. He opened the fifteenth century by bringing Tlemcen under Hafsîd control. He occupied Algiers in 1410, but at a heavy cost.

*Manuscript page of
Al-Adilla al-bayyina
an-nuraniyya ala
mafakhir ad-daiAa al-
Hafsiyya by Abu-Abd
Allah Muhammad
Ach-Shamma'.
A panegyric history of
the Hafsîd state.*

الجلية لما حاصية للجاهلية المحتوية الخام الله
 نصي لها وشيخ على المناسبات في لها وسميته
 بالمال لالة البينة النورانية على
 صباخي الدولة الحفصية ورغبت من يرفع
 على هذه التفسير من العلماء لما عضد على
 بر يخدم من الخطا والنقص في ذلك معني
 لما اعتبار ورضى عن كل عيب كليله لما الزعينة
 السخنة تبخيه المساويا والله امثال ان يعصمنا
 من الخطا والروية بنا وبي شذنا الى فيه القول
 والعلم وهو حسنا ونعم الوكيل وما حوا او نافذة
 لما بالله العلي الحقيق في المقدمة وهي
 تشتمل على خمسة ابواب الباب الاول في
 المخرى واجه يفهم وما ورد في فيه فضائلها ولا في اهل
 التاريخ في كتبه ان على المخرى من ضجة النيل
 التي تلي بل المخرى الى مخرى انفسهم وعده

[illegible]

1394 : The Return of the Hafsid Abu Faris | 319



*Inscription above the
door of the Abu Amr
Uthman maqsura in the
Zaituna Great Mosque.*

Abu Faris' foreign policy stretched over the entire western side of the Mediterranean, involving treaties with Venice, Genoa and Florence when it took over Pisa. His relations with the kingdom of Aragon were poisoned by animosity with the kingdom of Sicily, led by a prince from Aragon who wanted to rule over Jerba and the Kerkennah Islands. While the kingdom of Aragon had tried on numerous occasions to establish peaceful relations with Tunis, the problems with Sicily provoked confrontations. Trade relations with the other fiefdoms had highs and lows depending on the movements of the Muslim pirates and the hostage-taking by Europeans during raids on the coast of *Ifriqiya* from Bejaia to Tripoli.

Abu Faris participated in helping relations between the Muslim kingdom of the Nasrids of Grenada and the Catholic kingdom of Castille. He signed a treaty with the Spanish in 1403. He helped an outcast



Abu Amr 'Uthman completed the Muntasiriya Madrasa (begun in 1434 by Abu Abdallah Muhammad Al-Mustansir). He revived the Hafsid policy of building madrasas begun by Abu Zakarya in the mid-13th century, founding the Chamma 'iya, the first madrasa in the history of the Maghreb.

Nasrid and later helped him regain his throne through an accord with the Castillians, acting as mediator at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He entered into friendly relations with Egypt, which later accepted protecting *Ifriqiyan* pilgrims. He sent gifts to Mecca. When he died in 1434, he left behind a kingdom at peace, both internally and externally.

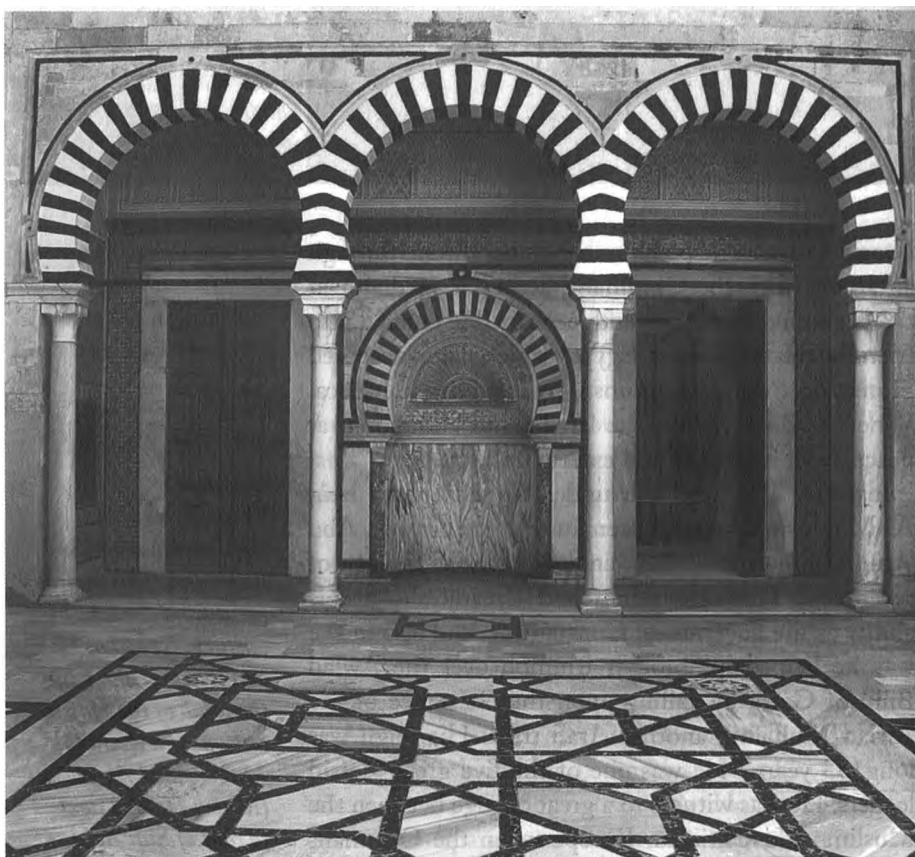
In 1435, after one year under his designated heir, Al-Muntasir, who died prematurely, his brother, Abu Amr 'Uthman took the reins of power at the age of seventeen. The new sultan had already shown his ability as the governor of Constantine, and also in the way he helped his brother triumph over the Awlad Billil of Gafsa by calling upon the assistance of the Awlad Muhahil, another Arab tribe. His reign was long, 53 years ! He was one of the five great Hafsid leaders. He was witness to a great change between the Muslims and Christian Europe when the Ottomans

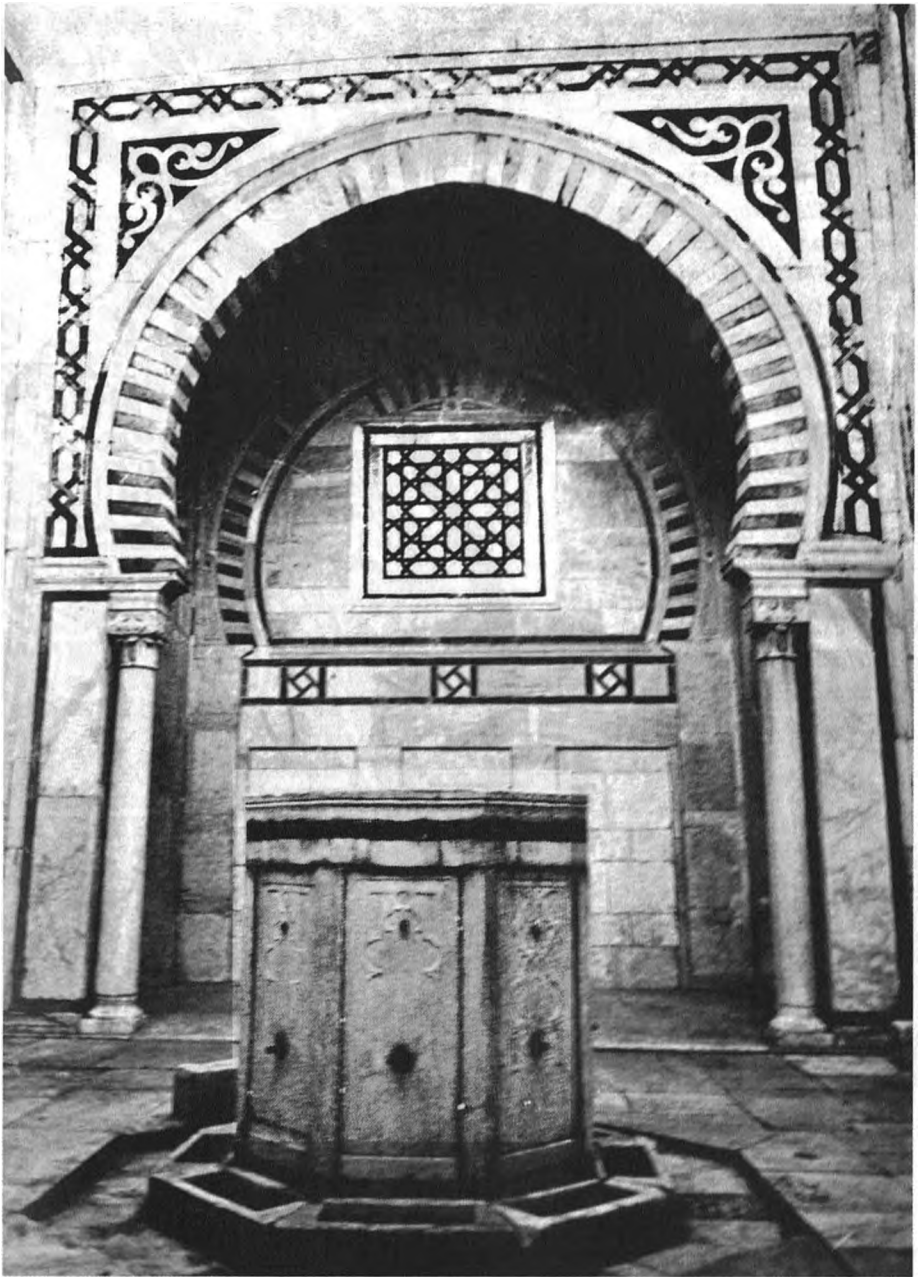
Overleaf: Mausoleum of Sidi Abid al-Ghariani in Kairouan. This monument from the late 14th century, typical of Hafsid architecture, also houses the tomb of the Hafsid Sultan Abu Abdullah Muhammad Al-Hasan (Muley Hasan) next to that of Sidi Abid.

*Opposite page:
Completed in 1450,
the Sultans Midha in
Tunis is one of the most
successful architectural
achievements from the
reign of Abu Amr
'Uthman.*

took Constantinople in 1453, the date considered by historians of the North as the end of the Middle Ages. He didn't see the final withdrawal of the Muslims in Spain after the fall of Grenada in 1492, but he had seen the advance of the Catholic Reconquista, assisted by the marriages of the kings of Castille and Aragon in 1469, forced conversions and the start of the Inquisition in 1481.

After a magnificent reign, disputes between the Hafsid princes would slowly but surely lead this great dynasty down a long, painful path until 1575.





The Hafsids were great builders, bequeathing a series of architectural jewels to the city of Tunis, including the Mausoleum of Sidi Qacim az-Zaliji, famous for its quasi-Andalusian style. However, as Abdelaziz Daoulatli notes: "Despite the addition of numerous Andalusian elements, the monument adopts the architectural and decorative techniques of the Ifriqiyan tradition. The Sidi Qacim Mausoleum is the archetypal building where the foreign influence metamorphosed after three centuries of adjustment in Ifriqiya". (Abdelaziz Daoulatli, Tunis. Capitane des Hafside, Tunis, Alif, 2009. p.125.)

Opposite: Funeral tablet adorned with marble tiles in cuerda seca.
Below: Pyramid-shaped roof of the burial chamber.





1500

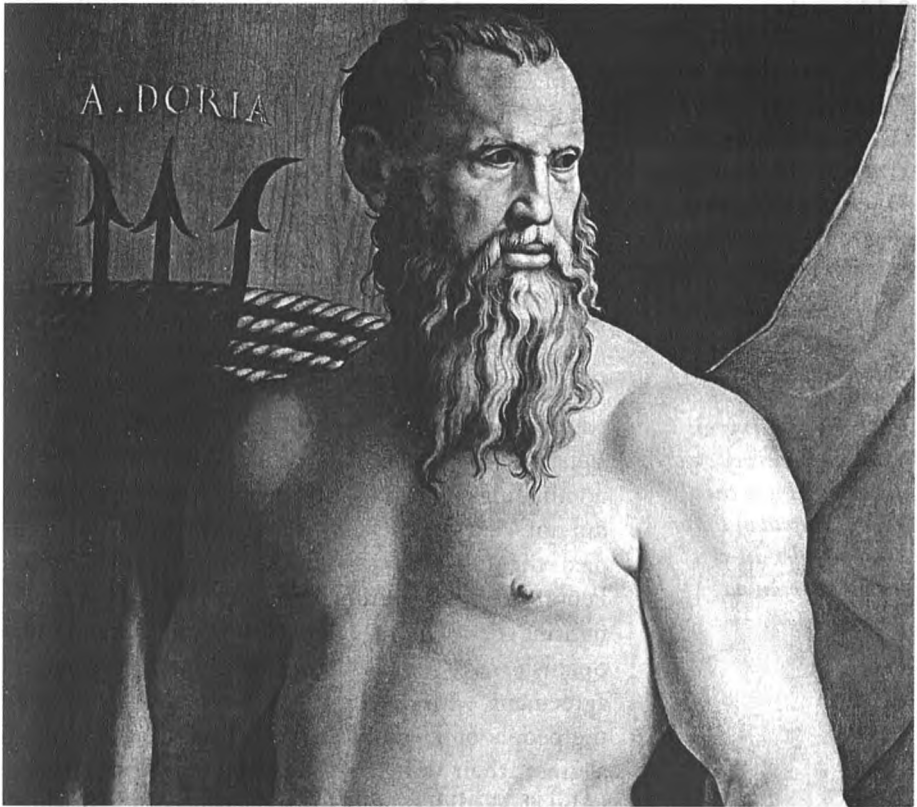
THE OTTOMANS AGAINST THE SPANIARDS DURING A CENTURY

Aruj (Oruç Reis).

*Engraving by
Claude Vignon,
17th century.*



The century began badly for the Maghreb. Starting in 1500, the Spanish Pedro Navarro, first a pirate, but also in the service of his king, began to attack the Maghreb coasts. In fact the Portuguese had begun before their neighbours, starting on the Moroccan coast. The Portuguese seized Ceuta in 1415, Agadir in 1505, Safi in 1508, Azemmour in 1513 and Tangier in 1471. The Treaty of Tordesillas gave Morocco west of Melilla to the Portuguese and to the east, Spain was able to do as it wished. Between 1505 and 1511, the Spanish settled in Mers-el-Kebir after a month-and-a-half-long siege. They then took Oran, where Cardinal Ximenes (called Charles-Andre Julien, in *The History of North Africa*) presided over the massacre of 4,000 Muslims, captured 8,000 more and declared the two mosques Catholic. Also while under the command of Navarro, the Spanish took Bougie (now Bejaia) and Tripoli. To avoid massacres and destruction, the cities of Ténés,



Dellys, Cherchell and Mostaganem bought their way out by paying tributes.

Starting in 1504, 'Aruj and the younger Kheireddine and Ishaq (the fourth brother Ilyes died in an operation on the Aegean sea before the Maghreban period) settled in La Goulette at the mouth of the Lake of Tunis. They were a family with Greek origins, from Medelin (Lesbos) who began their business in what one could well call piracy, in the Aegean Sea. These pirates were known in history as the Barbarossa (*Barberousse*) brothers. In fact, this nickname (red beard) should be attributed to Kheireddine only. When they landed on the *Ifriqiyan* coast, the brothers

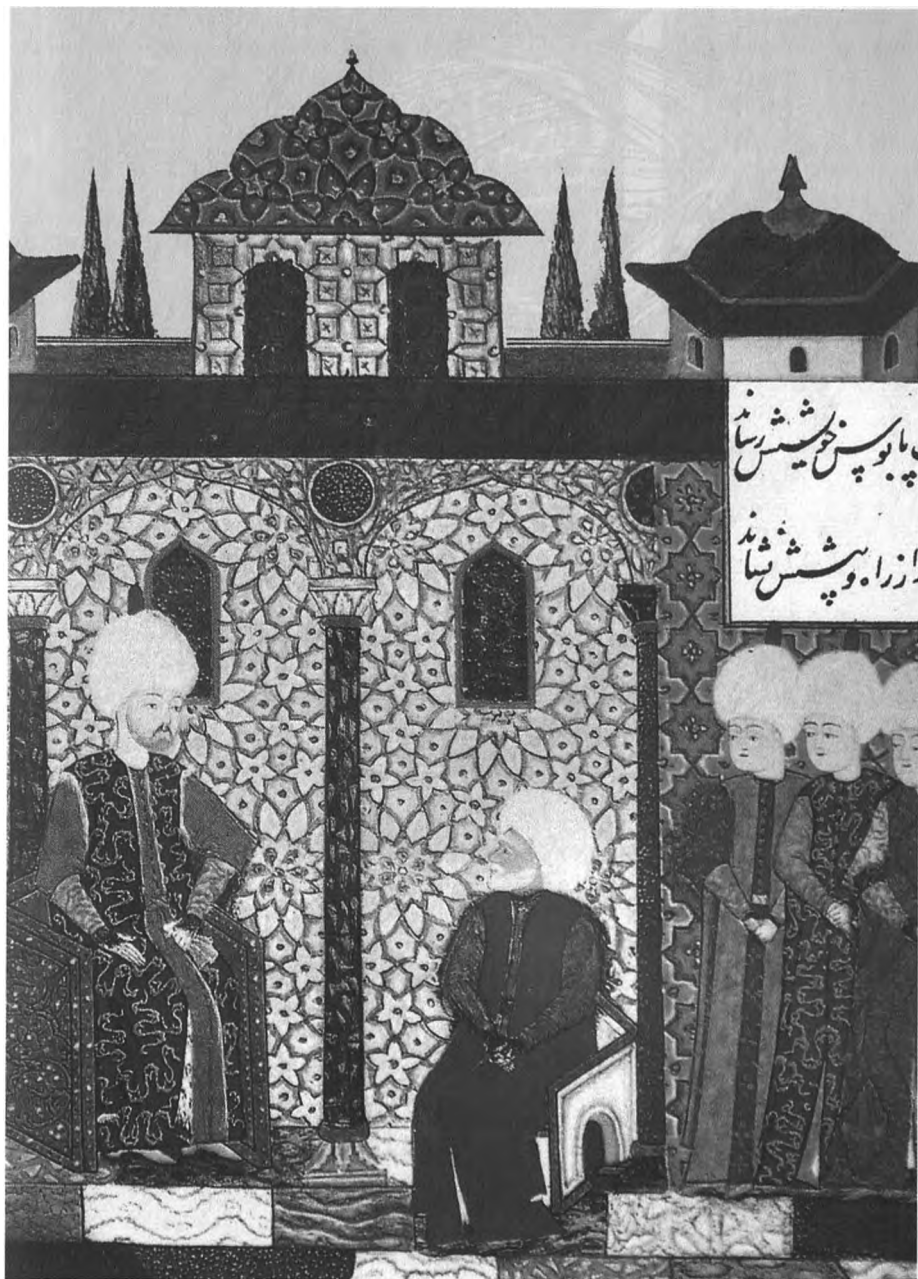
Andrea Doria depicted as Neptune, god of the sea. Oil on canvas by Angelo Bronzino, circa 1550 (detail). Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. The Genoese admiral Andrea Doria captured and burned the ships of Kheireddine at La Goulette.

Suleiman the Magnificent welcomes Kheireddine Barbarossa. Miniature by Arifi Celebi, Suleymannameh. Turkey, 1558. Topkapi Saray Muzesi Library, Istanbul.
Sultan Suleiman I the Magnificent (Al-Qanuni, the "Legislator", in Arabic) receives Kheireddine on 27 May, 1533. He confirms his status as Beylerbey before elevating him to the rank of Kapudan Pasha — commander-in-chief - of the Ottoman navy in April 1534.

encountered the Muslim complaints about the Spanish invasion following the Reconquista in Spain after the fall of Grenada in 1492. 'Arrouj received the right to restock their ships in the *Ifriqiyan* ports and moor his dozen ships in Jerba, from the Hafsid Sultan. In 1511, along with his brother Kheireddine, he defended Jerba, at the time still coveted by the Europeans.

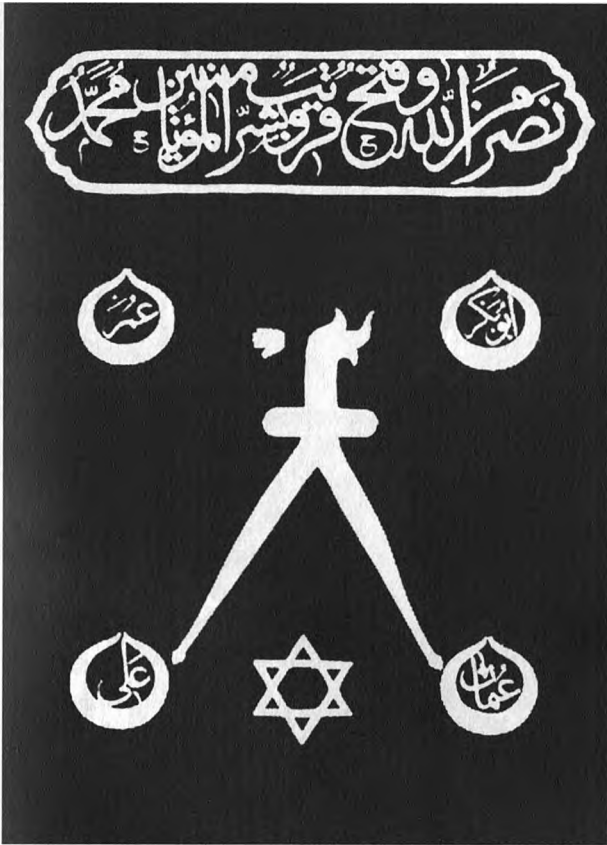
In 1512 'Aruj failed to take Bougie during a battle where he lost his arm, blown off by a cannonball. He chose to settle in Jijel. At the same time, the Genoan, Andrea Doria burned Kheireddine's ships at La Goulette. He withdrew from Jerba before heading to Algiers. 'Aruj settled there in 1516 following his coup d'état to end a coalition of the Thaaliba (the Arab tribe dominating the region), the people from Algiers (who did not want the corsairs) and the Spanish (who occupied the hill across from the Casbah, the famous Penon de Velez). From now on there was sporadic fighting between the Reis (Ottoman captains) and Spanish navy chiefs. 'Aruj, who had reached an agreement with Istanbul for his activities, assisted the people of Tlemcen at their request in 1518 to go against their king of the Abd-Al-Wad dynasty (Abd el-Wadids) and became overlord of the Spanish, who had been settled in Oran since the beginning of the century. He succeeded, but then a strong Spanish army unseated him and brought back the dethroned king, pursued him north, and in a series of fierce confrontations, his brother Ishaq was killed and then he too would succumb.

Kheireddine took command of the Mediterranean operations and gained the title of *Beylerbey*. Later, in 1534, he was named *Kapudan Pasha* (Great Admiral) by Soliman the Magnificent. He extended his activities eastward, taking Constantine, Bougie and Annaba. He took Tunis, where he settled. In the meantime, in 1526, the infamous Abu Muhammad Al-Hasan

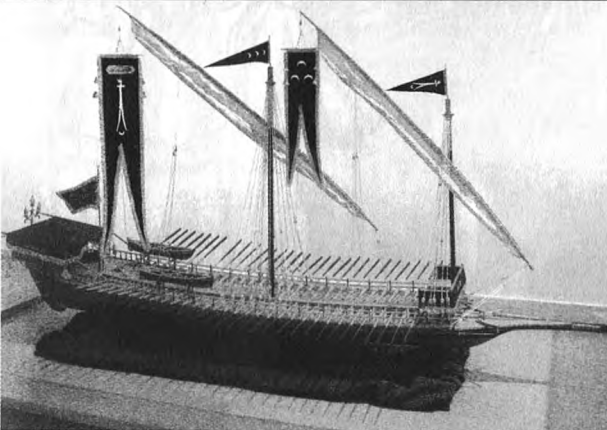




ARIADENVS BARBARVS SA CIRTHAE TVME
IQ. REX AC OTOMANICAE CLASS' PRAEF



*Kheireddine's flag
(Sandjak), gold letters on
a green background.*



*Model of Kheireddine's
flagship.*

*Opposite page:
Portrait of Kheireddine
Barbarossa. Engraving
by Agostino di Musi,
known as Veneziano,
Venice 1535. Fitzwilliam
Museum, Cambridge. In
the Latin he is given the
title "King of Tunis".*





acceded to the Hafsid throne. After failing to collaborate with Kheireddine, he asked for help from the Spanish to keep the throne. Charles V responded by rushing to Tunis, driving Kheireddine out and starting to construct the stronghold of La Goulette. The throne of Tunis was placed under a protectorate for forty years and the kingdom reduced to the regions and ports controlled by this, while the people felt freed from their allegiance to the Hafsids, and were all too happy to embrace any movement contesting the Hafsid power. Charles V was very aware of this situation, of how the Hafsid power was “hated by his people”. In 1542 the religious movement the *Chabbiya* (plural of Chabbi) appeared and grew rapidly. It opposed both the Spanish and their allies. It was able to quickly unite the Hannachi, Drid, Troud and Awlad Said tribes and ruled central Tunisia. Kairouan became its capital.

There was no harmony among the Europeans at this time, even with the renewed spirit of the Crusades.

*Left to right :
Don John of Austria
and Rais Dragut
(Turgut Reis).*

*Opposite page :
Charles V makes ready to
travel to Tunis. Detail
from a tapestry based on
the cartoons of Jan
Cornelisz Vermeyen, the
Flemish painter who
accompanied Charles on
the expedition to Tunis.*



Die Verſung. Goleta wardt mit gwaltiger handt von den Keyſeriſchen den

*The Capture of
La Goulette (1535).
Engraving circa 1550.*



en vnd Möhren abgnomē, vnd die so da binne erwurgt.

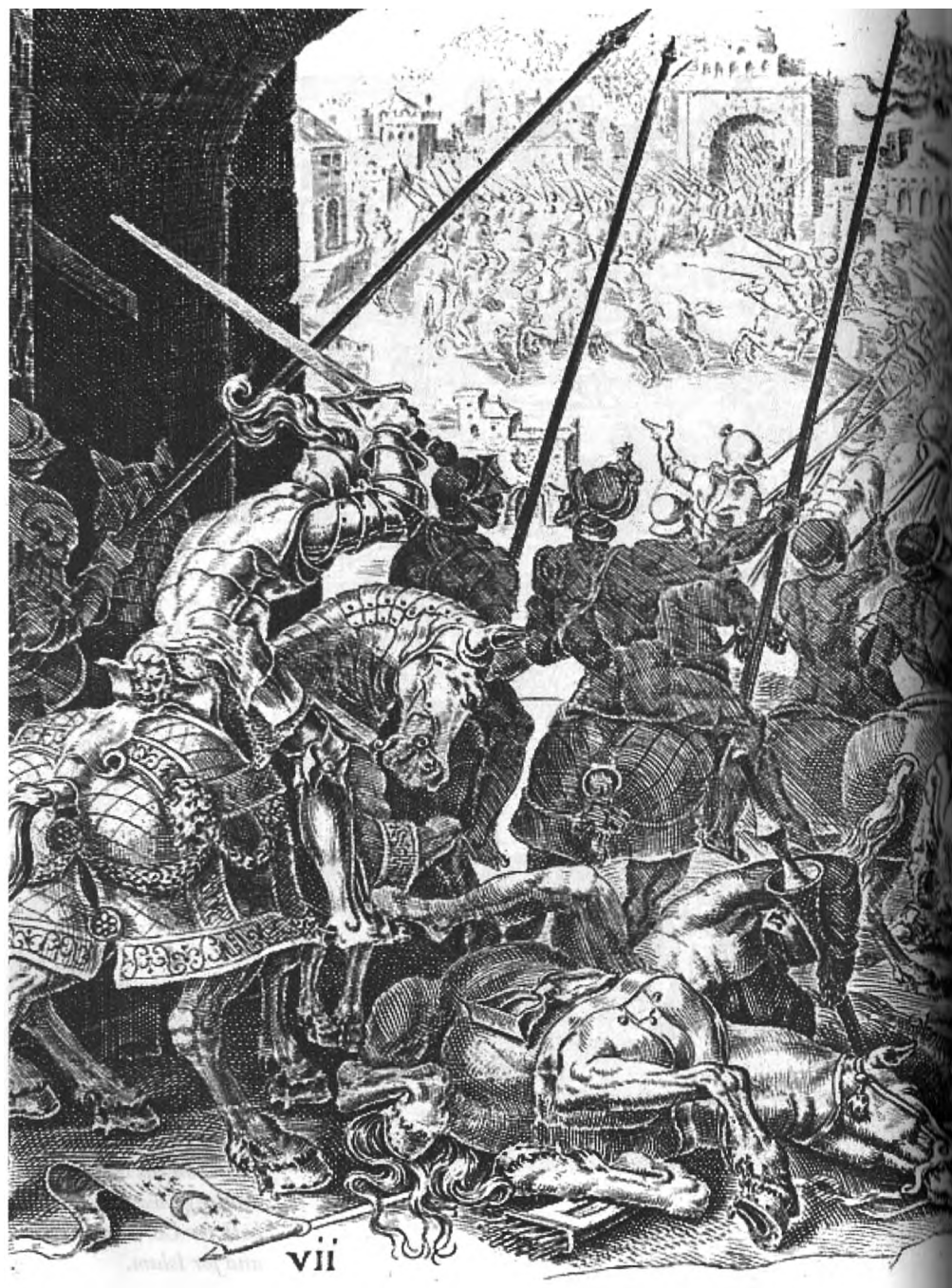


Der Keyser nimbt die Stadt Thunis in Africa ein, Plündert dieselbe, Vnd führet die gefangenen



The Sacking of Tunis (1535). Engraving circa 1550. Vermeyers cartoons were used to make a set of tapestries, held in the Royal Museum in Madrid and the Vienna Museum, and for reproducing several series of engravings. These documents are precious evidence that can be used to track the various episodes in the conflict. They also offer a plausible picture of Tunis in the 16th century.

Overleaf (double page): The Conquest of Tunis. Engraving by Maarten van Heemskerck, circa 1555. British Museum, London. This magnificent picture of Charles V's conquest of Tunis, although less documented than Vermeyens work, nevertheless reflects the interest shown in the expedition and the commissions given to artists on the theme. The challenge was historic, both for Christianity and for Islam.





*Meonkers. Inventor.
Deuerenber. fecit. s*



Mahdia is besieged by the Spaniards in 1550.

The traditional partners (sometimes adversaries) of the Hafsidis did not intend to leave the field open for the Spanish. In 1550 a fleet from Napoli and Genoa attacked Mahdia and Jerba. The following year, another famous Ottoman sailor made his appearance on the coast : Turgut (or Dargouth in Arabic and Dragut in European texts). He was a Greek who began his activities in the Aegean Sea and had been a captive, spending time rowing in Genoan galleys. In 1540 he was bought by Kheireddine, who understood that he could use this highly experienced sailor who



knew the Mediterranean coastline well. He got his freedom in exchange for giving the Genoans permission to fish for coral on the Galite Islands. Darghouth took Mahdia and attacked the Italian coast. The Spanish drove him out in 1550. He tried to take Gafsa but failed. The Ottoman sultan put together a navy, mobilising in the western Mediterranean for five years (1551-56). He took back Jerba, then Malta and drove the Order of Saint John (the future Order of the Knights of Malta) out of Tripoli and received the Tripoli governorate from Istanbul. It was there that he

The Spanish expedition against Jerba.



*Portrait of Sultan
Muley Muhammad
Ibn Al-Hasan, the
last Hafsid.
Vienna Museum.*

*Opposite page :
Portrait of Muley
Ahmad. Oil on canvas
by Peter Paul Rubens,
circa 1609. Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston.*

made his headquarters. The Chabbiya were guilty of abuses and the people of Kairouan called Darghouth to the rescue. He tried, but in vain, to drive them out. We can see that confusion reigned in the country with each group trying to find a protector. Darghouth advanced along the Tripolitanian and Tunisian coasts all the way to Malta, playing cat and mouse with the Spanish and Italian navies. He participated in all the important battles in the central Mediterranean. In *Ifriqiya*, he finally drove the Chabbiya from Kairouan at the beginning of the 1560s. Responding to a call from the Sultan to participate in the Ottoman sea effort, he died in Malta in 1565.

In 1568 after the death of Turgut, another sailor entered the battle : Uluj Ali, a Calabrian who had converted and entered into the service of the Ottoman sultan. From his base in Algiers, as Beylerbey, he headed for Tunis, defeated Hafsid troops in Beja and entered the capital while Sultan Abu-l-Abbas Ahmad fled to La Goulette, taking refuge among the Spanish. Five years later, Don Juan of Austria, the illegitimate son of Charles V, victorious over the Ottomans at Lepante (1571), took back Tunis and returned the Hafsid Sultan to the throne. Istanbul reacted immediately. In 1574, an imposing fleet led by an admiral with the rank of vizir, Sinan Pasha, accompanied by Uluj Ali Pasha with Uluj Ramadhan As-Surdu (the Sardi), his future heir in Algiers, sailed towards Tunis, which was then under siege by sea as well as land, from the Hilalian Arab tribes and Zenata Berbers. The city was taken, as was La Goulette, where the last Hafsid Sultan, Muley Muhammad Ibn Al-Hasan, became a prisoner. He was then brought to Istanbul

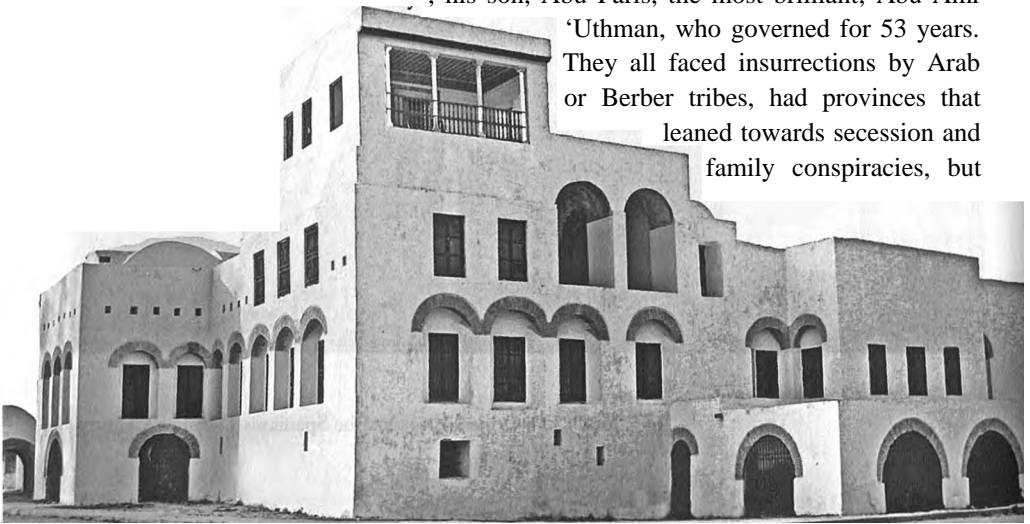


and would die in captivity. And thus a great dynasty ended.

The close of this dynasty highlights the inherent flaw of the oriental monarchies, who never resolved the problems of succession to the throne. By basing access to power on the right of legacy and not the right of the oldest in direct line, and at the same time leaving the reigning ruler to designate his heirs and change the rules, there was continuing frustration among the oldest children in the family. When you add to that the harems and the many concubines and favourites, each manoeuvring to push their children toward the throne, the question of succession became more complicated. There was no oriental monarchy that escaped this phenomenon, which became the source of many plots and murders. The three last Hafsid sultans are a tragic illustration of that : Al-Hasan had his eyes gouged out by his own son Ahmad, who himself was deposed by his brother Muhammad.

*The Palace of Abdilliya
in La Marsa, built by
Abu Abd-Allah
Muhammad, in power
from 1493 to 1526.*

Yet, it was a great dynasty thanks to the accomplishments of five of the sovereigns (out of twenty-seven !) : Abu Zakarya, the founder ; Al-Mustansir, the opponent of Saint Louis and Charles d'Anjou ; Abu-l-Abbas, the sultan who reestablished the Union of the Central Maghreb with *Ifriqiya* in the fourteenth century ; his son, Abu Faris, the most brilliant; Abu Amr 'Uthman, who governed for 53 years. They all faced insurrections by Arab or Berber tribes, had provinces that leaned towards secession and family conspiracies, but



they all knew how to surmount their difficulties and maintained a vast kingdom respected by foreigners. They encouraged the sciences and letters, built madrasas, mosques, public fountains, bridges, forts, souks, ramparts and palaces. We owe the Casbah of Tunis to them (although, alas, it comes down to us destroyed, but with some buildings still remaining). They were also responsible for constructing Le Bardo district with its residences and a large park, planned by Abu Faris and extending to Bab Saadoun. We can also credit Abu Abadallah with a large summer residence in La Marsa, which, with its buildings and gardens, extended from Abdilliya to what is now called Marsa-plage and the places where the Beys built their palaces.

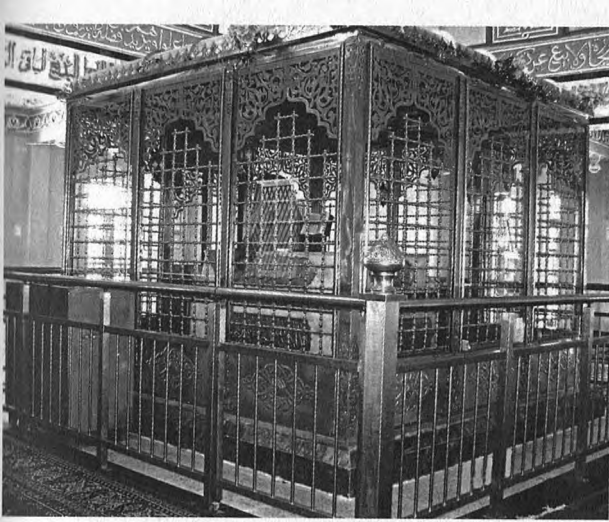
It's important to underline the fact that these sultans had the opportunity to reign for a long time ; Abu Zakarya twenty-one years, Al-Mustansir twenty-eight, Abu-l-Abbas twenty-four, Abu Faris forty and Abu Amr 'Uthman 53 years. It's true that the twenty-fourth sovereign, Abu Abdallah Muhammad, the father of the one who had his eyes gouged out, reigned for thirty-two years. He could have followed in the example of his illustrious ancestors, but the decline had already begun when the Spanish occupied the coasts and fighting broke out between the people and the Ottomans, a fight in which the sultan participated, mainly as an accomplice to the Spanish. In every monarchy, the sovereigns succeed each other and are not alike, but when the decline lasts for a century, the effects are disastrous. This was the case for the Hafsids in the fourteenth century (with the Marinids) and the sixteenth century (with the Spanish invasion). During those times, the country learned to live without a central government.

Multiple mini-states appeared everywhere in Hafsid territory. The Figuig Oases formed a coalition and

claimed independence. The tribes in the Ouarsenis mountains (northeast of Tiaret) did the same. Kabylie gave themselves a king in Kouko, the village of the Ait Yahya. A Hafsid Sheikh became independent in the region between Bona (Annaba) and Collo and the Dhawawda Arabs from Zab and Hodhna did the same. Those living far from the urban centres in Touggourt created their own dynasty. Finally, the ports of Tunis, Bizerte, Bougie, Algiers and Honein in the Oran region independently organised their own central power and the activity of their pirates. To complete the picture, in the areas that were more or less calm, there were two tendencies : on the one hand, religious families (*Ulama*) became resources and guides for the people (for example the Qalchani and the Rassaa in Tunis, the Adhum in Kairouan), and on the other hand, mystical movements born in the twelfth century were successful, like Sidi Bou Madian (in Bougie and Tlemcen) and Sidi Abu-l-Hasan Al-Shadli (in Tunis).



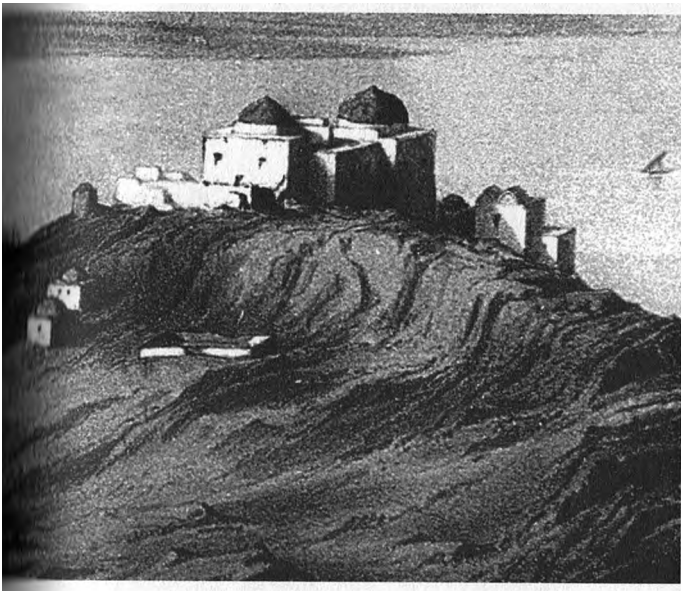
*The hill and zaouia of
Abu-l-Hasan Al-Shadli
on the southern outskirts
of Tunis.*



*Mausoleum of Sidi
Abu-l-Hasan
Al-Shadli at
Humaitara in Egypt.*

Finally, recall the Chabbiyan religious movement that we have already discussed.

In summary, one must look back and subtract two of the three and a half centuries of the Hafsîd dynasty to see the great moments in their history.



III. OTTOMANS, MORADIDS AND HDSAYNIDS

1574

FROM SULTANS TO PASHAS

*Sultan Ottoman
Selim II. Miniature,
11th century. Los Angeles
County Museum of Art.
It was in the year of
Selim's death, 1514, that
Tunisia was conquered
by the Ottomans, thereby
escaping Philip II's
Spain.*



THE HAFSID KINGDOM IS DIVIDED INTO THREE OTTOMAN PASHALIKS

In the eyes of the Muslims, the Ottomans, called upon to help by the people, saved the Maghreb from Spanish Christian occupation. To historians, the story is different. The Ottomans put an end to the vast Hafsid territory by officially dividing it into three provinces, with a Pasha at the head of each. We can

date the current geographic configuration of Tunisia to this period. At the same time, we can't attribute the reduction of the size of Tunisia to what it is now to the Ottomans. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, first indirectly when the corsairs were operating, then directly in 1518 when Aruj and his brothers became legitimate, the Ottomans settled in what is now Algeria. We could say that they were the "fathers" of Algeria.

At first, Aruj envisioned extending his influence west to Tlemcen, then, when he was named Beylerbey (Emir of the Emirs) he made Algiers the capital for his sea-based activity. With succession assured by his brother, Kheireddine spread the Ottoman stranglehold toward the east to Collo. The entire Algerian coast had

slipped from Hafsid power in spite of brief attempts by Sultan Al-Hasan to cooperate with the enterprising captains. In the fifteenth century, for 80 years, eleven Beylerbeys named by Istanbul ruled all of the conquered territory from Algiers. If they couldn't advance beyond what is today Morocco because of resistance from the population and the Spanish and the increasing power of the Saadian Sharifs - despite the cooperation from the Wattasid Sultans from Fez - they had progressed to ruling the Constantine region in the East, which they had entrusted to a Bey. Also in the East, Tripoli had avoided Hafsid power since the end of the fifteenth century, but was then occupied in 1510 by the Spanish. In mid-century, Dragut (Turgut Reis) created an operations base there, but encountered problems, having to fight European flotillas and the people in the back country, who would not accept him. It did not keep him, though, from leading targeted operations from there on Jerba and undertaking the conquest of the centre of Tunisia, where he was triumphant over the Chabbiya and was able to retake Gafsa and Kairouan. Thus we see that well before the arrival of Sinan Pasha in Tunis, a large part of Tunisia had already experienced Ottoman intervention. By dividing the conquered land into three Pashaliks after 1574, the Sublime Porte gave their blessing to the state of affairs, and it was only in 1587 that they decided to integrate the Maghreban territory into the regular organisation of the Empire by eliminating, with the death of 'Uluġ Ali, the title of Beylerbey.

The half-century that separated the arrival of the



*Sultan Ottoman
Murad II. Spanish
painting from the 17th
century. It was in
Murad's reign (1574-95)
that Ottoman authority
intensified in Tunisia.*

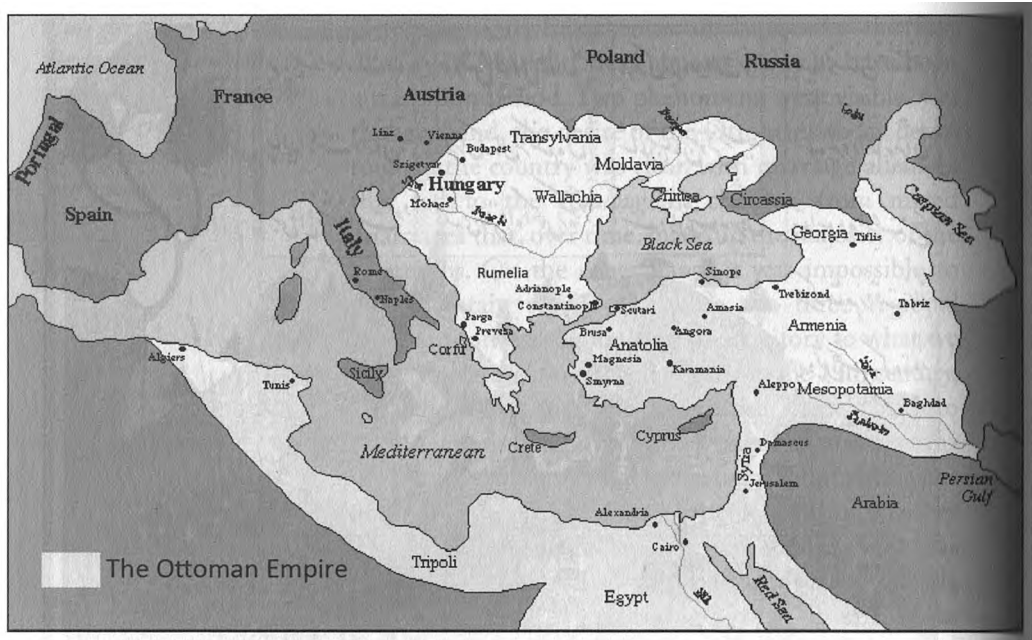
*EuljAli (Uluġ Kiliġ Ali)
Beylerbey. Monument
erected in Ali's hometown
in Calabria, in the
south-west of the Italian
peninsula.*



Ottomans and the takeover of Tunisia by the first dynasty of Muradid Beys appears today to have been a transition period. Two phenomena were visible. On the one hand, the desire of the Ottomans to lay down roots in the country was clear, with marriage alliances that led to the *Kouloughlis*, children from mixed marriages that, over time, made up the majority of the troops. On the other hand, it was impossible to maintain stability between the three regional authorities. By limiting the territory to what we would call Tunisia and Algeria in the 19th century, the Ottomans, without realising it, gave birth to a national sentiment, or rather a patriotic sentiment, tied to territory. The authorities in place fiercely defended their territory against each other. The first time was in 1628 between Tunisia and Algeria following a tribal dispute. From then on they took the habit of calling one group the *Tuansa* and others the *Dziria* or *Trabilsia*, in reference to the headquarters of the leaders.

The structure established in the Pashalik of Tunis by Vizier Sinan Pasha comprised at the top, the Pasha, representing the Sultan of Istanbul, assisted by the Janissaries, with an officer affectionately referred to as *Dey* (uncle) at the head of 100 soldiers. The commanding officers above them were called *Bouloukbachis*, with one officer in charge, called the *Bey*, who was responsible for collecting taxes with the





The Ottoman Empire under Suleiman I the Magnificent, 1580.

*Previous page:
Ottoman troops
marching on Tunis in
1569. The name of
Tunis is stated, top left,
second column. Turkish
miniature by Ali, 1581.
S. Agha Khan Collection.*

help of local troops, generally furnished by the Arab tribes. The Janissaries were divided into garrisons and grouped by *Ujaqs* (residence halls). All the commanding officers were part of a council (*Diwan*), which Sinan Pasha also invited the prominent citizens of the region to participate in. The *Diwan* was managed by an *Agha*. The soldiers lived in their barracks (*Qishlaq*, which Tunisians shortened to *Qishla*). They were cut off from the population, had their own rules, their own imams and a judge (*Qadhi Askar*). The Janissaries were not all Turks. Initially recruited from Turkey, they were then sent not only throughout the Ottoman Empire but also among converted Europeans, the '*ilj*' (plural, '*Ulu*j'). European writers referred to them as "Turks by denomination". All of the soldiers of the *Ujaqs* spoke Turkish, the official language of the Empire, and their descendants, the *Kouloughlis*, call

themselves Turks today in spite of marriage contracts with the native populations over generations.

This organisation, at least on the surface seemed to make sense, but would generate serious discord. At first, the people discovered little by little the arrogance and oppression of a caste. The Bouloukbachis in particular behaved in a despicable manner towards everyone, including the Janissaries under their command, so much so that it provoked a backlash that turned into a massacre committed by the Janissaries in



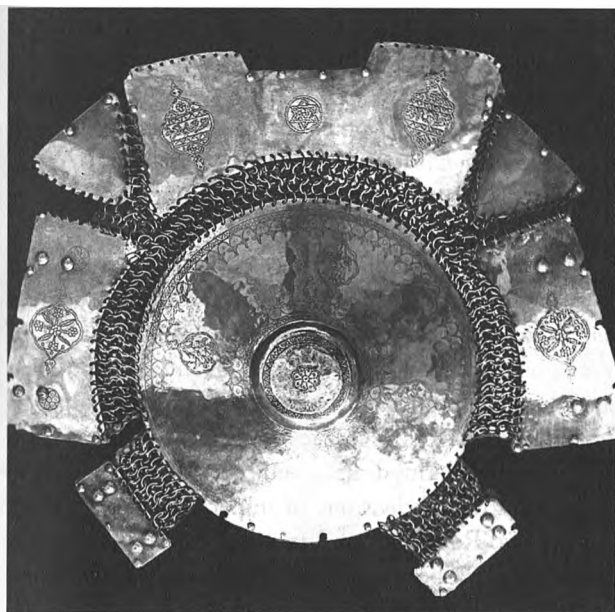
*Bouloukbachi.
 From an anonymous
 manuscript held at
 the Bibliotheque
 Nationale de
 Tunisie, 17th-18th
 century.*

*Sinan Pasha.
16th century engraving.
Austrian National
Library.*



October 1591. After the death of the Bouloukbachis, the Diwan met and decided to designate one of the Deys as head of the militia and placed all of the garrisons under his command. Despite this reorganisation, the *Pasha*, whose rank was equivalent to that of Governor General, had neither the force held by the Dey, nor the finances held by a Bey - theoretically under orders from the Diwan - at his disposal; he was in fact subject to the Dey, who would soon make decisions on his own.

This exercise of power by the Governor General was dependent on the goodwill and loyalty of his supposed subordinates. The Dey progressively imposed his supremacy on Tunis and years later, Algiers would follow suit. So this was the beginning of the reign of the Deys, which would last longer in Algeria than in Tunisia. The title of Pasha became honorary and Istanbul would, as we will see, grant it to certain Beys



Ottoman mirror armour, thought to dazzle the enemy. Donated to the Tunisian Military Museum, Qasr al-Warda, Manouba, by the Turkish Military Museum.

of Tunis. It's also worth noting the clash between Janissaries, who were living in barracks and whose mission was to cope with rebellions and possible invasions, and the Corsairs, who roamed the sea, and were richer and freer. Compromises were implemented little by little. In Algeria, for example, the Janissaries

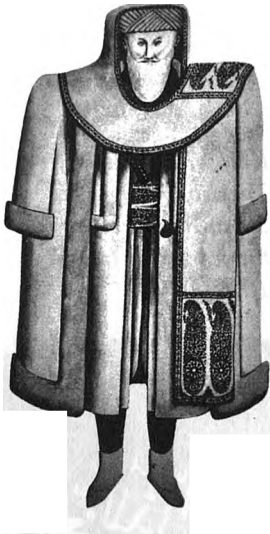
Kilij sabre (Kilif in Turkish) belonging to Sinan Pasha, dating from the year of the Hegira 1000 (1591).



were authorised to be included in certain maritime expeditions. Finally, to help lessen the arrogance of the Janissaries coming from abroad, they were encouraged to mix with the local population more, which gave birth to the *Kouloughlis* (usually mixed Ottoman and Arab). This gradual integration would contribute to the independence of the local rulers vis-a-vis Istanbul.

Moreover, by dividing the former Hafsid kingdom into three Pashaliks, Istanbul described its provinces as *Iyalas*, more important than *Wilayas*. The rank of *Iyala*, being higher than *Wilaya*, meant that the local authorities benefitted from great autonomy, analogous to the concept of Regencies in European languages. They weren't kingdoms, and they weren't simple administrative subdivisions of imperial territory either. So the two Regencies of Tunis and Algiers slowly put some distance between themselves and the Ottoman capital without breaking ties with the Empire, which was happy to ratify local appointments. We may attribute the fact that the Sultan was so generous to the fact that the Maghrebien Regencies were required to pay automatically any monies needed other than contributions to military campaigns in which they had to participate. This view needs to be qualified because there were attempts to levy taxes for themselves that were foiled by the Sultan, and long after the system was established, Jerba remained an exclusive fiscal territory of the Grand Vizier of Istanbul (*Sadr Azam*) who collected taxes through a Bey he designated himself.

This is useful to help understand the nature of the connections between the Ottoman dignitaries within the Regencies and their complex relations with Istanbul on the one hand and European powers on the other. If it was the Dey in Algiers who became stronger in relationship to the Pasha in Tunisia, it was the Bey (*Bey Al-Mahalla*) who was more powerful than the Dey in the first third of the seventeenth century. The Dey would



*The Dey.
From an anonymous
manuscript held at the
National Library of
Tunisia, 17th-18th
century.*



remain an elected official in Algiers while in Tunisia, the title of Bey would become hereditary. However the title, Dey, would not disappear from Tunisia : the Dey's authority was diminished after a long progression to the limits of the capital city and this high magistrate would later become the *Dawlatli*, literally a statesman, and would become a sort of super-prefect of the capital. Ibrahim Sharif, who defeated Murad III, introduced the combination of titles in 1702 and certain Husaynid Beys called him, up to the 20th century, *Pasha Bey Dey* to signify all the powers he had accumulated.

« Mufti and Lord of Barbary ». Engraving illustrating the work of Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium*, 1581. Herzog August Library, Wolfenbuttel (Germany).



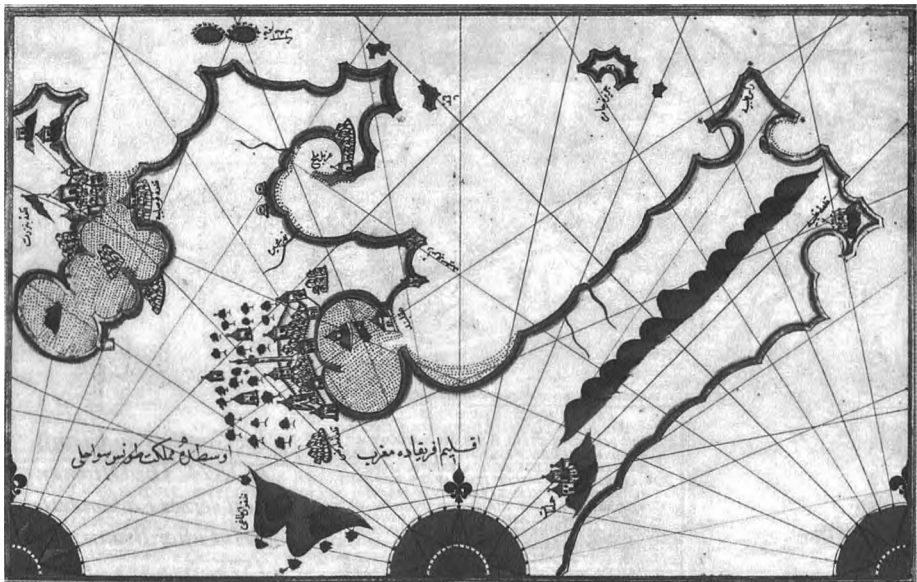
*La Goulette and Tunis
 in 1574. The Ottoman
 fleet seizes La Goulette.
 Print after Braun,
 1575.*

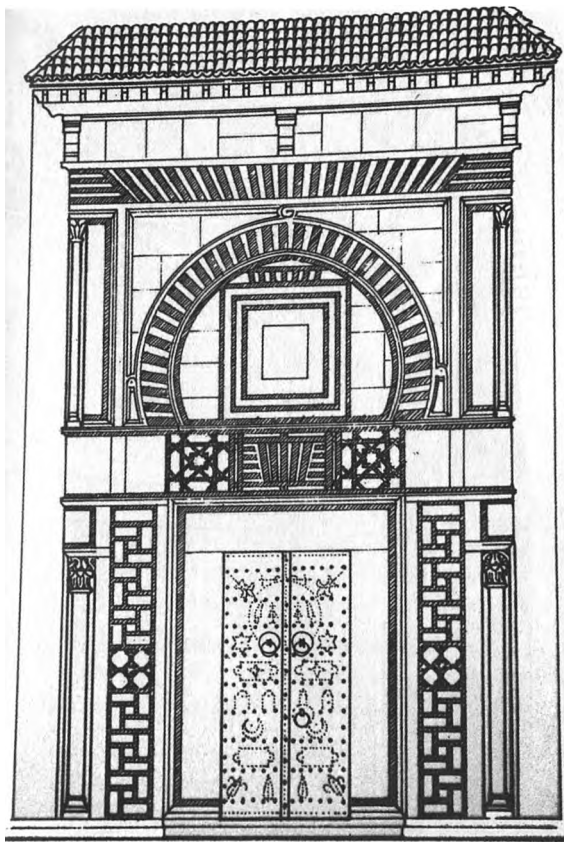
1591/1637

DEYS AND BEYS

Between the massacre of the Bouloukbachis that would launch the era of the Deys in 1591 until the death of Yusuf Dey in 1637, there was a succession of nine Deys. They managed the country, subdued uprisings by Arab tribes, collected taxes and imposed their rules on the Janissaries. Some were more appreciated than others. The first, Ibrahim, after three years and a pilgrimage to Mecca, returned to Rhodes where he was from. The second, Musa, was found by the Janissaries to be horrible and at the end of his pilgrimage was asked not to return to Tunisia. He went to live in

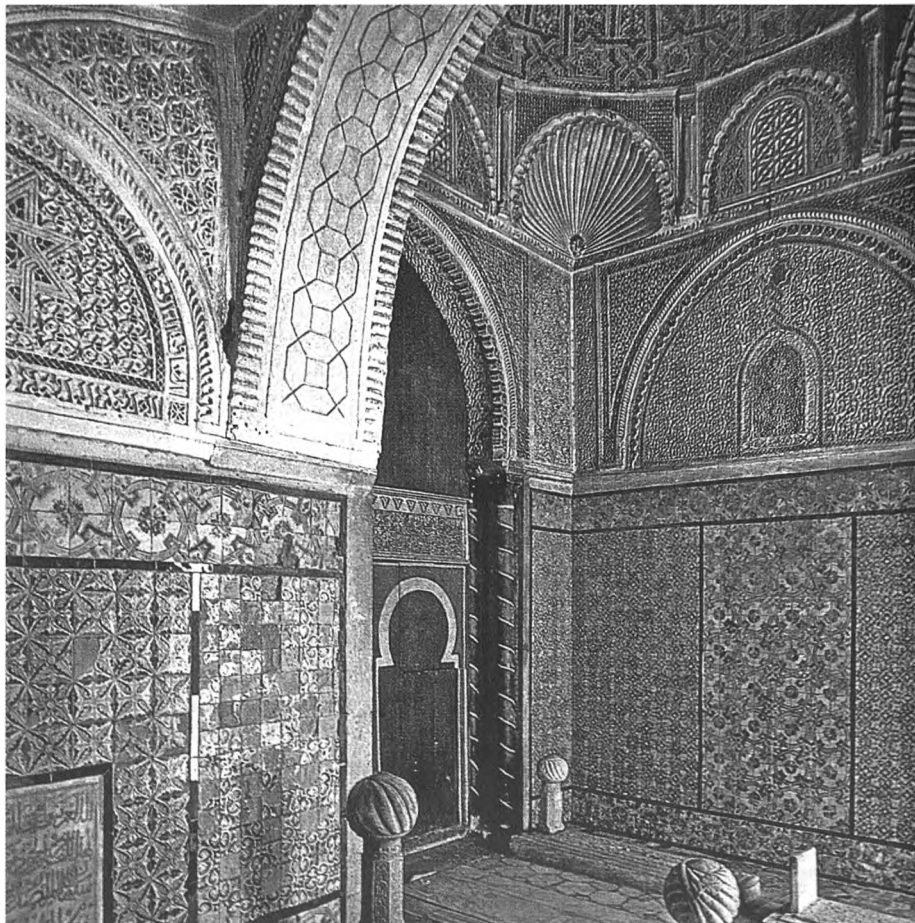
*Map of Tunis and
northern Tunisia.
Kitab al Bahry a
(Turkish Maritime
Atlas) by Piri Reis,
16th century.*





*Facade of Dar Othman
in Tunis. Drawing by
Jacques Revault.*

Algeria and spent the rest of his life there. The third, Othman, who ruled from 1598 to 1610, was a great leader and left his mark on numerous charitable organisations, such as Sadiki Hospital, that carried the name of his daughter *Aziza Othmana* for a long time. It was during his mandate that Bey Murad (we use here the spelling of the day, closer to the Turkish pronunciation where the “ou” sound is so short that Tunisians have eliminated and transformed the name into *Mrad*), originator of the Muradid dynasty, began his career as Mamluk for Bey Ramadhan. It was in the

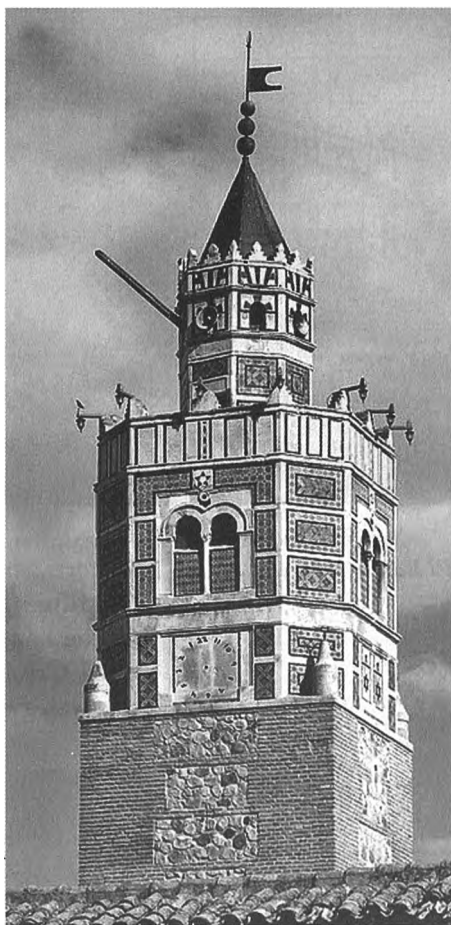


*Mausoleum, Turbat,
by Aziza Othmana.*

course of this “reign” of Othman Dey that Tunisia welcomed 80,000 Moriscos exiled from Spain between 1607 and 1609. With the arrival of the Moriscos came advancements in technology that were good for the country. We owe the creation or development of towns such as Soliman, Belli, Niano, Grombalia, Turki, Jedeida, Zaghouan, Tebourba, Medjez-el-Bab, Testour, Slouguia and Al-Alia to them. They improved irrigation techniques and norias (water

wheels for irrigation), they planted many orchards in the Cap Bon and introduced certain artisanal professions such as making chechias and milling wool in El Battan near Jedeida. They also built *carritas*, a type of cart with two large wheels that became popular. The Moriscos (or *Andalusians*) developed the craft of making *-zali*, the square glazed tiles that decorate many Tunisian homes. Tunisia had previously quickly integrated Andalusian immigrants as the Catholic Reconquista expanded. That time it was the Muslims who had refused to remain under Christian dominance. But this time, it was a population that had remained under a Christian government, converted to Christianity and who found themselves accused during the Inquisition of maintaining their customs, clothing, traditions and especially, secretly practising Islam. This population had lived all over Spain for centuries. It makes one think, contrarily, of the Muslims of Toledo, a city retaken by the Castilians in 1085 or those in Cordoba after 1236 and whose descendants were, three centuries later, exiled as Moriscos. Even though they were secretly living as Muslims, they were largely, profoundly Spanish, with their Arabo-Spanish language, traditional clothing, cuisine, professions and social life.

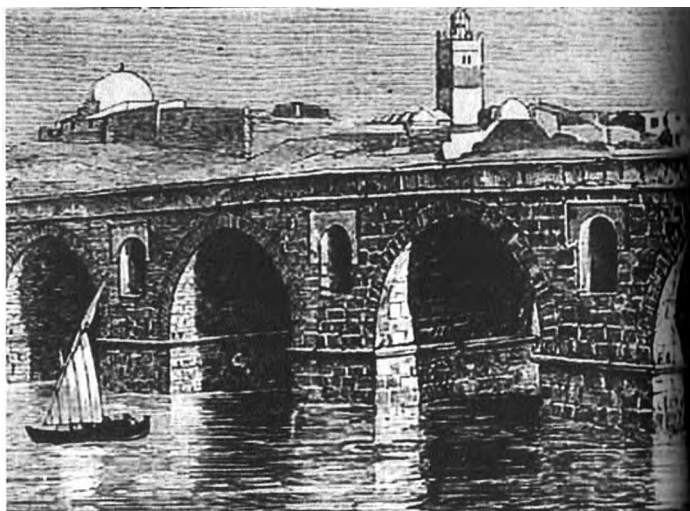
The fourth Dey, Yusuf, would govern for a long time, from 1610 to 1637. He is credited with building a part of the souks of Tunis and the mosque that carries his name, a bridge at Medjez-el-Bab, madrasas





El Battan bridge.

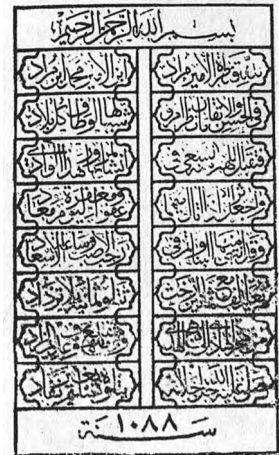
and forts, souks and chechias, and a fleet of corsairs with fifteen galleons. Under orders from Romdhan Bey, he had a military commander who had a converted Corsican, Murad Santi, as his assistant and who was given the title of Bey. This is the Murad



Medjez-el-Bab bridge.

that would be designated as his successor after his death in 1613 and whom Yusuf Dey would in the end entrust with running the country. In 1631, Murad Bey would entrust his son, Hammuda as military commander charged with levying taxes (*mahalla*). He would become the veritable founder of the Muradid dynasty.

Recognising the Muradids as hereditary Beys did not end the rivalry between Beys and Deys. Even though, in a sign of the times, the Bey intervened in the election of the Dey through diplomatic arrangements with some members of the Diwan, some Deys were not happy to lose their power. The social relations between the Ottomans were not simple. The Deys bought prisoners, young and old, who became Mamluks, put them into service and sometimes gave them the level and dignity of a Bey. Yet the old Janissaries, no matter their origin, despised this group of Beys. Some of the Mamluks were able to manoeuvre well enough to ascend to the level of Dey since the *Mahalla* commander (the expedition camp) was an



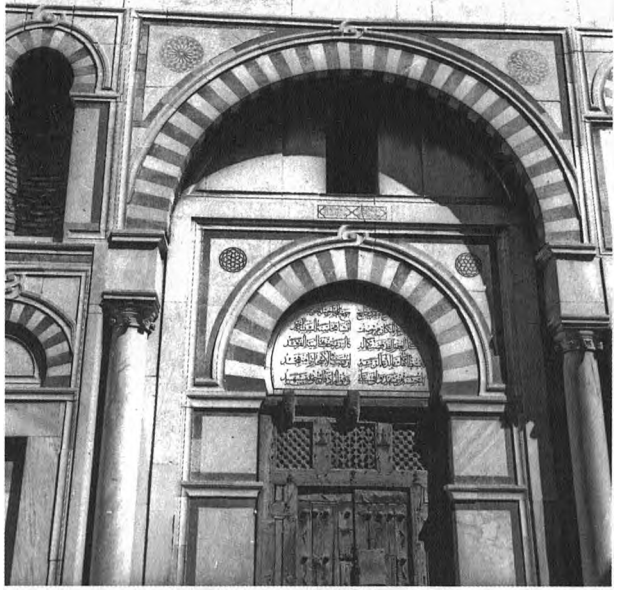
*Inscription on
Medjez-el-Bab bridge.*



*Overleaf:
Mosque and mausoleum
of Yusuf Dey in Tunis.
Rue des Bechemekia a
Tunis, watercolour by
Louis-Amable Crapelet,
1859.*



*Entrance to the
Yusuf Dey Mausoleum,
Tunis.*



*Inscription on the
Yusuf Dey Mausoleum
with the name of the
master architect, an
Andalusian called
Muhammad Ibn
Ghalib Al-Andalusi.*

appointment reserved for the Muradid family. This is how Mami, one of Yusuf Dey's Mamluks, conspired to help another Mamluk, Sta-Mrad, acquire the position of Dey, exploiting his good reputation among the soldiers. He considered the title just and in this way, it would open the door for the nomination of former Mamluks. And it happened ; the competition would become fiercer between those wearing the Ottoman uniform. The Muradid Bey intervened each time a new Dey was chosen. Some of them were assassinated or driven out violently, such as Dey Mustafa Gara-Aguz, who survived being poisoned in 1666. Likewise, Dey Shaabane Oglu plotted to depose



Murad Bey II in 1672, but the Bey foiled the plot, arrested the Dey's supporters and obliged him to step down. He would die within a year. His successor, Muhammad Mentchali was himself deposed by the military and replaced by Haj Ali Laz the following year. The new Dey tried to get Bey Murad to step down during an expedition to Tripoli where he was sent to punish mutinous soldiers who had gone



*Tomb of Yusuf Dey.
From Ahmed Saadaoui,
Tunis, Ville Ottomane :
Trois Siecles d'Urbanisme
et d'Architecture, CPU,
Tunis 2001.*

against Pasha Othman, who, prior to his death in his besieged Casbah, had asked his supporters to ask Murad Bey II to reestablish Ottoman control. The Bey of Tunis did not lose out on this chance to take back Tripoli ! The plot incited by the Dey was discovered in time by Muhammad Al-Hafsi, Murads brother, who was able to alert the Bey. Bey Murad II headed for the Sahel, then toward Tunis where he waited for a new army with a new Bey as leader chosen by the Dey and supported also by the Awlad Said and Mathalith tribes. The battle that unfolded at Mellassine brought victory to Murad Bey II. Dey Haj Ali Laz was deposed by soldiers that followed the

*Tunis. Engraving by
Matthaus Merian,
1646.*



Bey's wishes, and then Mami Jamal was appointed Dey.

The drama continued with the Deys that came after, especially when civil wars sparked between the Muradid princes, giving opportunities for the Deys to intervene in the area's affairs, the region being more autonomous than before in its relations with Istanbul. Then Mami Jamal changed sides and plotted against Murad's heir, his son Muhammad, by pitting him against his uncle Muhammad Al-Hafsi and his brother Ali. This was the beginning of a series of civil wars.

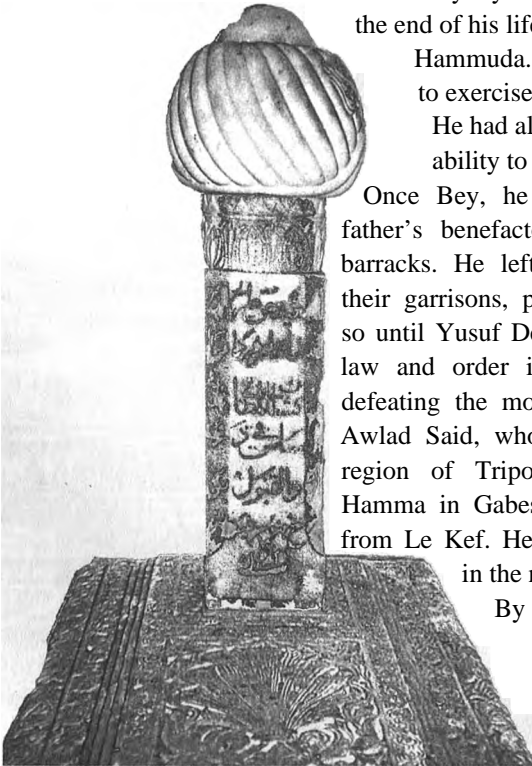


1637

THE GREAT PRINCE HAMMUDA PASHA

*Opposite page:
Minaret of the
Hammuda Pasha
mosque in Tunis.*

Tomb of Murad I.



In the history of the Muradid dynasty, the first Murad, a Mamluk of Romdhane Bey, who had when the latter died in 1613, the title of Camp Bey, and who had the authority to levy taxes, is considered as its

founder. In fact, from 1613 to his death in 1631, Murad loyally served his leader, Yusuf Dey. Toward the end of his life, he handed over control to his son, Hammuda. The new Bey was the first Muradid to exercise power with panache, as he pleased.

He had already demonstrated to his father his ability to be a leader and his political finesse.

Once Bey, he chose to leave Dey Yusuf, his father's benefactor, and the other Deys in their barracks. He left them full military command in their garrisons, ports and fortresses. He would do so until Yusuf Dey's death in 1637. He maintained law and order in the country. He succeeded in defeating the most unruly of the Arab tribes, the Awlad Said, who were driven to emigrate to the region of Tripoli, subdued the people of Al-Hamma in Gabes and the Chennoufi of Chabbiya from Le Kef. He pacified the regions of Amdoune in the north and Matmata in the south.

By eliminating the rest of the Chabbiya from the centre, he separated them from the Drid Arabs and enrolled them in his army. Finally, he created, as an alternative to the



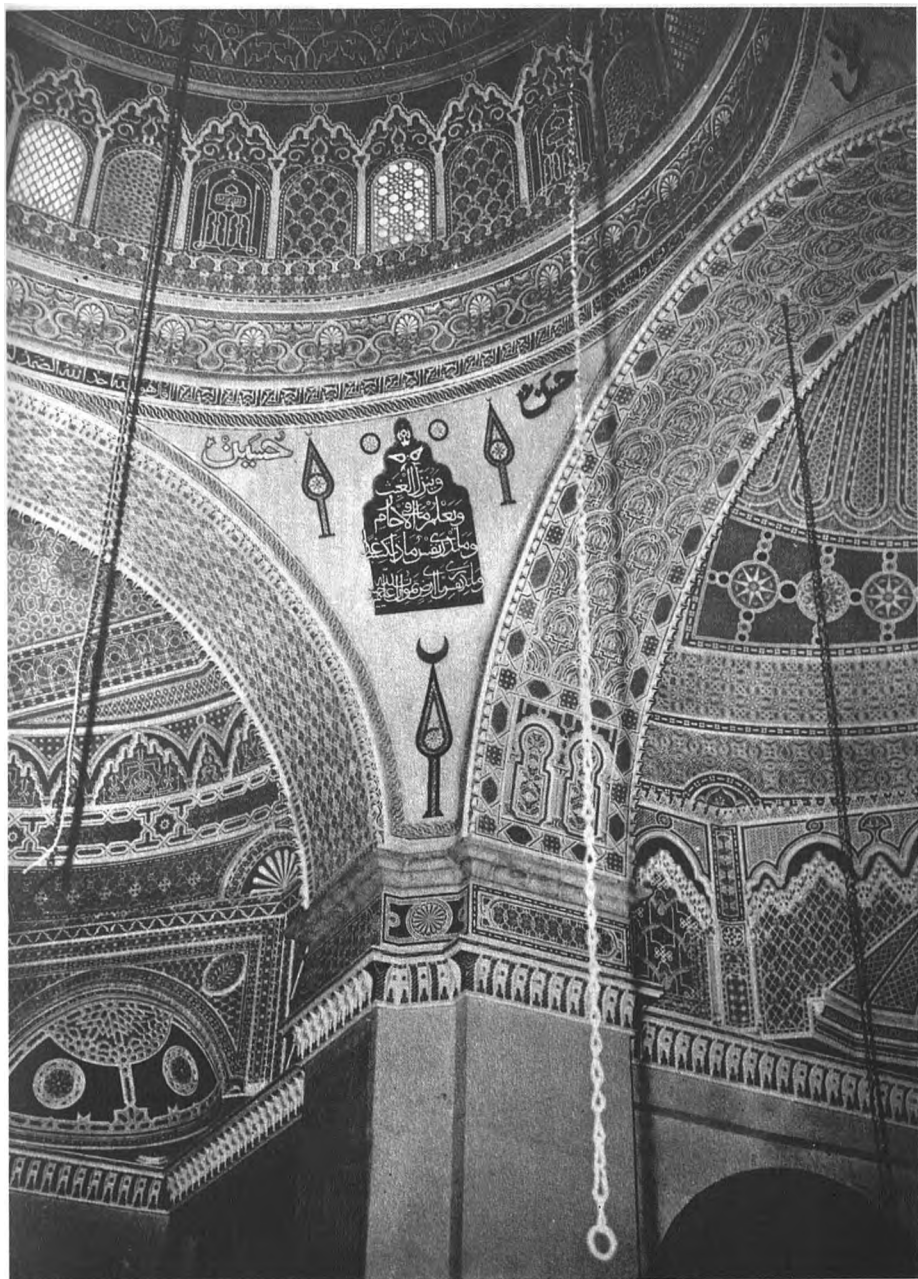


Mausoleum of Hammuda Pasha in Tunis.

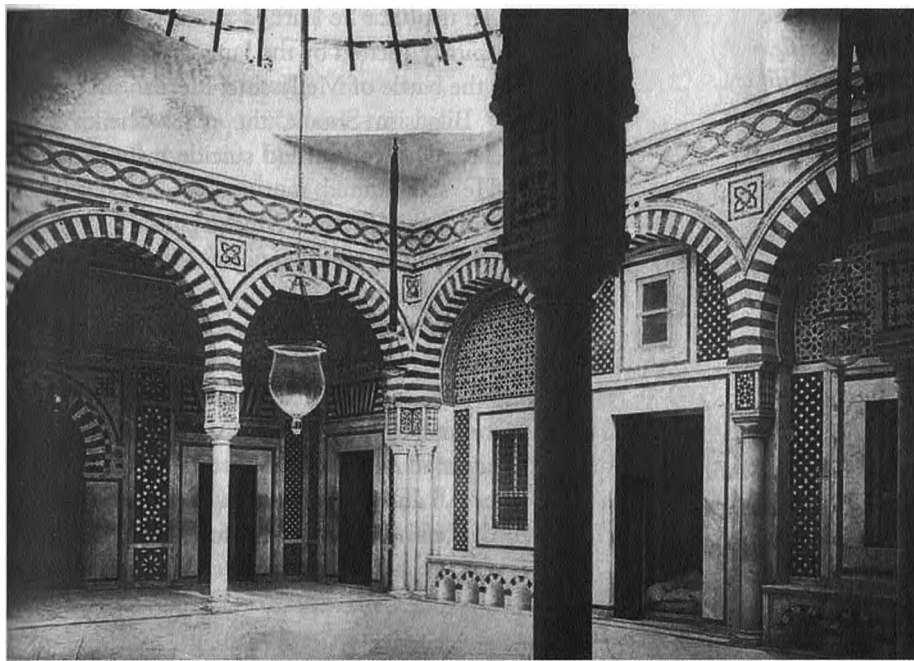
*Opposite page:
Interior of the M'hammad Bey al-Muradi Mosque (known as Sidi Mahrez) in Tunis. Construction started by Hammuda Pasha.*

Turkish Janissaries commanded by the Deys, the Spahis companies (*Sipahi* in Turkish means horserider) to police Tunis, Kairouan, Le Kef and Beja.

Hammuda Pasha left a profound imprint on the development of the capital. He enlarged and beautified *Dar-el-Bey* (the current offices of the prime minister) and built the mosque that carries his name next to the zaouia of Sidi Ben Arous, almost across from his first home, which still exists. He began construction on the Sidi Mahrez mosque inspired by Ottoman







architecture. He repaired the Zaghouan aqueduct near Bab Saadoun. He opened a hospital for the poor on Rue Al-Azzafine. He remodelled and beautified the mausoleum of Abu Zamaa Al-Balawi, *Sidi Assahib* in Kairouan. He received the title of Pasha in 1657. It was at this time that he handed over command of his camp to his son, Murad. He died in 1666 after reigning for thirty-five years, as intermediary for his father, then Bey and finally as Pasha.

His son, Murad Bey, the second with the name, had already proven himself as an able commander, as spirited as his father. He went to Tripolitania to punish the rebels who had besieged Othman Pasha, triumphed over armies that opposed him and only stopped from conquering the regions at the express demand of Tripolitanian dignitaries who pleaded with him to let them handle their own problems of governance. It was

Interior courtyard of the Dar el-Bey.

*Opposite page:
Italian-Ottoman
decoration against a
Qallaline background.
Mausoleum of Abu
Zamaa Al-Balawi in
Kairouan.*

*Opposite page:
Ottoman rifle.
Tunisian Military
Museum, Palais de
La Rose, Manouba.*

*Al-Muradiya Madrasa
in Tunis, designed by
Murad Bey II.*

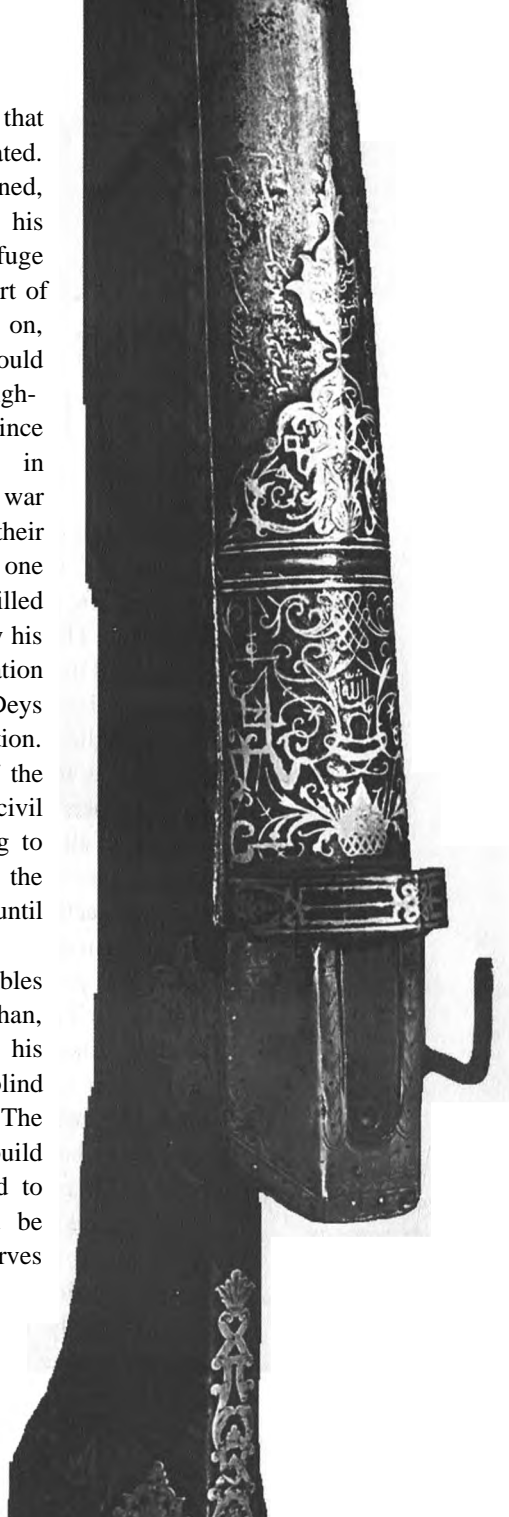
on the return trip that he learned about the aforementioned conspiracy, incited by the Janissaries who he had defeated in the battle of Mellassine. He also successfully defeated Bilgasim Shouk, the rebel Sheikh from Jebel Oueslat who committed suicide rather than be captured. He slaughtered mutinous soldiers in their barracks behind the Zaytuna Mosque, destroying their quarters and building the Madrasa Muradiya, which still exists today.

The conflicts between the Muradid princes continued through the end of the 17th century. Remember that Murad II's son, Muhammad (or according to Turkish pronunciation, *Mhamad*) was opposed to his uncle Muhammad Al-Hafsi who was supported by his own brother Ali and the Janissaries' Diwan headed by the Dey. Al-Hafsi was successful for a while in 1675.



Mhammad returned to power that same year, after his uncle abdicated. His brother Ali, though pardoned, created a harmful precedent for his dynasty and the next, by taking refuge in Algeria and asking for the support of the Bey of Constantine. From then on, interventions by the “Algerians” would not stop until at least the mid-eighteenth century. Each time a prince was unseated, he took refuge in Constantine. The shifts in the civil war between the Muradids gave their neighbours the chance to choose one side or the other. Ali was finally killed in 1686 at Ras Tabia, near Tunis, by his soldiers during an attempted mediation by the “Algerians”. These were the Deys who were profiting from the situation. They could be found behind all of the developments happening in the civil war. Mhamad, who tried everything to bring his brother Ali back into the ranks, remained alone in power until 1696.

What follows was sad and resembles something from Shakespeare. Ramdhan, the third brother, who had adopted his nephew Murad, Ali’s son, tried to blind him, then imprison him at Sousse. The young Murad was able to escape, build an army, kill his uncle and ascend to power in 1699. Murad III would be the last of the dynasty, but he deserves special attention.

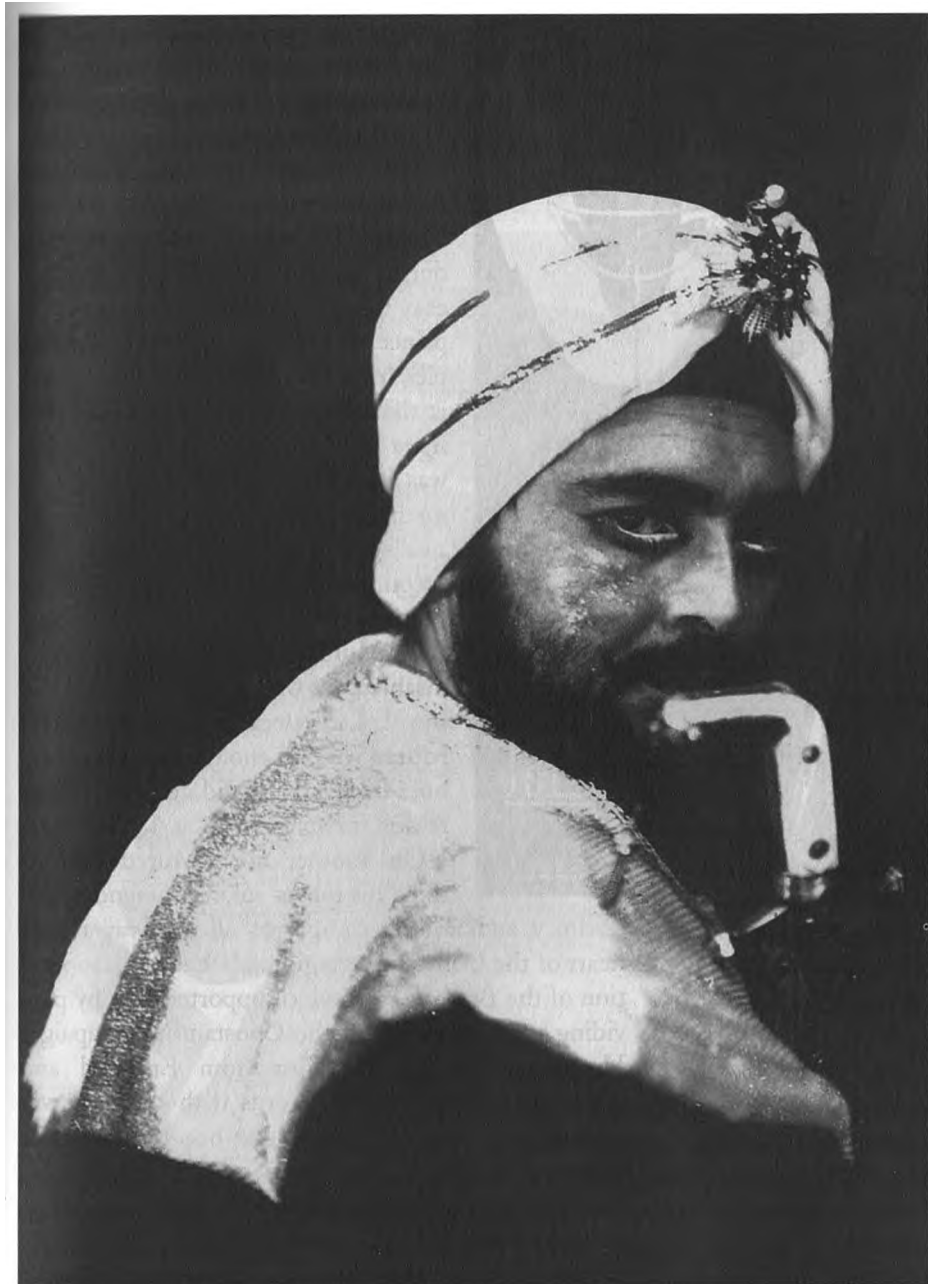


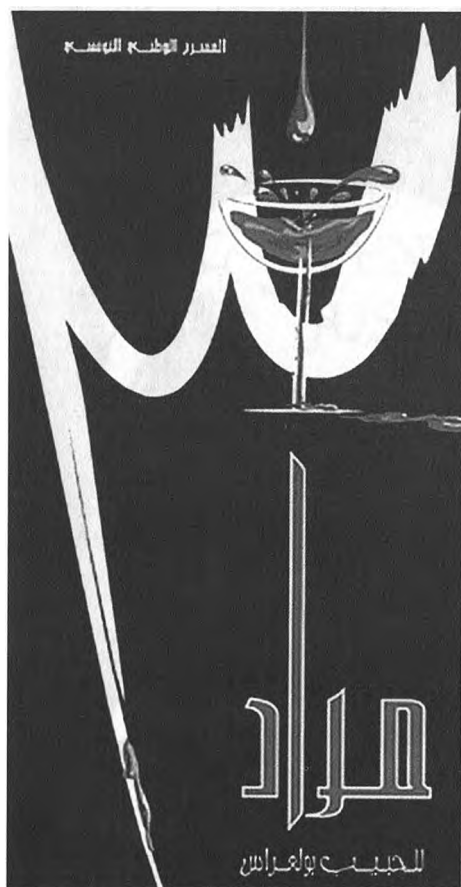
1699

MURAD III: VENGEANCE OR JUSTICE ?

The author of this book is also the author of a play written in 1966 entitled *Murad III*. This explains the very specific point of view here on this extraordinary character. Those who are not familiar with the story which will unfold in a series of significant events have reason to be struck by the bloodstained nature of the reign of the last Muradid prince. What happened, though, between the Deys and the Beys and between the members of each class, not forgetting the machinations of all the rulers since the Arab conquest, gives us examples of the ferocity that puts Murad's actions into perspective. There was always violence. Five years before Murad III ascended to the throne, Dey Tatar killed 800 people in five months and left the population in such a state of shock that people coined the phrase, "Like Tatar in the Casbah" to describe the horror that came from the caprice of a prince ! What made the acts of Murad III stand out was that they were provoked by an obsession with vengeance. Was he mad ? Was it a passion for blood that made him say, *Al-Bala* (the name of his saber) *Ja'it* (is hungry) ? Or was it trying to find out who was behind an act where he was the victim ? Nevertheless, what he did to entire cities, notably Beja and Kairouan, was inexcusable because it was collective punishment. It came from

Aly Ben Ayed in the role of Murad III in the play of the same name by Habib Boulares. He is carrying his famous bala (pala, meaning "sabre" in Turkish).





*Poster for the play
Murad III. New staging,
produced by the Theatre
Nationale Tunisien in
2003.*

obsessional psychosis. It is similar to the destruction of Dresden in Germany by the Allies during World War II (1939-1945).

Two aspects of this, however, demand attention. The first is that Murad III's reign lasted three years during a time when it was relatively easy to get rid of an undesirable prince. There are a number of examples from his own family. The second is that the man who killed him, the Agha of the *Spains*, Ibrahim Sharif, was in a hurry to put an end to all members of the Muradid family, the two sons of Mhamad Bey that were accompanying Murad, one of their cousins, Hammuda, the son of Husayn Ben Murad II, who was mentally disabled, as well as his four-year-old son ! Denouncing the excesses of Murad was not enough for Ibrahim to hold back, and he did not even have a reason for vengeance.

On another note, Murad III fulfilled his role as ruler by defending his

territory and leading campaigns all the way to the heart of the Constantine region. He had the cooperation of the Bey of Tripoli who supported him by providing reinforcements in the Constantine campaign. He received an ambassador from England and renewed peace and trade accords with them. It was during the second campaign on the way to Constantine during a stopover in Beja that Ibrahim Sharif killed him. He had been sent by Murad III as ambassador to Istanbul to explain what had been happening between Tunis and Constantine and asked

for help. He returned with a decree naming him as the new ruler !

With the death of Murad III, the era of the dynasty was at an end. That of Ibrahim Sharif would last “as long as roses last”.

A surprising and unsettling combination of fleurs de lys and crescents. Capital from the Muradid period at Dar Daoulatli in Tunis. Photograph by Jacques Revault.



1705

HUSAYN BEN ALI FINDS HIMSELF THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW DYNASTY!

Ibrahim Sharif only reigned for three years. He was a Turk who served first in Algeria and came to Tunisia during one of his neighbour's interventions in the company of Mhammad Ben Shokr, Mhammad Bey's former *Kahia* (lieutenant) in 1686. He enlisted with the Beylical troops in Gafsa. He was promoted to Agha of the Spahis. His first act after the death of Murad III and after becoming Bey was to relieve the current Dey of his functions and replace him with

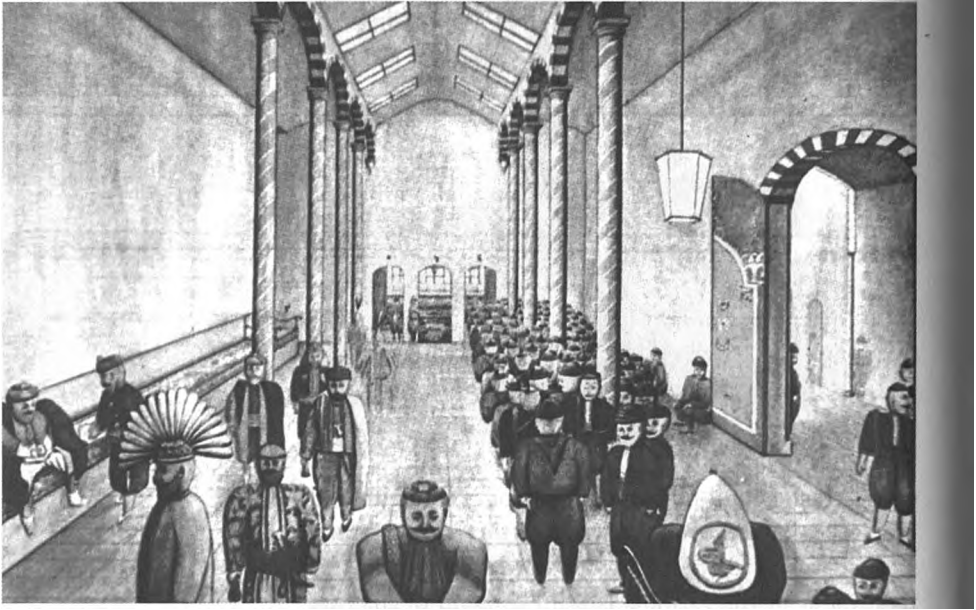


*Sidi-Ali-Turki
Mausoleum in Kef.*



Gara Mustafa and he named his deputy, Muhammad Khoja Lasfar (a former member of the Murad court) as Agha of the Casbah, in other words the administrative leader of the Diwan. Toward the end of his first year in the position he dismissed this Dey and took on his duties. From that point forward, he began to sign decrees with the title of Ibrahim Sharif Bey Dey. He committed a number of abuses of power in many regions and the “Turks” followed his example, infuriating the people which led to revolt. A former Mamluk of Murad’s, Ali Assufi, became the leader of the revolts at Kalaat Senan. He was killed and his head was returned to Tunis. In 1703, Ibrahim became Pasha, and this was the first ruler to have all three

titles in his name. He led a campaign in 1704 in Tripolitania against Khalil Bey, a friend of Murad, who helped the former Bey of Tunis in his first Algerian offensive. He won the battle which took place near Tripoli. He pursued Khalil and laid siege to the city. But cholera would decimate the troops and the Arab tribes that were assisting retreated. He turned back to Tunis in January 1705. During this

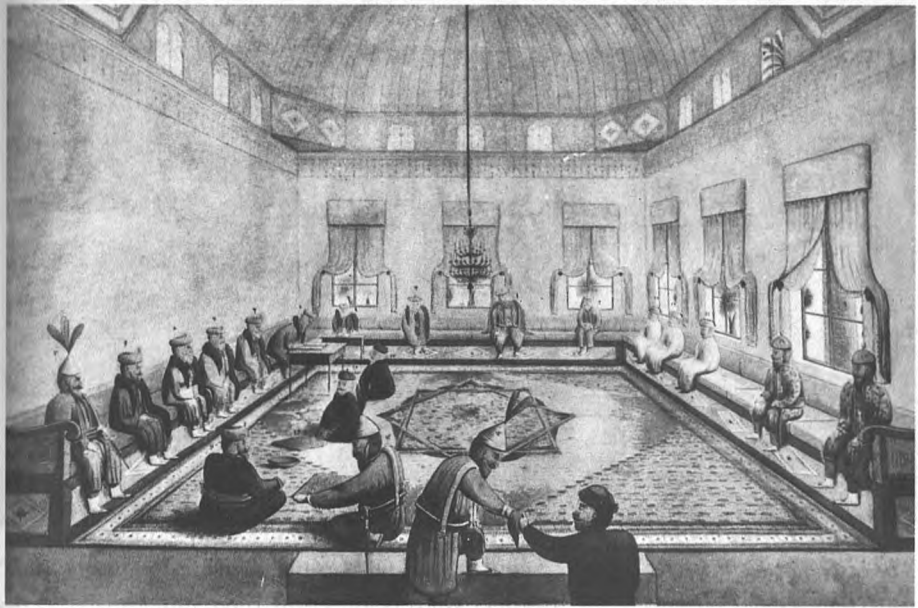


Soldiers (on the left) line up on pay-day at Dar al-Pasha in Tunis. From an anonymous manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale de Tunisie, 17th-18th century.

campaign, his lieutenant was Husayn Ben Ali Turki, the Agha of the Spahis.

In the spring, he returned to Le Kef, which had been fortified against an Algerian offensive led by Ishi Mustafa. But as soon as the two armies met, before combat began, the Arab tribes remembered their abuses at the hands of Ibrahim Sharif. Husayn Ben Ali advised him to come to an agreement with his adversary. He refused and was then imprisoned.

Husayn Ben Ali found himself with the Spahis on a neighbouring hill near Tunis. It was July 1705. Arriving near Lake Sejoumi, he received a delegation of prominent citizens from the capital who asked him to accept the position of Bey. After hesitating, it is said that he accepted. But here was a new dynasty that was beginning in a time of pain, with an imprisoned leader and the city of Le Kef abandoned



after being pillaged. Ibrahim Sharif was now in the hands of Ishi Mustafa who remained at Le Kef. A delegation left Tunis to inform the Algerian of the change in leadership and asked him to return home with his prisoner. They even proposed to give him money. The Algerian Bey refused and marched on Tunis, destroying Tebourba on the way with the troops of Bedouins who were always keen on a raid.

The skirmishes continued until September 1705 when

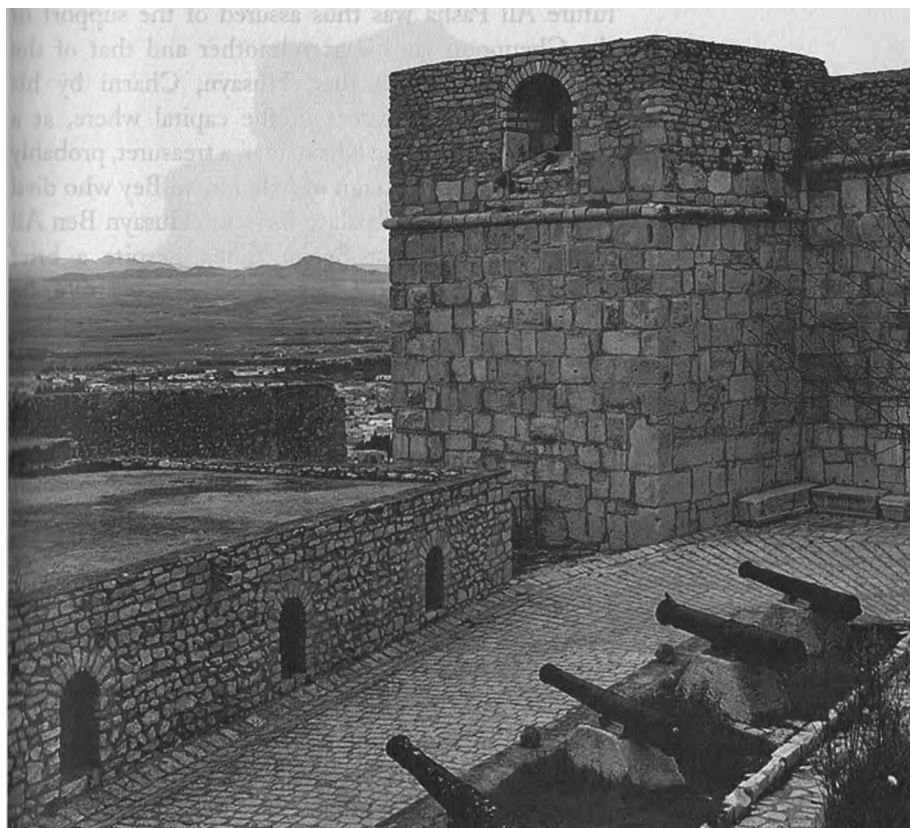
*A meeting of the
Diwan (from the same
manuscript as the
previous picture).*



*The casbah at Kef.
Exterior view.
(All rights reserved.)*

(miraculously !) Bey Husayn provided cannons and the invaders were beaten and their ranks disbanded. The invaders headed toward Algeria by way of Tebourba, Medjez-el-Bab and Beja, all the time being pursued by “Tunisian” troops buoyed by their success.

Husayn Ben Ali was satisfied with the title of Bey. He had the unbelievable luck of escaping death on a number of occasions, especially after Murad III’s assassination, then escaping from the defeat of Le Kef and successfully resisting a tenacious invader. This man was originally from Candia, that is to say, Crete. His father, Ah, also known as Turki, immigrated to

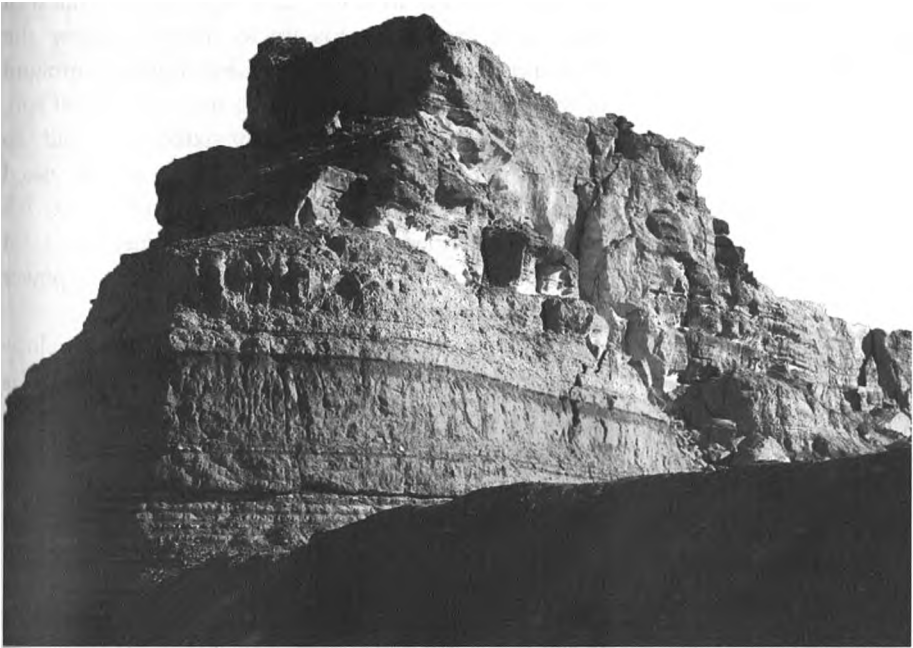


Tunisia, most likely in the middle of the seventeenth century, and enlisted in the regular troops. Sent to Le Kef, he married a girl from the Chennoufi tribe who gave him a son, Muhammad. Then, he married a girl from the Charen tribe who also gave him a son, Husayn, in 1675. After the death of Ali Turki, who was buried at Le Kef, the two sons, members of the Beylical troops, would assume many duties. Muhammad, Chennoufi by his mother, made his career with the nomadic Bedouin tribes. He married the daughter of a Caid, Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Caid Hasan and lived under the tent. His wife bore him a son, Ali. This

*The casbah of Kef.
Interior view.
(All rights reserved.)*

future Ali Pasha was thus assured of the support of the Chennoufi via his grandmother and that of the Bedouins via his mother. Husayn, Charni by his mother, made his career in the capital where, at a young age, he became Khaznadar, a treasurer, probably near the end of the reign of Mhammad Bey who died in 1696. A victim of palace intrigue, Husayn Ben Ali Turki fled to Kalaat Senan. Then despite a brief alliance with the rebel Ben Shokr around 1694, he reintegrated the troops of the camp of Mhammad Bey. After the Bey's death, his successor, Ramdhan Bey, appointed him Agha of the Spahis. Murad III gave him responsibility for the Wilaya of the Aradh, the region of Gabes. Target of another palace intrigue, he was summoned to Tunis. Rather than fleeing as his friends advised, he answered the summons and Murad III, in appreciation of his loyalty, appointed him *Kahia a Dar-al-Pasha* and he became responsible for Dar-el-Jeld, in other words, director of the leather trade monopoly. When Murad III died, he fled to Jebel Oueslat, but the Bey's successor, Ibrahim Sharif, recalled him and appointed him once again Agha of the Spahis. In 1705 he was thirty years old, but had already had extensive experience.

The challenge was not over for Husayn Ben Ali. It had only begun. Muhammad Khuja Lasfar, his colleague who he quickly named Dey, wanted to reestablish the dominance of the Dey over the Bey. Husayn Ben Ali was successful in getting rid of him by linking his actions with the fervour of the Arabs, Drid and Riah, in Fahs. Lasfar was killed in Tunis by his own soldiers, convinced that after a series of unjust assassinations ordered by the Dey that his side no longer had any chance of winning. Then, Sharif, now being protected by the ruler of Algiers, was sent back from Algeria by sea to resume his functions in Tunis as agreed with Dey Lasfar, who he still believed to be alive. Advised



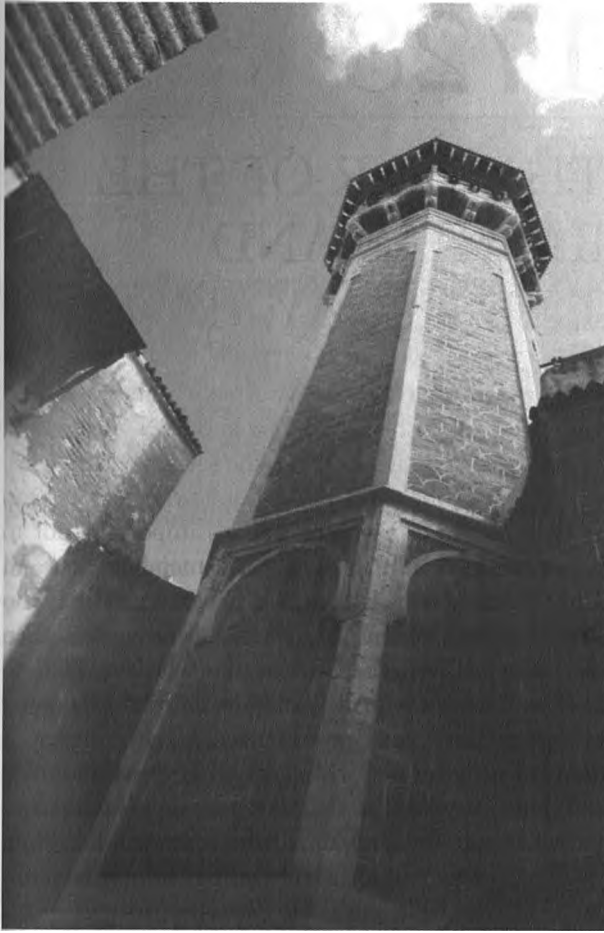
of what was happening, Ben Ali was watching the land and sea routes. In 1706, a boat with his loyalists, dressed as European sailors, met the boat carrying Sharif at Ghar-el-Melh. They fooled him with their disguises and killed him.

Kalaat Senan.

From that point forward, the new Bey focused on his task. That's when, in 1709, one of his boats that had prisoners offered him a beautiful young thirteen-year-old Genovese girl who he added to his harem. He was already married, but had only one daughter. She gave him a son named Muhammad and then another, Ali, and then a girl, and after that a third son, Mahmud, and a fourth, Mustafa. The family had changed, and this upset the prearranged plans. Because he did not have a male heir, Ben Ali adopted and oversaw the education of his nephew, Ali, the son of his half-brother Muhammad Ben Ali Turki, born

around 1695. As an adult, Ali was given command of the native troops by his uncle since he knew the Bedouins. In 1724 Ben Ali decided to give command of the camp assigned to collecting taxes to his first son, Muhammad, a teenager, fifteen or sixteen years old. To get Istanbul to accept this change at the top, he asked them to give his nephew Ali the title of Pasha. Ali accepted the title at the age of twenty-nine, but it did not take long for him to realise that he had no real power and he began to split with his uncle in 1728.

The twelve-year civil war dwarfs the urban development and cultural work of Husayn Ben Ali. It is important to note that his strong point was that he assured order by saving the country after Sharif was defeated. He curtailed rebellions, some of which have already been mentioned, as well as another one ten years later in 1713 by a Muradid pretender, supported by the Hannachi clan, maternal relatives of the Muradids, plus an attempted rebellion by friends of Sharif in 1715. He reorganised the *Habus* olive orchards near Tunis which helped increase income, and he performed works of charity. He implemented public works projects, organising a watering trough at Mellassine and constructing cisterns, reservoirs and water sources in Tunis, Gafsa, Sousse and Enfidha. ; He built bridges, sometimes small, but necessary to make it easier to travel between cities and between the villages of Kef, Fahs, Rades and Sousse. Through true devotion, he continued to build mosques throughout his reign : at Bardo where he lived, and the mosque Jamaa al-Jadid in Tunis, which was flanked by a medersa where Sheikhs Charif, Aj-Jirbi Al-Harqani and Al-Hanafi taught, and a *turba* (mausoleum). At Sidi Bou Said he transformed a modest place of prayer (*masjid*) into a significant mosque. He also built madrasas and assigned to each a recognised scholar to give courses in *fiqh* : the Palm Tree Medersa behind



*Jamaa al-Jadid
Mosque in Tunis,
by Husayn Ben Ali.*

the Zaytuna Mosque (Sheikh Khadhraoui) and on Rue Sabat Ajam (Sheikh Jait) in Tunis, in Sfax (Sheikh Charfi) and others in Kairouan and Nefta. He restored the zaouia of Sidi Dhrif and also the domes of Sidi Qacem Al-Jalizi and the mausoleum of Sidi Mahrez. He was superstitious, very much affected by the prophecies widespread among the people and sought protection from the saints, so he regularly visited the zaouias.

1728

THE WAR OF THE BASHIAS AND THE HUSAYNIA

For twelve years, Tunisia was split into those who supported Ali Pasha, the *Bashia* known as *Basina*, and supporters of Husayn Ben Ali, the known as *Husaynia*. The extent of the conflict was due to the personalities of each of the clan chiefs, but it's important not to forget their maternal lineage. Remember that Ali Turki married a girl from the Chennoufi tribe who gave birth to Muhammad, Ali Pasha's father, and then married a girl from the Charne tribe who gave birth to Husayn. In addition, Ali Pasha first married a daughter of a great Ca'id who gave birth to a son, Yunis, and then a Kurlughli girl who gave birth to Muhammad and Slimane. Add to that the nostalgic Hannachis,

*Seal of Husayn
Ben Ali.*



who were descendant on the maternal side from the 5 Murad tribe, who had a long relationship with Ali Pasha from his dealings with the Bedouin world. With all this it is easy to see that all the ingredients were there for quite a tribal conflict from the start in many regions of the country.

On one side there were the *Husaynia* : at Kairouan, Sousse, Monastir, Mahdhi, Kalaa-Kebira, Sfax and a number of places in the Sahel, and comprising the Bani Rizg tribes, a



large part of the Drid, the Zlass, the Awlad Aoun, a portion of the Awlad Said and the Hamama. On the other side were the *Bashia* : at Msaken, Jemmal, Kalaa Seghira, Akkouda, Zaouit Soussa, Jebel Oueslat, and consisting of the Majir, Frashish, Awlad Ayar and Ouertane tribes. The cities of Tunis and Le Kef, in spite of their preference for Husayn, were sometimes won over to one side, then the other.

*Al-Djellaz fort,
rebuilt by Ali Pasha.*

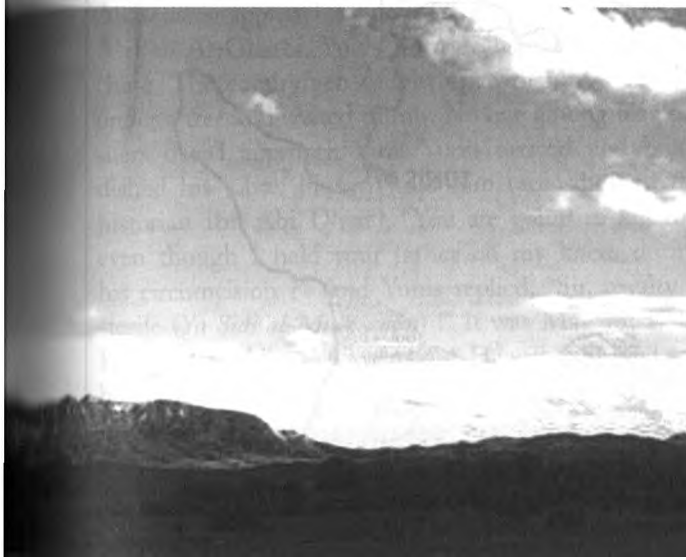
This first civil war (there would be another) took place between 1728 and 1740. In the first year, despite a number of setbacks, the advantage would go to Husayn Ben Ali after bloody confrontations at Jebel Oueslat (Ali Pasha's primary stronghold), then at Le Kef, then in the Sahel, until Ali Pasha fled south in August 1729 and then to Algeria. Ben Ali returned to Tunis victorious with his sons Muhammad, Ali and Mahmud, who would undergo trial by fire.

But Ali Pasha, who went to Algiers in 1729, was first imprisoned by his governor, Abdi Pasha, for some years. After the governor's death his successor, Ibrahim Pasha, freed him. Ali continued to badger

*August 1735:
a confrontation took
place between the two
armies at Sminja.*

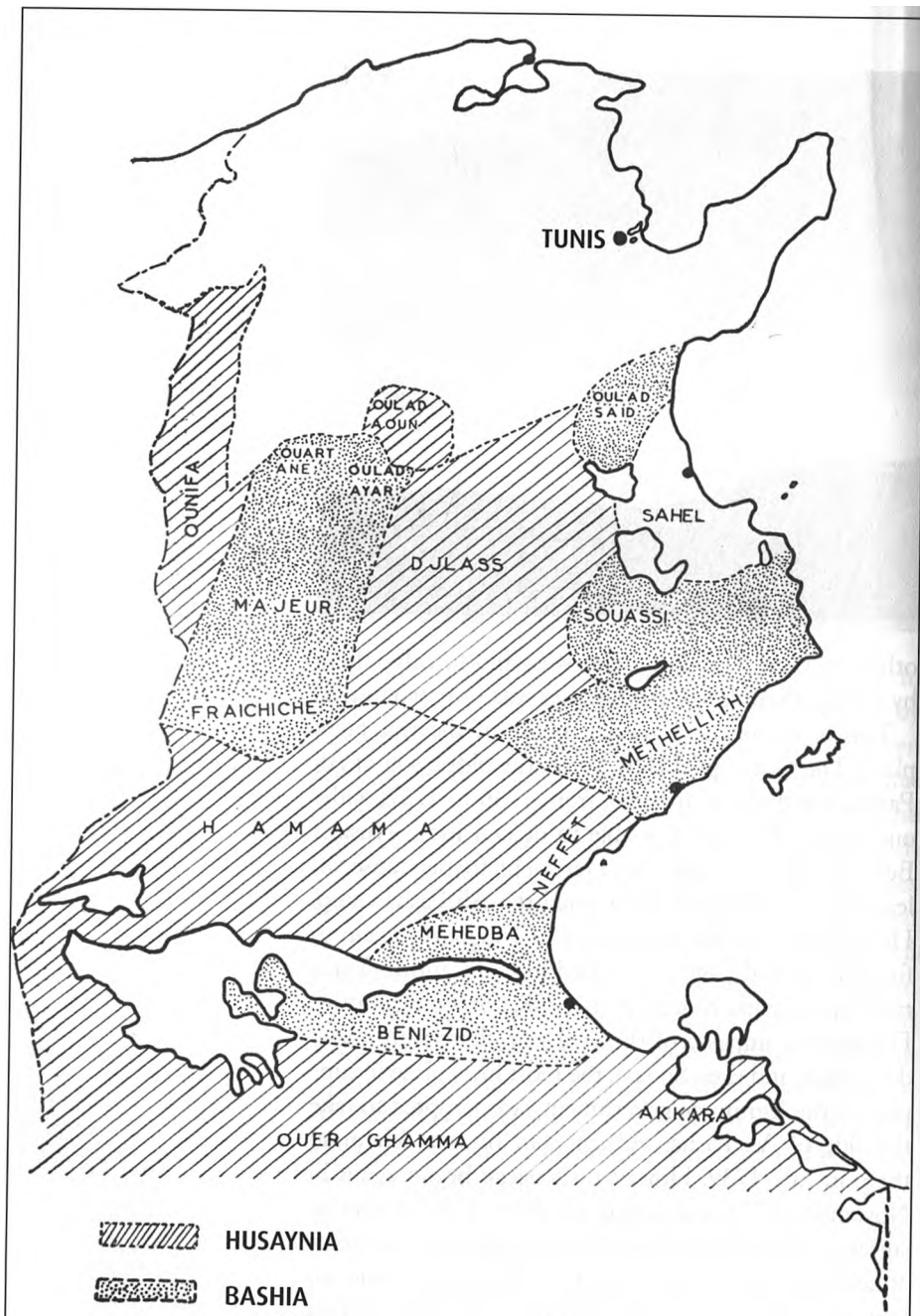


him, multiplying his promises until he was able to receive military training in May 1735, commanded by Ibrahim Khoja Khaznaji, with whom he would return to Tunisia. Ben Ah prepared for confrontations that took place at Sminja south of Tunis in August. The battle remained inconclusive for a long time with changes in alliances, especially regarding which tribes were supporting the Bey. The Algerians remained firm and the Awlad Said, who had abandoned Ben Ali except for the group of Awlad Qacem, backed them. Without changing sides, part of the Drid abandoned the Bey. In September, Ben Ali was wounded in the thigh. He secretly went to Kairouan and sent his son, Muhammad to Algiers to clarify connections with the Pashalik. His son Ali believed him dead and returned to Bardo to give advice on how to proceed to his wife, the daughter of Ali Pasha, to keep the children safe. However, his brother Muhammad arrived and this raised his spirits. They went to Kairouan, a Husaynia stronghold and, before entering the city, met their



other brother, Mahmud, who was able to calm them by letting them know their father was only wounded.

This is where the Kairouan phase of the war takes place. The first siege, led by Yunis, the oldest son of Ah Pasha, lasted eleven months, from 1736 to 1737, without results. The city was able to defend itself. Husayn Ben Ah tried to rally the Hannachi to his cause on learning that they had abandoned the Ah Pasha camp. He sent his son, Ah, on the way to Tougourt in vain to find the nomad chief. Ah settled in Constantine. Yunis tried again with Kairouan in 1738, for nine months. During this impasse of the civil war, there were many defections, and even Sousse, the most loyal place in support of the legitimate government, was tempted to take the side of Ah Pasha. Husayn sent his son Mahmud there in July 1739. However, the siege began again in November 1739 and lasted till May 1740. Kairouan suffered. Their provisions were blocked, their ramparts attacked by cannon fire and their defenders could no longer use them to keep the attackers away. Husayn Ben



Ali, sensing approaching defeat, left the city by the gate Al-Bab Al-Gharbi. Yunis' army realised this and gave chase. The cavalymen caught up with him so he sat under a tree and waited calmly. No one among his pursuers dared approach him. Yunis arrived and brandished his sabre. Husayn told him (according to the historian Ibn Abi Dhiaf), "You are going to kill me, even though I held your father on my knees during his circumcision ?" And Yunis replied, "Sir, royalty is sterile (Yz *Sidi al-Mulk aqini*) !" It was May 13, 1740. Husayn Ben Ah was 65 years old. He was beheaded and his head was sent to Tunis.

Opposite page:
Distribution of the tribes
between the Bashia and
Husaynia. (Based on
Bice Slama, 1864
L'Insurrection de 1864
en Tunisie, MTE, 1967.)



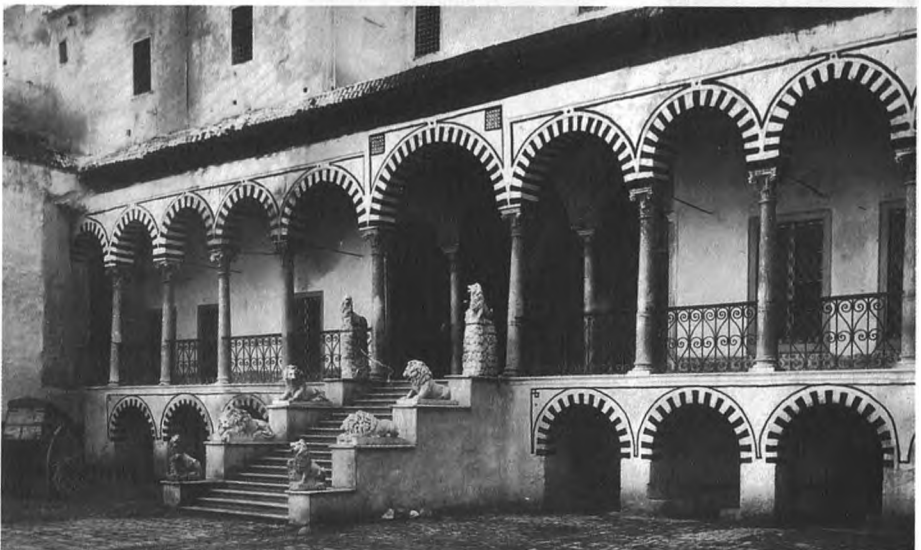
Stele from the tomb of
Husayn Ben Ali (from
Ahmed Saadaoui, Tunis,
Ville Ottomane: Trois
Siecles d'Urbanisme et
d'Architecture, Tunis,
CPU, 2001).

1746

BASHIA AND HUSAYNIA, THE REVENGE

Following the changes made by Husayn Ben Ali to his residence, the Bardo, Ali Pasha added the El Borj palace and moved in. Photograph from the late 19th century (when the mezzanine floor still consisted of semi-circular arches).

While Yunis handled the pursuit of Bey Husayn, his father, Ali Pasha, settled into the seat of power at Bardo and Tunis. When Husayn was wounded in the Battle of Sminja and took refuge in Kairouan in September 1735, prominent citizens in Tunis contacted Ali Pasha's father, the frail Muhammad Bey, who was being held under house arrest at Bardo, and placed him on the throne to see their allegiance benefitting his son Ali and instructed Princes Muhammad



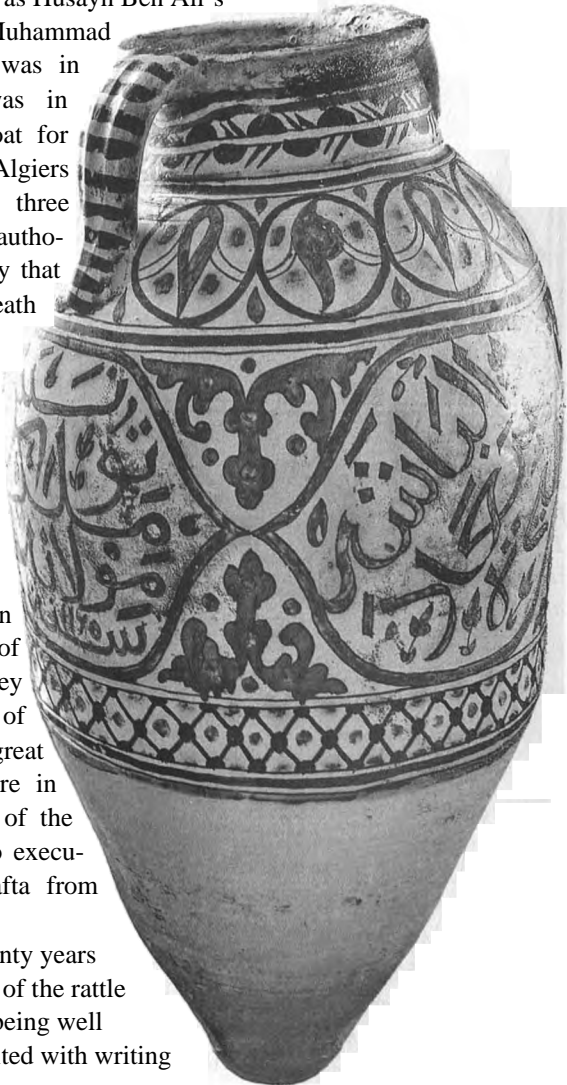
and Slimane to inform their father. After assurances from his oldest son, Yunis, Ali returned to Tunis from Sminja on September 7. He finally called on Yunis to reestablish order without humiliating those who helped bring him to power.

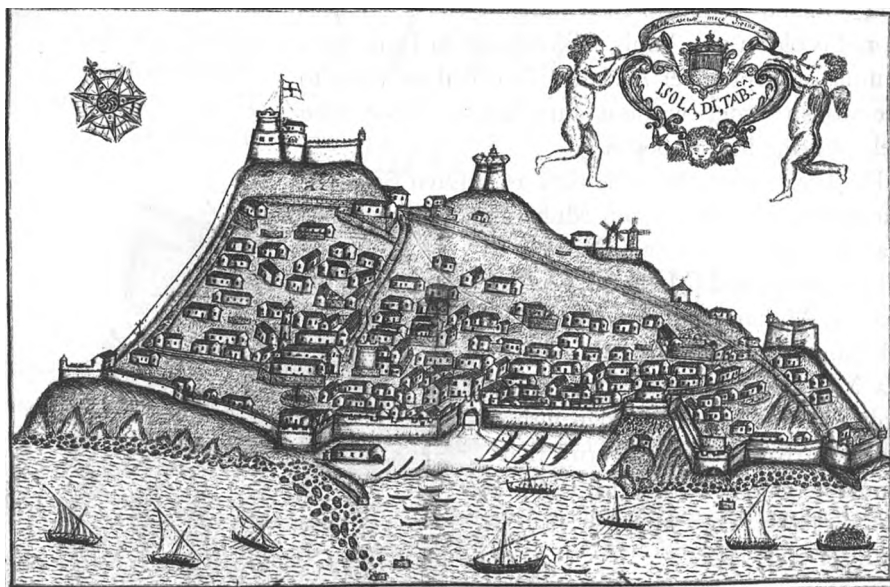
Furthermore, at the same time as Husayn Ben Ali's execution in 1740, his son Muhammad was in Algiers, his son Ali was in Constantine and Mahmud was in Sousse. Muhammad sent a boat for Mahmud who left Sousse for Algiers via Malta and Marseille. The three brothers approached Algerian authorities to try to mobilise an army that would help them avenge the death of their father. They would succeed six years later.

In the meantime, Ali Pasha and Yunis, while ruling the country with a firm hand, were found guilty of abuse of power as well as executing Husayn Ben Ali loyalists by the dozen in Tunis, Sousse and Kairouan as well as killing dignitaries of the Hannachi tribe that they lured to Bardo, and getting rid of officers they had recruited at great expense to the Ottoman Empire in order to vary the composition of the militia of the Diwan. They also executed Arabs, Hamama and Nefafta from the Gabes region.

Ali Pasha, who reigned for twenty years (from 1735 to 1756) in the midst of the rattle of weapons had a reputation for being well educated. He has even been credited with writing

Khabiya, a large jar offered to Ali Pasha, "Mawlane Malik Tunis, our lord, King of Tunis", in 1752.





Ali Pasha took Tabarka from the Genoese in 1741, a contentious issue between Tunis and Genoa.

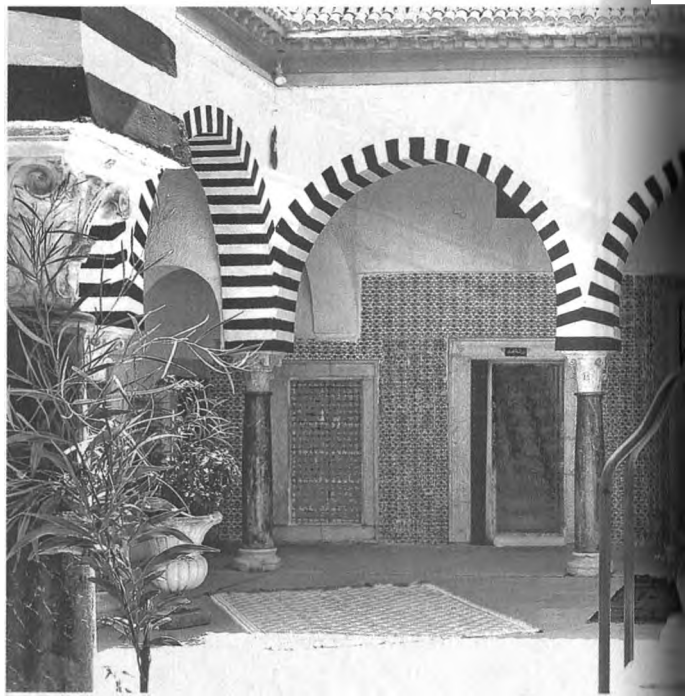
Opposite page : Ali Pasha was a great builder with a reputation for having been well-trained. He gave Tunis four madrasas. The picture shows Slimania, built circa 1754.

a book of commentary on the famous work of Ibn Malik, the Arab grammarian. He had debates with the *Ulama* and the issues were no easy matter for the latter. In brief, the country saw the usual regime, bloody despotism, for the first ten years or so and then armed peace and some awkward relations with the Genovese about Tabarka, as well as with a French consul insisting on “hand-kissing”, who finally backed down.

In 1746, the sons of Husayn Ben Ali arrived in Tunisia with an army mobilised by Algerian authorities. On May 10, they reached Le Kef. They converged to support the Charni Bedouins and Awlad Bou Ghanim. But the “Algerians” abandoned them during the siege, bribed, possibly, by Ali Pasha, who might have used his relations with the Bey of Constantine. The attempt failed and the only option for the three brothers was to return to Algeria. On the



*El-Basbia Madrasa
in Tunis, designed by
Ali Pasha.*



way back, Mahmud, the youngest, died. Muhammad, the oldest, succeeded in returning to Algiers to escape the Bey of Constantine, while Ali took refuge with the Aacheche, part of the Nememcha east of the Aures.

However, relations between Yunis and his father were not any better. This energetic son, tough enforcer and bold commander of the troops felt that his father was starting to prefer his two half-brothers, Muhammad and Slimane, over him. He rebelled in 1752 and settled in the capital. His father set his loyal troops on Yunis, who was obliged to flee to Algeria. Another one ! He was not welcomed by the Bey of Constantine who was his father's friend, and he was imprisoned, dying there due to illness.

There was a change in leadership in Algiers : in 1755, the new Dey decided to create an army that



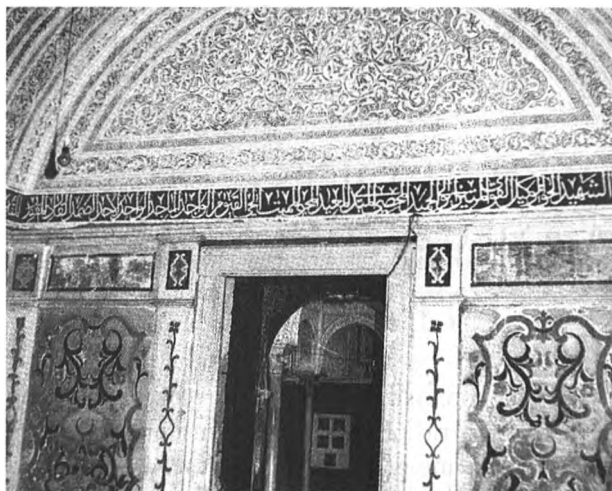
the Husaynia could use to invade Tunisia. This force consisted of a Turkish corps under the command of Hasan, Bey of Constantine, another Turkish corps composed of Tunisian defectors commanded by Muhammad Ben Husayn Ben Ali, and a corps of cavalrymen, Arab Drid, Hannachi and other Bedouins, commanded by Ali Bey. Ben Ali's two sons wanted to avoid defections among their allies and wanted to put the desertions of 1746 behind them. Le Kef was taken in June 1756 and pillaged by the Algerian troops despite Muhammad Bey's protests. Ali Pasha left Bardo for the Casbah in Tunis and barricaded himself inside. The siege began and Tunis was attacked by cannons from all the surrounding hills. The city itself was taken and pillaged for a month. The Casbah was able to withstand the attack, but for how long ? Ali Pasha

Inscription at the entrance to Al-Bashia Madrasa, 1752.



decided to return to Bardo. He left the Casbah via the door “Bab-Ghdar” and left it open. The attackers discovered this and rushed inside. This was the end of the siege and pursuit of the fugitives. But the attackers were all over Tunis and the surrounding area. Ali Pasha was stopped en route by one of Hannachi’s squadrons, and his youngest son, Muhammad was seriously wounded and would die soon after. He was stripped before being taken to Hasan Bey who put him in a tent with his dying son and his grandson who had had his ears cut off. Hasan, Bey of Constantine, hesitated on which approach to take. He sent a messenger to his superior in Algiers, Barmaq Sezz, proposing the annexation of the Pashalik of Tunis, replacing Ah Pasha with a vassal from Algiers. Barmaq Sezz refused, keeping in mind that Istanbul wanted three Pashaliks, in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and he was not going to change their directive.

In the meantime, Muhammad Bey, who suspected the bad intentions of the Bey of Constantine, sent his brother to collect funds in order to rid themselves of a



*The interior of the
Ali Pasha Mausoleum
in Tunis.*

cumbersome ally. Ali Bey travelled to Hammamet, Sousse, Monastir, Sfax and Kairouan. He was able to gather a large sum of money that he could send to his brother.

Hasan Bey, on receiving the answer back from Algiers rejecting his idea, went to the tent where they were holding Ali Pasha and let the executioner enter, who then strangled the prisoner. On September 25, 1756, the former Pasha was wrapped in his banner and sent to his cousins to be buried.

Muhammad and Ali, the two surviving sons of Husayn Ben Ali had their revenge, but under deplorable conditions ! Le Kef, Tunis and Bardo were destroyed : their treasures, gold, and the womens jewels were stolen, their libraries stripped of the most important works. In spite of protests by Muhammad Bey, Hasan Bey remained calm : “We shouldn’t offend the soldiers who brought you back your father’s kingdom.”

1756

REBUILDING A DEVASTATED COUNTRY

*Inscription in the
Bir Lahjar Madrasa,
designed by Ali Pasha
and completed by his son,
Rajab Ben Mami, in
1756.*

The kingdom had certainly been recovered, but one needed to get rid of the Bey of Constantine's troops who were running amok, to appease a population traumatised by the violence and abuse, reestablish legitimacy and rebuild the country. This was a task that was even harder for Tunisia since, as seen previously, it was divided between the Bashia and the Husaynia and civil war had left its marks in all regions of the country now trying to heal.

Muhammad Bey asked Hassan Bey to leave Tunisia, offering him, as we are told by Ibn Abi Dhiaf, horses, saddles, trinkets and objects of value. Hassan, following the advice of the Chief Counsel of Algiers, Barmaq Sazz, complied. Muhammad took him on the road to Tebourba and bid him adieu. Hassan took the son of Yunis Ben Ali Pasha and Mahmud, Ali Pasha's brother as well as the wounded that they had left in Le Kef with him. His troops filled three boats full of all the bounty collected from the pillaging and went back to Algeria by sea. It is a defining moment : on his arrival in Constantine, Hassan Bey died before being able to show the ruler of Algiers what he'd accomplished.

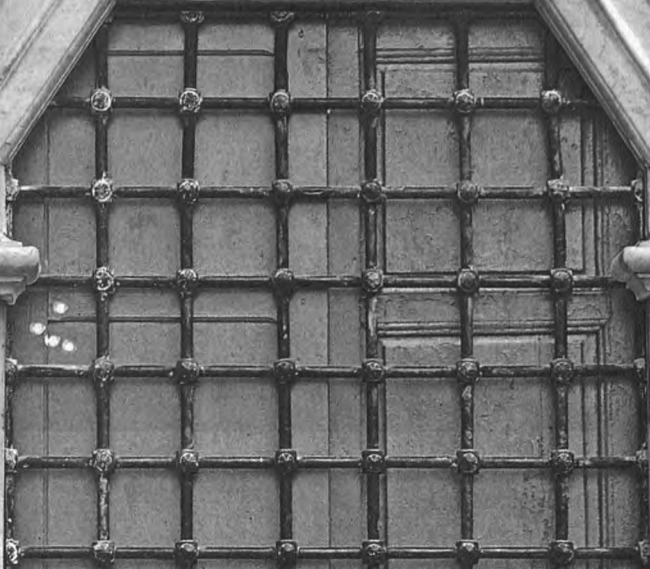
In Tunisia, Muhammad Bey received the allegiance of his people, but exhausted by all these challenges, he left the management of public affairs to his brother

*Overleaf (double page):
The sovereign room
in Turbat El Bey,
mausoleum of the
Husaynid dignitaries
and Beys.*

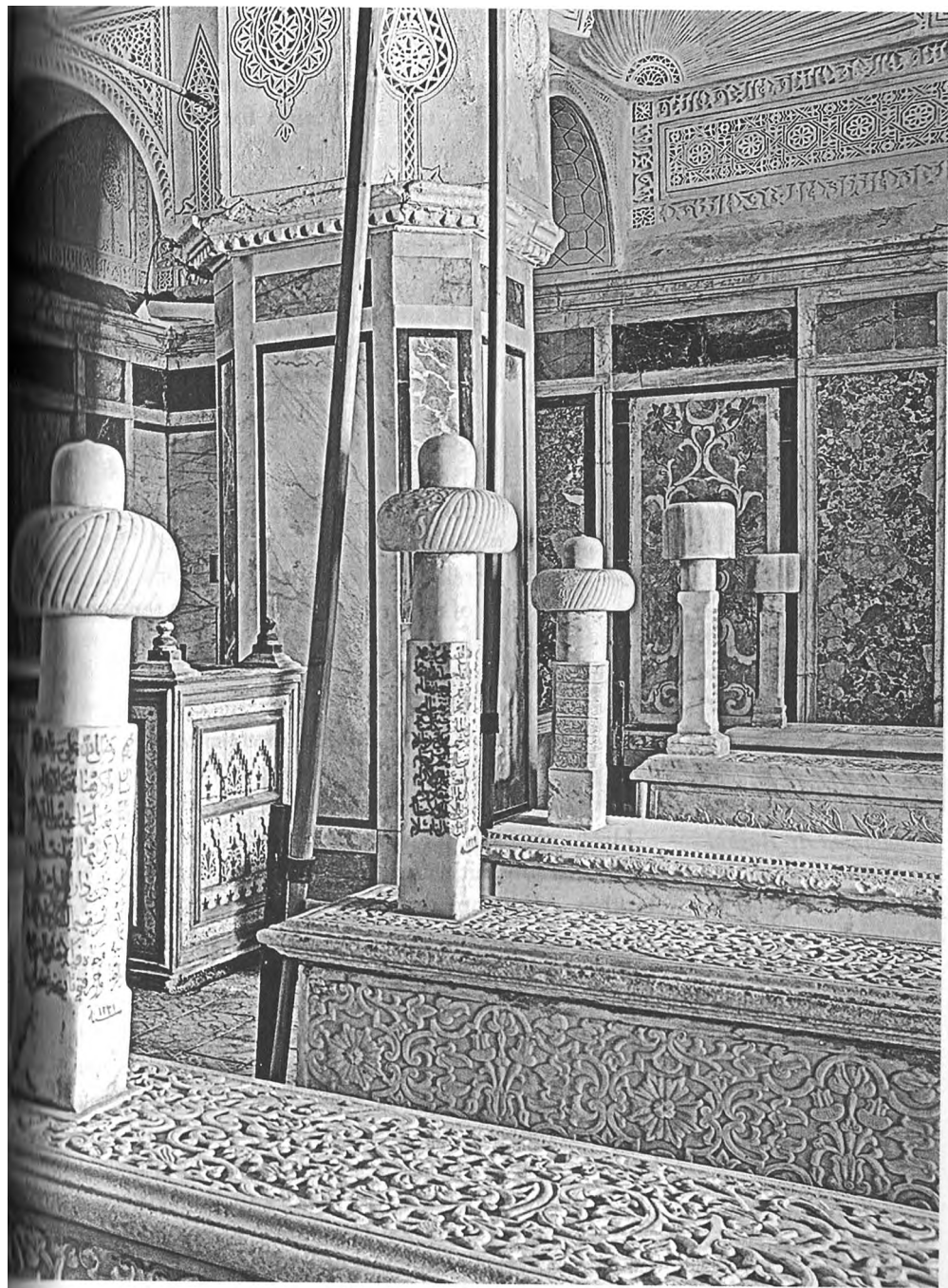


بِمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي كِتَابِ الْإِنشَاءِ
 وَهِيَ الْمَرْكُوبَةُ لَيْسَ فِيهَا
 وَهِيَ الْقُبُورُ الْمُسَيَّيَةُ
 أَغْلَى الْمَسْجِدِ أَنْزِلُوا وَخُذُوا
 وَتَرْتِيبُ الْعُزَّاءِ لَمْ يَكُنْ
 وَأَرْبَعُ الْعُزَّاءِ لَمْ يَكُنْ
 وَقَدْ

وَجَدْتُ فِيهِ سِتْرًا فِي الْبَيْتِ
 يَتَوَلَّى فِي كِتَابِ مُحَمَّدٍ
 قَدْ كَانَتْ فِيهِ سِتْرًا
 لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي الْبَيْتِ
 عَنْ الْخَيْرِ أَرْبَعُ الْعُزَّاءِ
 وَتَرْتِيبُ الْعُزَّاءِ لَمْ يَكُنْ
 وَفِيهَا سِتْرًا فِي الْبَيْتِ









Muhammad Ar-Rashid Bey (from an oil painting by Nouredine Khayachi).

Ali Bey, who advised him not to give in to the desire for vengeance. Nevertheless, in 1757, he killed Dey Muhammad Kazdaghli, who was behind the conflicts between the Zouaoua (supporters of Ali Pasha) and Turks loyal to the Husaynids. He also disbanded a large part of the 40,000 soldiers mobilised by Ali Pasha. He died of illness in 1759 after a visit to Kairouan, a city loyal to the memory of his father. In Tunisian historiography, he was called *Muhammad Ar-Rashid*, and we don't know if this surname was related to his official status or a form of respect. In either case, it is the surname that would be used to name the Andalusian Conservatory of Music in the twentieth century : the *Rashidia*. Muhammad Bey was known for his love of culture, his penchant for poetry and especially music.

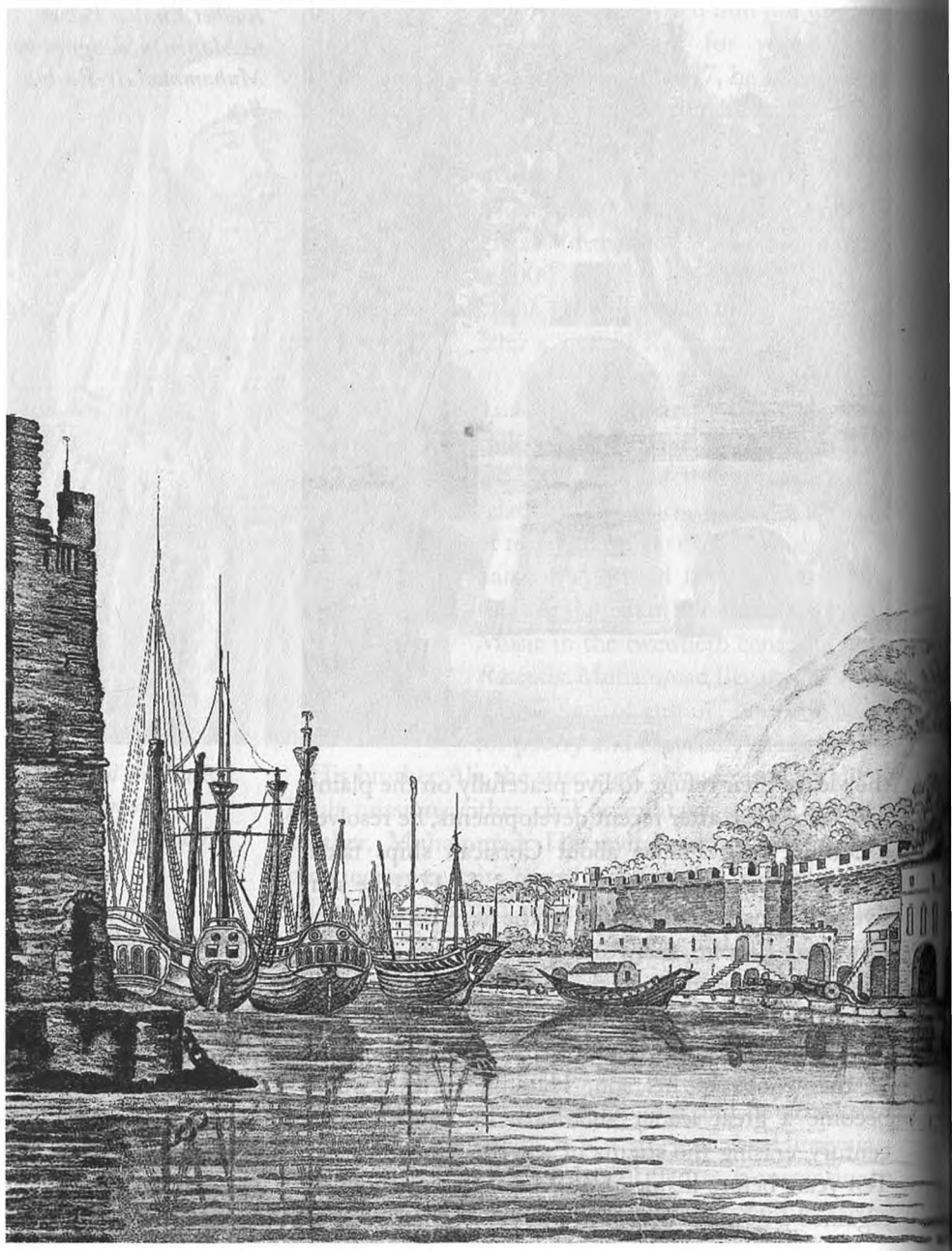
His brother Ali, the wise sage, always ready for difficult missions either civil or military, succeeded his brother, Muhammad. He revitalised agriculture by renouncing certain taxes and forgave the debts of others. He subdued the revolt of one of Ali Pashas grandsons, Ismail Ben Yunis, who had managed to cause trouble in a number of regions between 1759 and 1762. Ali Bey also successfully laid siege to the rebels in their refuge at Jebel Oueslat, the classic Tunisian hideout. The Zlass and the Awlad Aoun surveilled comings and goings for him and he attacked the Awlad Ayar (again it is a story of the Husaynia and the Bashia !). When Ismail fled to Constantine, he pardoned the inhabitants of Jebel on condition that

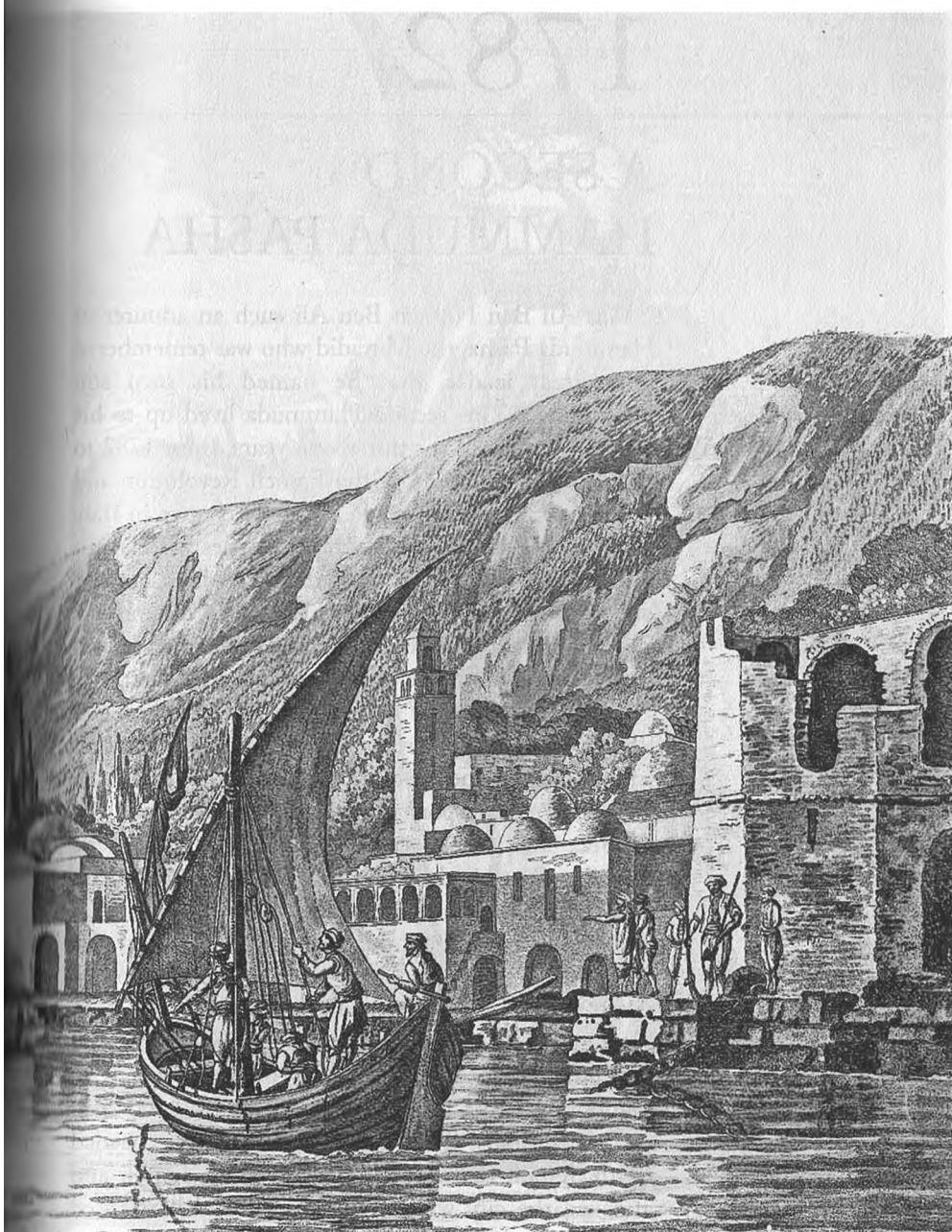


*Kobbet Ennhas Palace
in Manouba, designed by
Muhammad Ar-Rashid
Bey.*

they leave their refuge to live peacefully on the plains. The same year, after recent developments, he resolved a conflict with France about Corsican ships taken during the annexation of the island. In 1771 he sent five warships to participate in the war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. During his reign he reorganised education in the madrasas and mosques, by giving them revenues from the *Jizya*, the tax paid by non-Muslims. In his later years, he gave command of the troops to his son, Hammuda, who would become a great leader and leave his mark on the century, erasing the stigma of what happened earlier. Ten years before his death in May 1782, the country regained a normal rhythm of life.

*Overleaf (double page) :
A French squadron
commanded by Ali Bey
attacked Porto Farina in
1770, setting fire to the
port and village that will
be rebuilt at a later date.
Ghar El-Melh (Porto
Farina). Engraving
from 1777.*





1782

A SECOND HAMMUDA PASHA

Was Ali Ben Husayn Ben Ali such an admirer of Hammuda Pasha, the Muradid who was remembered as a great leader, that he named his own son Hammuda ? This second Hammuda lived up to his name. He reigned for thirty-one years, from 1782 to 1813, during the time of the French Revolution and Napoleon's first empire, and a time of change in Italy and Spain — three neighbouring countries with which Tunisia had relations. Hammuda left such an imprint on history that, when we cite him, we say Hammuda Pasha in order not to confuse him with the man he was named after, whom we call Hammuda Al-Muradi.

At the beginning of his reign in 1785, he declared war on Venice, which refused to compensate Tunisian traders, as was the custom, for a boat that had been chartered to transport merchandise from Alexandria to Sfax and whose cargo burned in Malta. The Venetian fleet bombed Sousse, Sfax and La Goulette and the Tunisian navy defended well. Compensation was finally paid and peace concluded. In 1793, he welcomed Ali Caramanli, the ruler of Tripoli who had taken refuge in Tunis after having been driven from his country by an insurgent, AH Borghol. However, this usurper would occupy Jerba the following year. Hammuda Pasha mobilised an army of 40,000 men and forty ships. The troops and the navy headed south, retook the island, landed west of Tripoli and attacked the city where Ali Borghol had barricaded

Hammuda Pasha.





Embassy of Hammuda Pasha to the British Crown. Oil on canvas by Benjamin West, 1781. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.

himself. The city was taken in 1795, Ali Borghol defeated and the prince of the Caramanlis dynasty was back in power.

Algeria, with the sons of Husayn Ben Ali now back in power, had been extorting Tunisia in a number of different ways and here, things would not be so easy. The first attempt to take Constantine in 1806 in order to reinstall Bey Al-Haj Mustafa Al-Ingiliz in his rightful position was a total failure. In July of the same year, a second confrontation on the shores of the l'oued Serrat resulted in a rout of the Constantinian troops. The Algerians resumed hostilities in October, but it did not bring any results. They tried again in 1808 but failed. On the other hand, in 1811 they were successful at sea, destroying a Tunisian frigate and imprisoning her captain, Muhammad Morali, because



*Sliman Agha,
Hammuda Pasha's
ambassador to Louis
XVI. Oil on canvas by
Jean-Bernard Restout,
1777. Musee des Beaux
Arts, Quimper.*

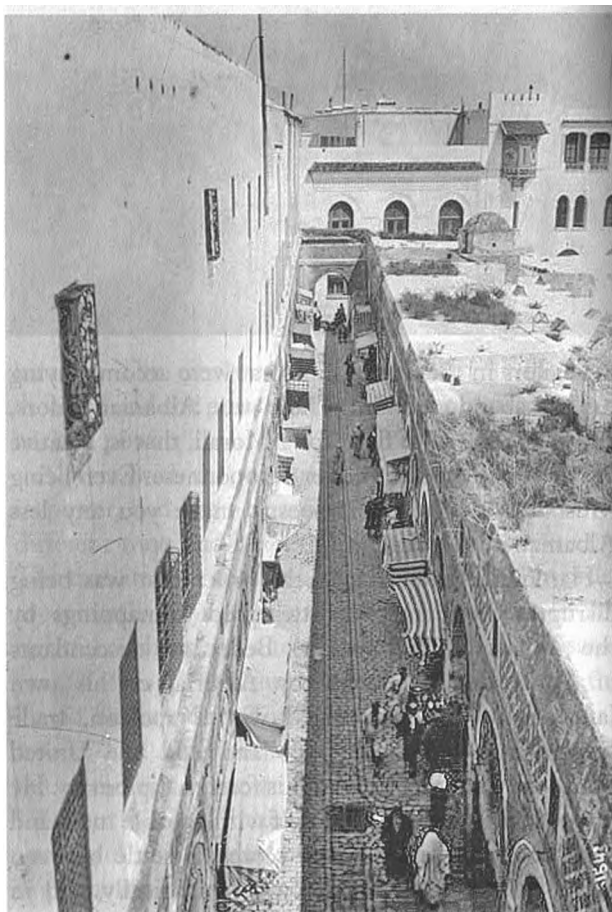
the sailors in the other ships that were accompanying his had abandoned him. These were Albanian sailors, and they refused to fight for a Morali, that is, a native of Morea, another name for Peloponnese. Even being Muslim and Ottoman, doesn't make you any less Albanian or Greek !

Hammuda reestablished the order that was being disrupted by numerous attempted kidnappings by the Awlad Msahel (Majir) Bedouins, descendants of Yunis Bey supported by Algeria, or his own Janissaries. Gifts exchanged with Napoleon, trade agreements with Spain, Holland and the United States are some examples of his foreign diplomacy. He knew how to surround himself with capable men, and in spite of the jealousy and scores to settle between them, they assisted militarily, diplomatically, and in

*Opposite page :
Peace treaty, written
in Turkish, between
Hammuda Pasha and
Denmark, 1783.*

running the country. Some of them had a certain generosity that still counts today among many of their descendants : the Sahib At-Tabaa, the Kahia, the Bash-Hamba, the Ben Ayed and the Zarrouk. He organised his troops by ethnic groups : the *Turks* made up the corps of Janissaries, the Mkhaznias (from the word *Makhzin*) were recruited from tribal allies, and the Mzarguia (the word *mezrègue* designates a sort of wooden club) were recruited from among the Bedouins. For his personal guard, he trained young

*Souk El Bey, designed
by Hammuda Pasha.
Photograph by Agence
Meurisse, 1914.*



*Overleaf (double page):
The Spanish ambassador
in an audience with
Hammuda Pasha. A
steward presents the
peace treaty (reproduced
opposite) to Hammuda
Pasha on a platter, 1790.*

سبب تحریر کتاب و جواب نسیطیر خطاب اولدکه

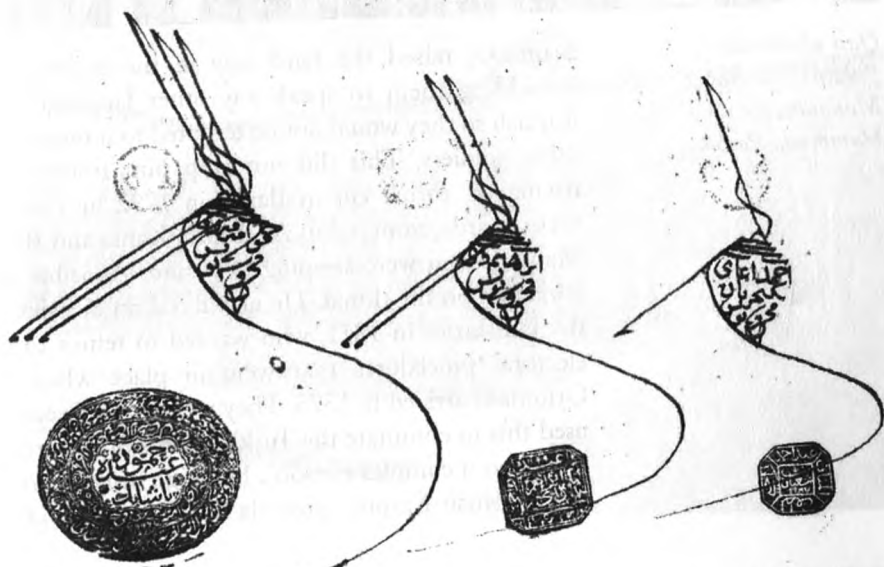
افتخار الامراء الله السیحة حاله حقیقتلو صد اقلو قیدی اولودو ستمزدینرق قرالینک
بوجانبه مقیم قونصلوسی قدوق الاعیان الطائفة العیسونیه آمی کن نام قونصلوا
وساطتیه یو طرفه باندر سنی نصب وکشادایملک طلب و استدعا و طرفزدن
التماس ایملکه قرال مشار الیهلک اراده و التماسه بناء و بینهماده تشیید اساس
تحت و انفاذ پذیر اولان قیدی الفت و صلح و صلاح حمزه رعایه و قونصلوس
مرسوم حد ذاتده یرار و صداقت شعار و بین الدولین اداره امور صاحب
اولوب و مطلوبیز اولان اشیا لری کتوب بوجانبه تسلیم ایملکه التماسلرینه
مساعده ملوک اندم اولمشدر ایدم اوتنه دنبرو اوجاغ منصوره مزایله موالات
و مصافات اوزده اولان سائر دولستلریمز دول نصاری مثللو بوجانبه قونصلوس
بندی سنی نصب و فتح وکشادایملک خصوصنه طرفزدن اذن و رخصت و ریلوب شروط
سابقه و مواد معتبریه لحاق و انظام اولوب منوال مشروح اوزده شنبو صحیفه قید
و تحریر و طرفیدن امضا و مهر لایله مختوم مراعات طرفین واجب و کمال مرتبه مرغی اولغله
موجبه عمل و حرکت و خلافتدن احترام و بجانب اولنه تحریر و اخر حتمی خسته ثمانیدویس





OBSECUENTE LA REGENCIA DE TUNEZ Á LAS EFICACES INSINUACIONES DE LA SUBLÍME
PUERTA LOGRA, DESPUES DE ENTABLADA Y CONSEGUIDA UNA AMISTOSA PAZ CON LA ES-
PAÑA VER FREQUENTADAS SUS COSTAS DE MERCADERES DE ESTE REYNO.

اشبوراد الجهاد محروسته قوشن او جا غينلک و عموماً مملکتک صاجی و وائی متصرفی و او
میرلواسی دولتو سعادتلو محموده پاشا ویکتی یترا لله له من الخیر ما یرید و ما یشاء و عسکر
دای ویکتیری غاسی و اهائی دیوان و او جاق اختیار لری ایله حالا اسبانیه مملکتک
امپراطور و پادشاهی سلطان سلاطین الملة المسیحیه و مالک کبراء الطائفة العیسویه
دولتو دور دخی دون قارلوس خمت عواقبه بالخیر و الرشاد طرفدک ما ذون اولان
جوزاب مونینو کونته ده فلور یضا بلا نکا نام معتبر وزیر و ساطیله طرفینک ما یشاء
منعقد و مقوم اولان صلح مبارک عقد و تمشیتی و ثبوتی اظهار مودت و خلوص طویت
ایله بین الدولتین وجه مشروح اوزر قول و قرار اولوب اشبو خاتمه ده ذکر
اولندی خلا فیه اصلا برکسته از تکاب و جواز کورلیه هر حکم
تحریر و اوایل جمادی الاولی سنه و مئید و ١٤٠٥





*Qasr al-Warda,
Palace of the Rose,
Manouba, by
Hammuda Pasha.*

mamluks, raised the hard way in the inner circle, forbidding them to speak any other language than Turkish so they would not be tempted to interact with other soldiers. This did not stop him from nearly having his throat cut in Bardo in 1792 by three of these guards, from Sahib At-Tabaa, Kahia and Bach-Mamluk who were sleeping near him. A visible scar remained on his throat. He also faced an uprising by the Janissaries in 1811, who wanted to return to the electoral procedures that were in place when the Ottomans arrived in 1575. They were in Tunis and he used this to eliminate the Turkish corps of the army.

He was a complex person : His high attachment to the Ottoman Empire came via his Georgian mother,

his father who had firm roots in Tunisia, from his education as a pious Muslim which meant he was well-read in the Arabic language, and from his considerable life experience, especially spending time in his youth with his father, who was distrustful and short-tempered. He made well thought-out decisions for the development of the country's economy, simplifying the rates for agricultural taxes. He freed the country from Algerian influence. He knew how to find equilibrium between the demands of Istanbul and the interests of the country he was in charge of. Thus, when Napoleon began his expedition to Egypt in 1798, he refused to carry out the Empire's order to cut off all relations with France, arguing that Tunisia had commercial ties with the country. It was said that Napoleon was grateful to him.

He died on September 16, 1813 at the age of 54.

*The interior courtyard
with pool of the Palace
of the Rose, Manouba.
Photograph by Lilia
J. Menif.*



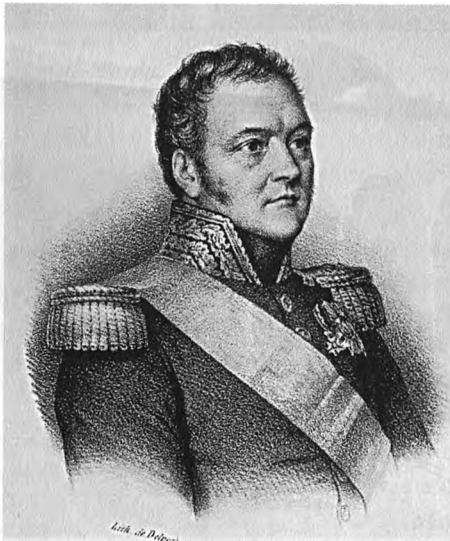
1813

HOW TO START THE CENTURY ?

It is with Hammuda Pasha who made Tunisia enter the 19th century. A century of birth of nationalities, born of revolutions, of wars and technological progress, and the decline of the Ottoman Empire in spite of its attempts at reform. But Tunisia was not ready to face all of these changes. This was still the age of privateering and captives turned into sex slaves and we even continue to see reigning families torn apart until 1830, when the French landed in Algeria.

Othman, the son of Hammuda Pasha, succeeded his father, while by primogeniture it should have been his cousin, Mahmud. Othman was killed within a year by

ManMansGidhChluzel.



Mahmud Ben Muhammad Ar-Rashid Bey, who would also kill the son of the former leader, Mustafa, and let his own son Husayn kill the two other brothers, Salah and Ali, who had fled to La Goulette. Mahmud reigned until 1824. During his reign the Congress of Vienna reorganised Europe (in 1815) and the plague ravaged Tunisia for two years (1818-20). He passed the throne to his son Husayn II, who had killed Othman's children. He reigned until 1835. The French landing in Algeria (1830) doubly inspired him. First of all, he prevented Tahar Pasha, sent by the Sublime Porte to help the



*Emir Abdelkader
fought for the territorial
integrity of Algeria
before going into exile
in Damascus.*

Algerians, from passing through Tunisia. In November 1830, he sent his minister, Mustafa Sahib At-Tabaa on a French navy ship (!) to meet a senior general, Clauzel and deliver the following message, according to Ibn Abi Dhiaf: “You have had a conflict with the Dey of Algiers and you obtained what you wanted ; leave Tunisia to worry about Constantine and she will guarantee you peace !” Marshall Clauzel responded : “Worry about Oran. We take care of Constantine !” It is important to note that in defence of Bey Husayn II, a French fleet had arrived, forcing

Husayn Bey II.



*Mathieu de Lesseps,
French consul in Tunis.*

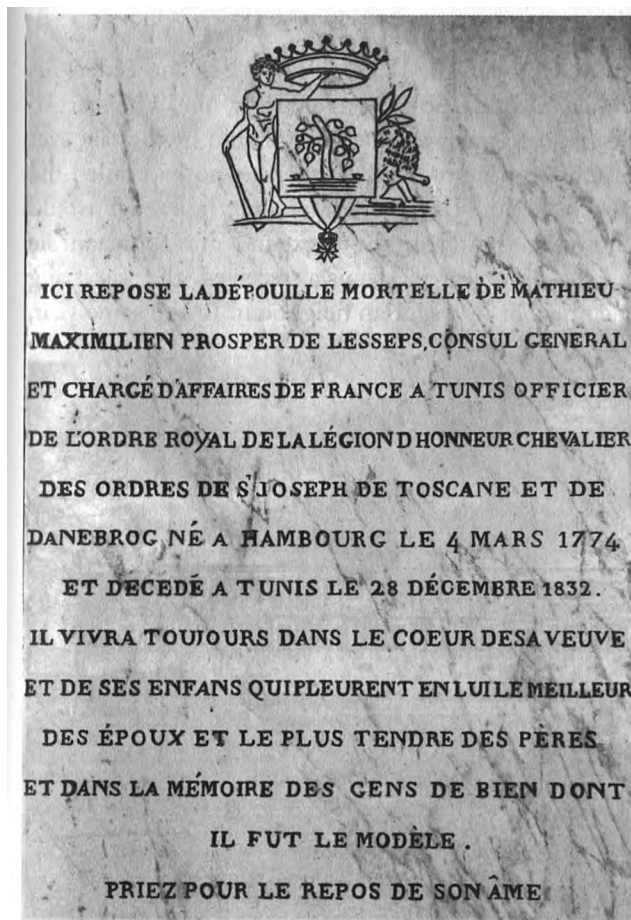


him, under pressure from Colonel Mathieu de Lesseps, to sign an accord with Draconian conditions, which he did at the same time as sending Muhammad Ben Ayed as ambassador to protest to King Charles X. In fact, the King of France was ousted by the revolution of 1830 and the new leader, to the great relief of Husayn II, suspended the accord.

The Bey, all the same, understood that there were things that needed to change in the kingdom and that absolutism needed to be moderated to take into account new international practices : in other words, at least, no more privateering and kidnapping captives on European coasts. After an interlude with his brother and successor, Mustafa Ben Mahmud Bey (1835-37) in charge, the nineteenth century in Tunisia would really begin with Ahmad Bey (1837-55).



Mustafa Bey.



Tombstone of Mathieu de Lesseps in the gardens of Carthage Museum.

1837

AHMAD BEY AND DREAMS OF MODERNITY

On October 10, 1837, Ahmad Bey succeeded his father, Mustafa, at the age of thirty-one. The start of his reign was marked the same month by the takeover of Constantine by French troops, who had failed the previous year. His father's hope that the French would allow the Bey of Tunis to expand into Constantine totally disappeared. Tunisia received the surviving members of its Algerian neighbour. In the same year,

*La Marsa Bey Palace.
Photograph by Garrigue,
late 19th century.*



Portrait of Ahmad Bey I.



another conflict with the French would develop concerning the Nahd tribe on the border. The Nahd were a branch of the Khamirs (called the Kroumirs by the French) who had territory that stretched to the region of La Calle. France, feeling that it inherited the authority of the Bey, claimed the right to all the Nahd's territory on both sides of the border. The tribe in question, however, was composed of two groups



*La Muhammadia Palace
in the mid-1960s.*

and the one on the Tunisian side had never answered to Constantine. Was this the situation that would affirm Ahmad Bey's conviction that a strong army was necessary ? The bulk of his efforts would be oriented in this direction. His minister and brother-in-law Mustafa Sahib At-Tabaa, a Gorgi (Georgian) passionate about Ibn Khaldun and to whom he often referred to understand history, agreed.

The corps of troops grew, and they began constructing barracks as well as

transforming palaces into barracks. In 1839 Ahmad Bey looked over his armed forces present around the capital and chose the *Hambas*, the *Mamluks*, and the *Spahis* among others and registered them in the Diwan as Turkish cavalrymen, placing them in the Palace of Manouba under his command. He then dissolved the "*Diwan of the Turkish Spahis*" and kept in place the *Arab Hambas* and *Arab Spahis* charged with collecting taxes and maintaining order within the country. In 1840 he built the artillery barracks outside the walls of Tunis at Feddan, near the door of Sidi Abd-as-Salam. Feddan was an ancient villa with gardens belonging to his uncle, which he enlarged to be able to accommodate two regiments.

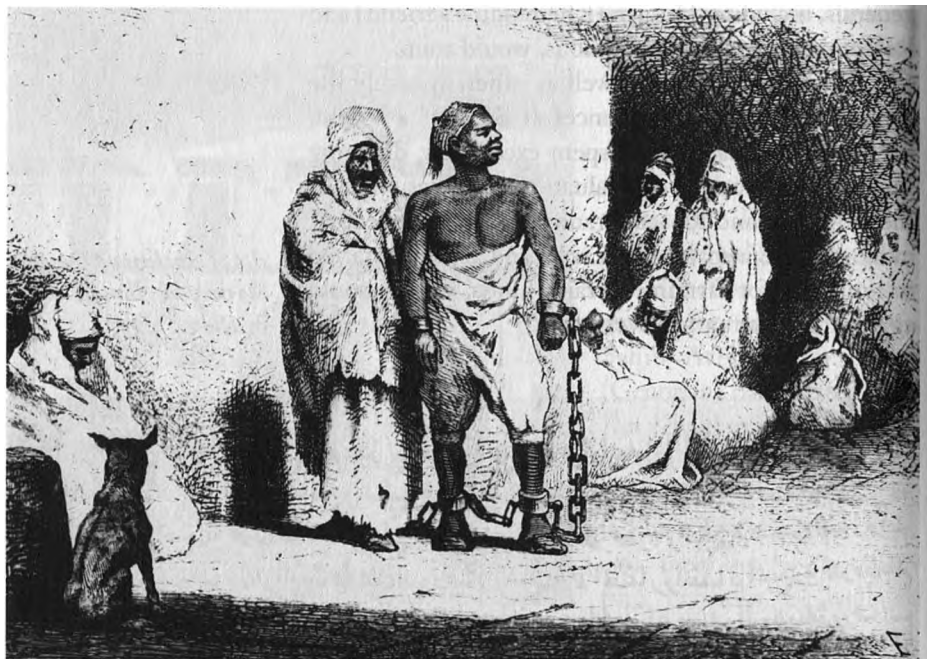
His great work of modernisation was the creation of a military school at Bardo. He designated Mahmud Kabadou as head (he was an exceptional man and we will speak more about him later), and surrounded him with European instructors. This is where future

generals, including Husayn (Kheireddine's friend) and Rostom among the most famous, would train.

To finance this work as well as others (notably the construction of royal residences at Bardo, La Marsa, La Muhammadia, etc), he spent excessively, dragging Tunisia into successive devaluations. He nationalised the soap, salt, and tobacco trades to add to the leather monopoly. He instituted new taxes and above all started to rent land for farming to raise funds, which would aggravate the situation even more.

*Act of Abolition of
Slavery by Ahmad Bey
in 1846.*

الحمد لله الذي جعلكم الله تعالى ورعا في دنياكم وداركم الآخرة. والاعيان الاحبار والعلماء الكمل عداة الله ومهاجري الله
اهيا بنا الشيخ في محرم من سنة ١٢٦٥ في اربع اصبغ اربع باحيه باقن معني انا لكيه واقفين الشيخ
في محرم من الحوجه والشيخ في محرم من ملامة والشيخ في اهدا ايد والشيخ في محرم المحمود والشيخ في حسين الباري
والشيخ في السادة ليد في اهدا و الشيخ في علي الدر وبيت والشيخ في محرم الحضر والافغان الشيخ في محرم دين بايم
والشيخ في محرم البنا والشيخ في محرم البني بيا رده والشيخ في محرم في الغمير با محله اكي مع الله السلام عليه في رده الله
وبه كاذة وده رما دة فنتا عذرا فبدا فارب فيه ان غالب اهل ايا لينا في محرم العصي بالبحسن
ملكه كهموا السردان الذين لا يعرفون على شيه على ما في اصل محله ملكهم من الكلام بين العلماء اذ لم يثبت
وجهه ومزا فتم من بقله على صبي الايمان منذ ازمان وامن من جلد اها كعي الفهم السمي عبي الذي اوصى
ميراثه صليين اخيه عهده بالرفيا واول عهده با افر كعتي ان من فنتا يعته التي اثنى بها رحمه للعلمين
عنت العبد على صبيده با اضرار وفساد السارح الى الحق به با فقتضى نطقنا واهالة عهده ومعا بالرفية
المساكين في دبا هي وبا لكبير في افر اعلم ان فنتا اننا من عهنا الصالح المحتل فيه والاهالة عهده فسيه
ومعهم في الصبر المحقق المجمع عليه وعهنا اضرار على با خوانه الذين جعلهم الله تحت ايديهم وعهنا في د
مصلحة صبا فيه منها عدم ابا يسم الله هم واة غير ملتزم بعينا عروا بسبيهم في د صبيهم وصور واني واهل البكر
يكفون لكل من اثنى مستحبه اجه في حكمنا له بالمعنى على صبيده وفي مع البنا لختها واثق هي حكم الله
اذا انا اهدرك المحل في مستحبه من صبيده او انطلق ملكه فزاله في ملكه على عهده وجهه العبد البنا وهزارا
من ان يتفكر به ما لكه مان هم مركي با وية الجبه من الخبي اليه في مذكر فنتا من ملكه من جمع عدم عهده واثق به
مردعيه في عهنا الصبر واجتبايا الصبا في خسية الوضوع في ها المجمع من السنة دية ٢٠ صبيها اذا انظم لزل
امع افقتته الصالحة فنتا من هلا اننا من عليه راليه يهد في اللين عهنا امزم وبيسها لور فنتا الذين جعلهم
الصالحات ان لم اهي اكي يا والاسلام من العجيب الى ربه فنتا عهده الصبي اهدا صبا يين ومعه الله فنتا امين
وكتب في محرم من سنة ١٢٦٥



*Sale of slaves in Tunis.
The middle class and
Makhzin did not
welcome the abolishment
of the slave trade.*

In January 1846, he announced a decree emancipating all the black slaves in the kingdom. He had already prohibited the sale of slaves in the Souk El-Berka in Tunis in 1841, and then in 1842 sent all those who were for sale abroad, taking into consideration that anyone born in Tunisia was free, no matter where their parents were from. These acts did not go down well, because not only were they a serious blow to a lucrative business and an activity of the last corsairs, but they also raised questions that certain religious scholars considered fundamental, with a too-literal reading of their texts.

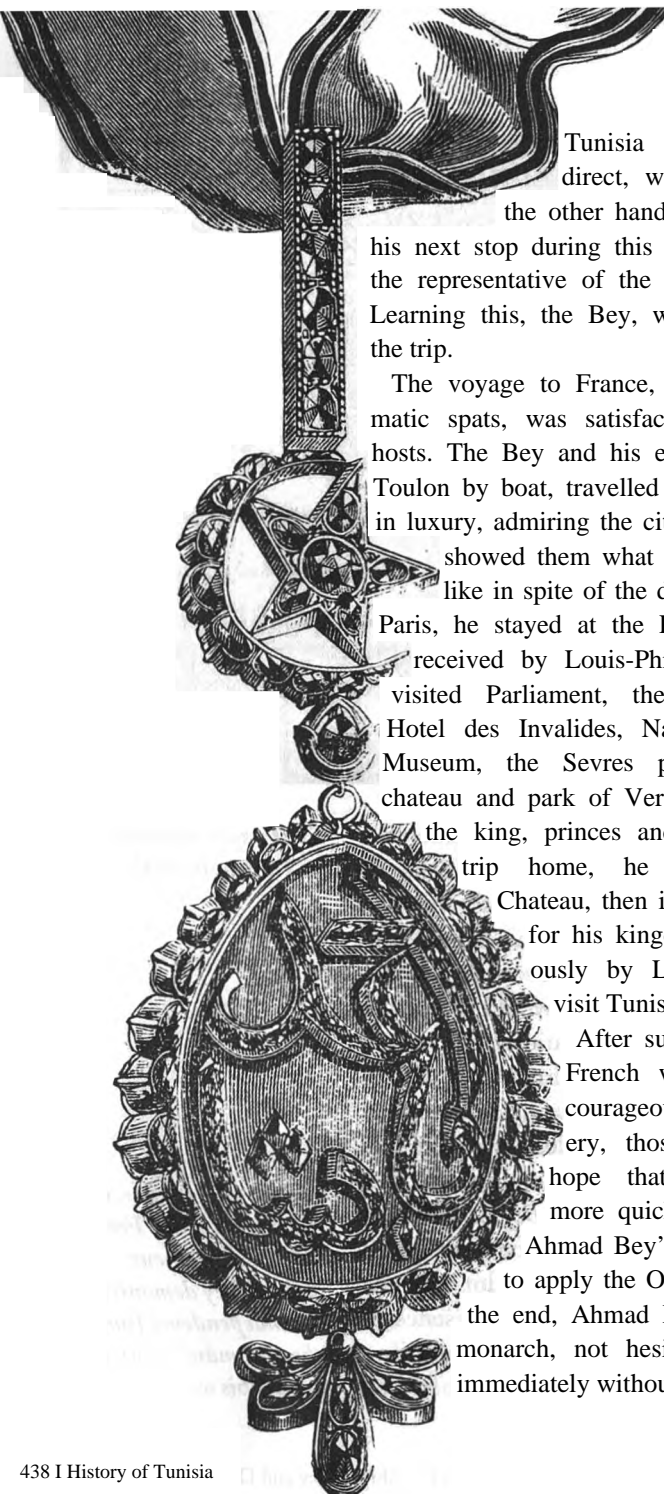
Ahmad Bey's relations with Istanbul were ambivalent. On the one hand, he wanted to maintain ties with the capital of the empire ; and he didn't hesitate to build a fleet to participate in the Ottoman war effort, but on the other hand, he didn't want them



First paper money issued in Tunisia in 1847.

either intervening in his country or to be considered a subject of the Sultan. So when Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt received the honorary title of *Mushir* (Marshall), Ahmad Bey asked for the same. The Ottoman Prime Minister responded favourably to this request on the basis that Ahmad Bey would accept the protocol, military and fiscal obligations that came with being marshal of the Empire. Ahmad Bey, always ready to respond to any military request, had no intention of accepting tutelage and even less of paying any kind of tribute. He received the title in any case, and was then called *Mushir Ahmad Pasha Bey*. It wouldn't end there. In 1846, the Bey was received with grand pomp in France. The Ottoman ambassador to Paris protested that this happened without the presence of a representative of the Sultan. The Bey and King Louis-Philippe each responded that relations between

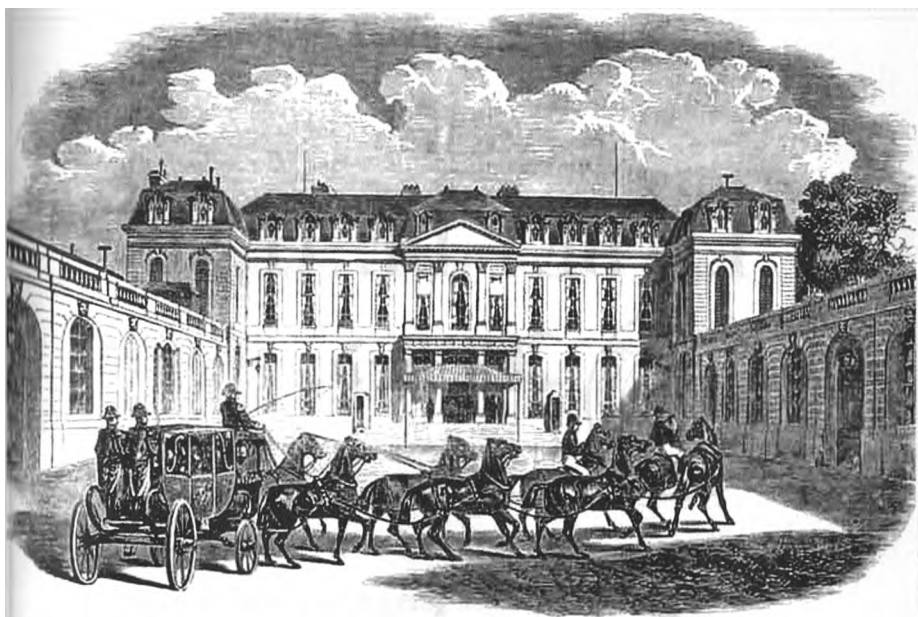
Overleaf:
Nichan Al-Ifthikhar, the equivalent of the French Legion d'Honneur. Ahmad Bey demonstrates his independence from the Ottoman Sultan and creates his own orders.



Tunisia and France were always direct, without an intermediary. On the other hand, London, which was to be his next stop during this voyage to Europe, felt that the representative of the Sultan needed to be there. Learning this, the Bey, without hesitation, cancelled the trip.

The voyage to France, notwithstanding the diplomatic spats, was satisfactory for both visitors and hosts. The Bey and his entourage, having arrived in Toulon by boat, travelled through France by carriage in luxury, admiring the cities and the countryside that showed them what a developed country looked like in spite of the disruption of a revolution. In Paris, he stayed at the Palais de l'Elysée. He was received by Louis-Philippe at the Tuileries. He visited Parliament, the Comedie Française, the Hotel des Invalides, Napoleon's tomb, the Army Museum, the Sevres porcelain factory and the chateau and park of Versailles. He had dinner with the king, princes and Minister Guizot. On the trip home, he stayed at Fontainebleau Chateau, then in Marseilles and finally left for his kingdom on a ship used previously by Louis-Philippe's children to visit Tunisia.

After such a voyage in awe of the French way of life and after his courageous decision to abolish slavery, those supporting reforms had hope that changes would happen more quickly. But nothing happened. Ahmad Bey's father had already refused to apply the Ottoman reforms of 1826. To the end, Ahmad Bey reigned as an absolute monarch, not hesitating to order executions immediately without any trial, expressing any



regrets later. In addition, his policy of constructing sumptuous buildings (notably at La Mohammedia, which is now in ruins), monetary devaluations, ongoing fiscal pressure, especially the system of collecting land rents which were embezzled by his friend Mahmud Ben Ayed until his escape in 1852, placed the country in a critical state. Everyone accused Mahmud Ben Ayed of being the one primarily responsible for the predictable bankruptcy. It was complicated further by the fact that the Bey did not stop demanding money for his collector general while the country was alternating between good and bad harvests and a succession of cholera epidemics, especially in 1849-50 when 100,000 people died, considerably lessening the population that could be taxed. The drop in tax revenue, in spite of all the constraints placed on the population, was real. Mahmud Ben Ayed, seeing the moment was coming when the Bey

Ahmad Bey arrives at the Elysee Palace, his residence during his stay in Paris.

Overleaf (double page) : France provides a royal welcome for Ahmad Bey and treats him as an independent sovereign. Cover and first page of the volume published by the poet Jules Burgy to mark "France's arewell to His Highness, Ahmad the Bey of Tunis, a friend of mankind", in which he is described as an African Caliph !

ADIEUX DE LA FRANCE

A Son Altesse

LE BEY DE TUNIS



Ahmed,

AMI DU GENRE HUMAIN.



Les bons vivent en paix sous le regard de Dieu.

LAMARTINE.

Dans le port de Tunis, — escorté de gondoles,
Le Dante, impatient de sillonner les mers,
Avait orné ses mâts de riches banderoles,
Dont les vives couleurs s'agitaient dans les airs.



1846

Son ancre était levée : il cinglait vers la France,
 Orgueilleux de porter un khalife africain,
 Chéri par sa justice et sa noble vaillance,
 Et digne d'illustrer un sceptre souverain.

Ce prince est descendu dans notre métropole,
 Heureuse à ses regards d'offrir son Panthéon.
 Ses temples, ses palais, et la riche coupole
 Fièr de couronner le grand Napoléon.



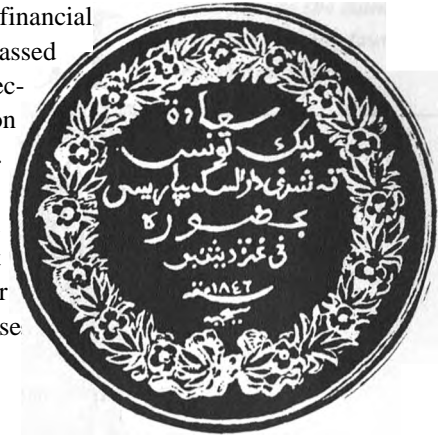
A l'aspect des drapeaux qui parent ses murailles ;
 De ces aigles en deuil pleurant sur l'Empereur ;
 Près de ces vieux guerriers,—restes de nos batailles
 Le Bey s'est incliné devant notre grandeur.

Puis, relevant ses yeux éblouis par la gloire ;
 Emu par ce tombeau ceint d'immortalité,
 Français ! s'écria-t-il : — « La plus belle victoire,
 « C'est un règne de paix avec la liberté.



was going to ask him to satisfy his financial needs using his own fraudulently amassed fortune, chose to flee and sought the protection of France. This affair would drag on over the years in the French justice system. In truth, the Bey was as much at fault as Ben Ayed, not only with his financial demands that continued to increase, but also in continuing to trust the collector general despite the advice coming from those loyal to him.

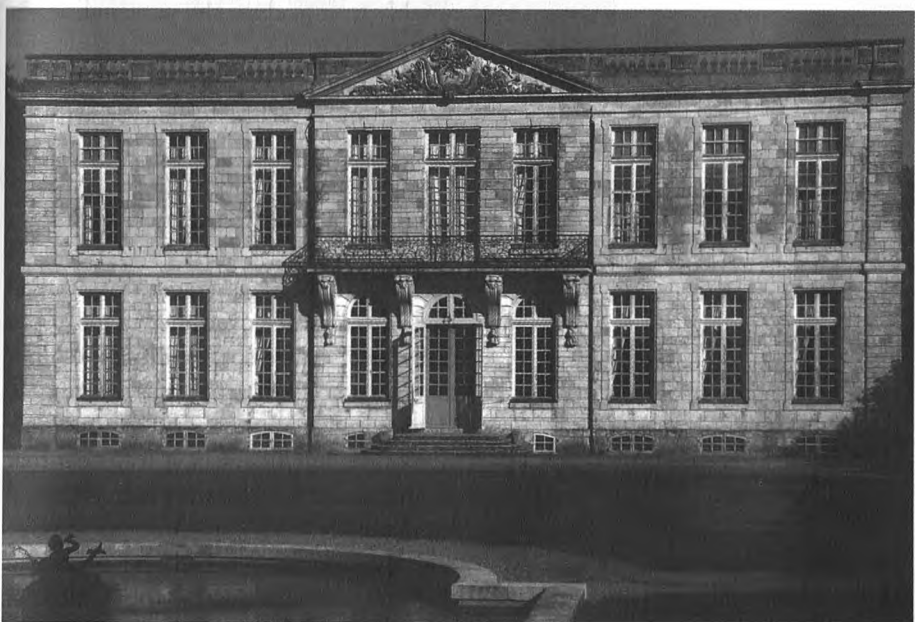
A promising reign ending in bankruptcy.



Hotel Collot in Paris, Quai Anatole France. One of the many acquisitions made by Mahmud Ben Ayed in Paris, including an arcade that still bears his name.

Bouges chateau in Indre, formerly owned by Mahmud Ben Ayed (and Talleyrand).

Medal issued by the Monnaie de Paris to commemorate the visit of Ahmad Bey.



1846

KABADOU, KHEIREDDINE AND HIS DISCIPLES

In a work published in 1973 by Maison tunisienne de l'édition (MTE, Tunis), covering the conferences given at the Institute of Al-Khaldounia, Muhammad Fadhel Ben Achour, *sheikh*, mufti and professor, described the awakening of consciousness in the nineteenth century, what we could call without abu-

sing the term, the Tunisian renaissance. We will be referring to this work, notably to introduce the personalities in this renaissance.

The first Arabo-Muslim country to wake from its secular torpor was without contest, Egypt, following Napoleon's expedition in 1798. The second country was Tunisia, after the French landing in Algeria in 1830. That things had begun badly with the conservatism of Ahmad Bey in terms of government (and especially his fiscal irresponsibility) does not take into account what was starting to change in Tunisian society. For one portion of the intelligentsia, it was clear that the Muslim countries were falling behind in material ways compared to Europe and they no longer had the means to counter the decline of the Ottoman





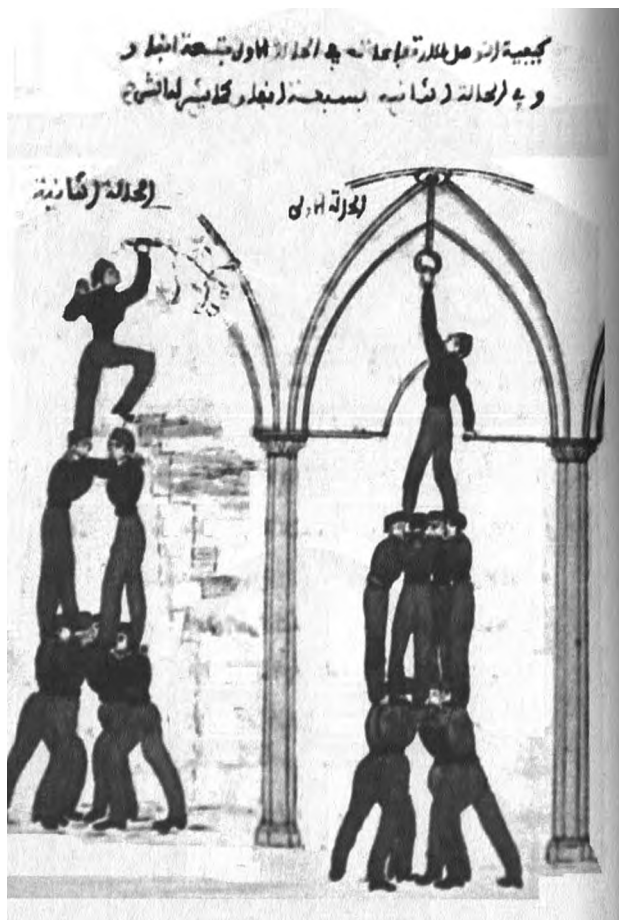
*Entrance to the Bardo
Military School, founded
by Ahmad Bey I.*

Empire or the foreign occupation of Arab countries. Attempts to implement reforms in the Ottoman Empire were met with solid resistance. However, certain individuals began to stand out here and there.

When Ahmad Bey founded a military school in Bardo, it was first called a school for engineers, then a school for military science. He placed an Italian orientalist, Colonel Caligaris, in charge and brought

*Opposite page:
Sheikh Mahmud
Kabadou, a highly
distinguished man, who
directed the Bardo
Military School with
the Italian Caligaris.
Rights reserved.*

Plate from the Army physical education manual, an Arab version of a tract written in French by Victor Alfred and translated by Lieutenant Al-Haj Muhammad Ibn Al-Haj 'Umar. Manuscript in the National Library of Tunisia.



*Opposite page:
First page of the tract
for training officers,
Kitab Tabur Talim;
manuscript held in
the National Library
of Tunisia.*

in French, Italian and English professors to teach mathematics, topography, artillery, army organisation, architecture for fortifications, history, geography, French and Italian. He added Mahmud Kabadou to its leadership, a Sheikh by training, who was very famous. This co-director, the Italian director, and some of the students, wrote up condensed versions of the courses given by foreign professors and translated European military books into Arabic. They gave the responsibility for supervising this editorial activity



*Officers and soldiers of the Bey guard in their new uniforms inspired by European models. Engraving from Charles Chassiron's *Aperçu Historique de la Regence de Tunis*, 1849.*

Opposite page: Kheireddine on horseback, an image of the Tunisian reformer that became iconic.

to young Kheireddine, a Circassians (a generic name for Muslims, Abkhazians, Ossetians, Kabardians and Circassians themselves). He was an orphan raised by the dean of the Sharifs, Tahsin Bey, Qadhi of the Anatolian soldiers. He most likely arrived in Tunis in 1839 and entered into service under Bey Ahmad as a Mamluk. He was cultivated, speaking Turkish, French and Arabic which he perfected in Tunisia. Ahmad Bey had joined together an eminent representative of religious education from the Zaytuna Mosque, a young modernist Ottoman officer, an Italian officer and European professors to create an elite modern Muslim and Tunisian military, ready to cross swords with a conquering Europe.

The surprising pick in this union of expertise was Mahmud Kabadou. The man was an ascetic, a mystic, and a researcher who searched for a religious





perspective in all disciplines. He had increased his knowledge to such an extent that his contemporaries saw him as an encyclopedia, who was recognised and admired by his colleagues from the university of Zaytuna. He was also a great poet in Arabic, educated in what one could know about Arab and Muslim history, literature and spirituality. Through contact with the subjects taught at the military school at Bardo, he understood the reasons for the decline of Muslim countries and explained them in a preface written for a French book on military mobilisation translated into Arabic by the students. For him, it was clear that the physical sciences were the source of material power and that abandoning them was the source of Muslim weakness. Two currents of thought were formed within this point of view. One current inside the school was represented by brilliant students who would be champions for reform : the future Generals Rostem and Husayn and the Brigade Chief, Muhammad Al-Qaroui. The other current among the students from Zaytuna, who were great admirers of their master and his thinking, was represented by two future great reformist sheikhs : Salem Bouhajeb and Muhammad Bayram. The two currents' meeting resulted in the creation of a reform party in government around the authority of the Bey, which suggested he undertakes a voyage to France in 1846. And if he wasn't going to change his way of governing after returning from Paris, his travelling companions



*General Husayn,
a reformer.*

were not going to stop talking about their impressions of what dazzled them. Ahmad Ibn Abi Dhi'af, the Bey's secretary and author of a famous chronicle, was the most well-known. This voyage generated some other accounts, notably Kheireddine's (who would represent the Tunisian state's case against Ben Ayed in the French justice system) and that of his collaborator, Husayn, who would be an active defender of his predecessor's ideas both in France and in Tunisia.

*Opposite page,
top to bottom:
Sheikh Muhammad
Beyram and Sheikh
Salem Bouhajeb.*

كتاب
اقوم المسالك
في معرفة احوال الممالك
تأليف
الشه لافتم الهمام فارس الكتائب والبراع القدام
منيع الدرى امير لامرا
السيد خير الدين التونسي
اهتاه الله قدوة لكل موتسى

طبعة اولى

هذان خصوصى من الحضرة العليم
صانها وايدعا رب البريه

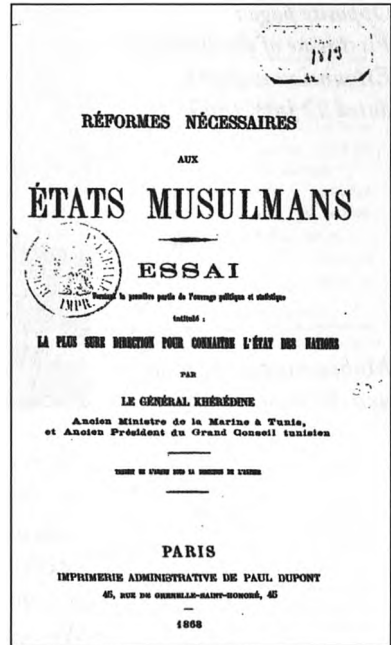
في مطبعة الدولة بحاضرة تونس الحميم
١٢٨٤
سنة

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reform current started to have the upper hand by referring to what was happening in Istanbul and also, why not mention it, the influence of the French Consul, Leon Roche, an Arabist nicknamed Sheikh Omar, who some said was secretly a Muslim. This current would see success in 1857 with the Fundamental Pact (*Ahd Al-Aman*) and in 1861 with the Constitution. Some aspects of the Constitution represented advances that would be called into question, as we will see later on.

Thanks to Kheireddine, who published an essential book on the countries of Europe (*Aqam Al-Masalk*), the reformist wave continued to grow. Sheikh Omar Ben Sheikh (or Cheikh), Sheikh Hasan Laz-Oghli and Sheikh Muhammad Senoussi continued the work of their masters, Salem Bouhajeb and Muhammad Bayram. They focused on teaching, education, the press (with the publication of *Ar-Rayed*, the first Tunisian newspaper in 1860), printing (with the creation of what would become the official printer), and publishing (with the distribution of Muhammad Bayram's book, *Safwat al-I'tibar*, and that of Muhammad Senoussi, *Ar-Rihla Al-Hijazia*). Kabadou, who died in 1871 and Kheireddine (who left Tunisia in 1877) along with new reform activists, notably graduates of the Sadiki College and their leader Bechir Sfar, left their mark on the second half of the nineteenth century. This movement continued with the actions of the students of Sadiki College (created in 1875), and the Khaldounia (created in 1897), publication of Ali Bouchoucha's paper, *Al-Hadhira* (in 1888) and Abderrahmane Snadli's paper, *Az-Auhra* (in 1886).

If the Enlightenment preceded the French Revolution, then Tunisian reform movements of the



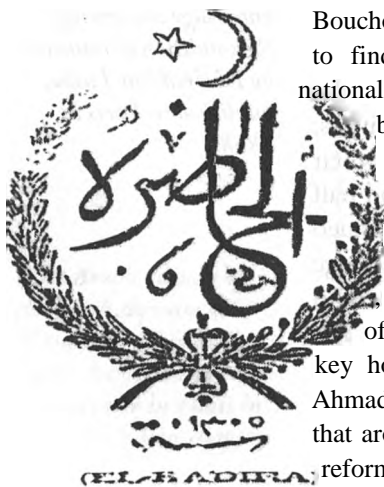
First edition of the French version of Aqam Al-Masalik, The Surest Path to knowledge concerning the condition of countries by Kheireddine Pasha, published in Paris in 1868.

*Opposite page:
First issue of the Ar-Raid
Ettounsi newspaper,
dated 22 July, 1860.*



*Muhammad Al-Qaroui
and Ali Bouchoucha.*

*The Al-Hadhira
newspaper, founded by
Ali Bouchoucha in 1888.*



nineteenth century also neither happened spontaneously nor was exclusively driven by the rulers. New current trends in thought played a role thanks to the intellectual and physical courage of the key players and authors who, even today, deserve further study.

We can't understand the nineteenth century in Tunisia without understanding the ideas that were being spread at the time by Kabadou, Kheireddine, Bouhajeb, Bayram, Rostem, Husayn, Al-Qaroui, Ben Dhiaf, Ben Cheikh, Laz-Oghli, Senoussi, Sfar, Bouchoucha, Snadli, etc. It is not surprising therefore, to find some of them or their descendants in the nationalist movement that was coming to life, because the first wave of students from Sadiki College would leave in 1881, and the reformist trend would acquire new legitimacy in resistance to colonialism.

That is why we can't stop with the death of Ahmad Bey in mid-century and cut the timeline of reform. But at the same time, we can't ignore the key holders of absolute power and not analyse how Ahmad Bey's successors reacted in the face of events that arose in the following decades and how in turn, the reform movement adapted to the new situation.

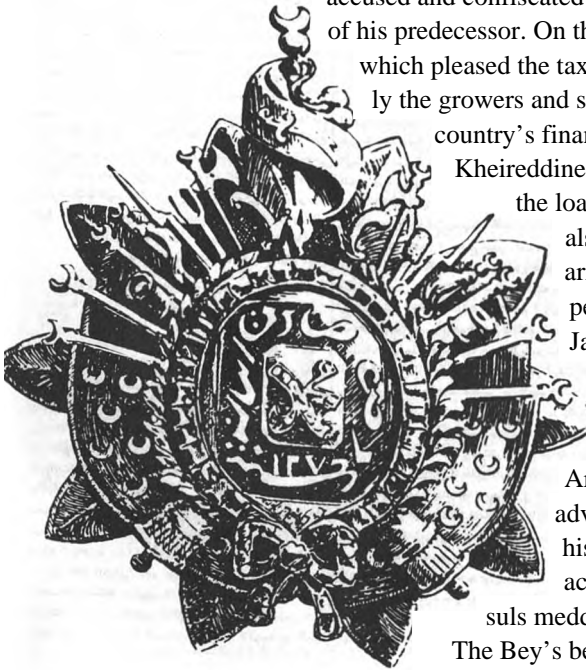
1855

AHD AL-AMANE AND THE CONSTITUTION

When Ahmad Bey died on May 30, 1855, his cousin, Mhamed, succeeded him in power. The new Bey, with little education, believed in absolute power and was not open to the reforms recommended in Istanbul or Tunis. He began to control and judge everything, even those questions usually handled by the lower courts. He ordered executions without hearing a defence from the accused and confiscated the assets of certain favourites of his predecessor. On the other hand, he reduced taxes, which pleased the taxpayers in general and especially the growers and small farmers, but also hurt the country's financial situation. He ordered

Kheireddine, who was in Paris, not to take the loan requested by Ahmad Bey. He also reduced the numbers in the armed forces and the number of pensioners among the old Janissaries. He made friends with Leon Roche, the French Consul, who began to have discussions with him in Arabic about everything and gave advice, to the great displeasure of his entourage, who were not accustomed to having such consuls meddling in the country's affairs.

The Bey's behaviour, somewhat incompre-





Muhammad Bey promulgates the Fundamental Pact in 1857. In the preamble, we read: "God is witness that I have put the national interest (maslahat al-watan) above that of my own self." Engraving published in The Illustrated London News, 30 June, 1855.

hensible to his entourage, resulted in him making a mistake that would take him far beyond where he wished to end up. One day a Jew was brought before him, accused of having insulted another coach driver and his Muslim religion. He condemned the Jew to death in spite of the denials by the accused. He had the man decapitated, refusing to hear the advice of his entourage. The victim, Batto Sfez, was the coach driver of the Fermier General Nissim. The affair was a bit shady, seeing that this followed the execution of a Muslim who had killed a Jew and public opinion was

*Opposite page:
Nichan Ahd Al-Aman,
a new order created in
the name of the
Fundamental Pact.*

*Opposite page :
Ahmad Ibn Abi Dhiaf
(1804-74).*

*Richard Wood, the
British Consul.
Engraving by G. Thomas
Vigne, 1844. Victoria
& Albert Museum,
London.*



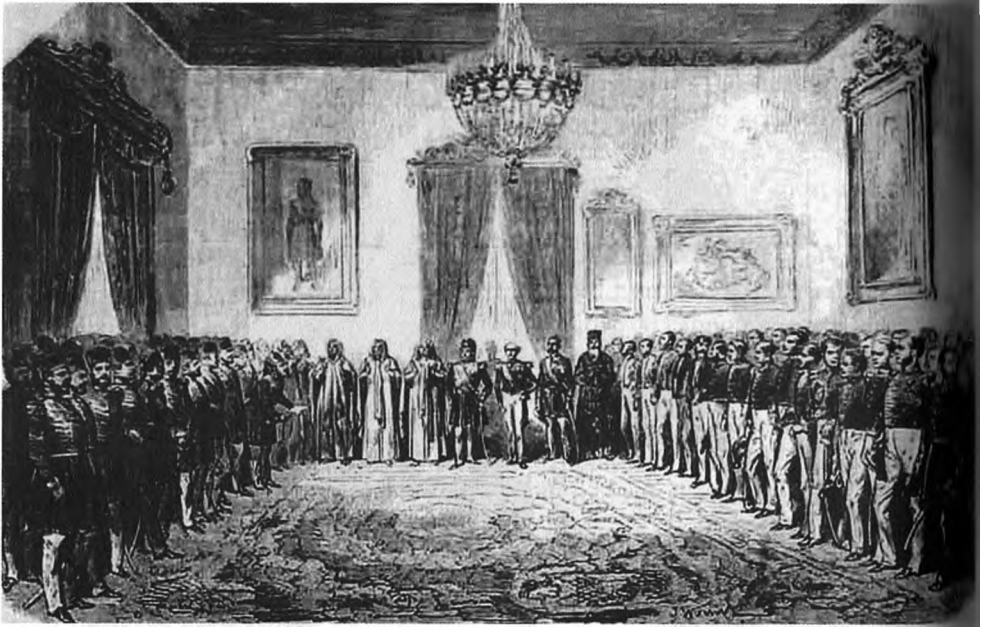
heated. It highlighted a disagreement between the Malekites (who were for capital punishment) and the Hanefites (who considered that the death penalty could not be pronounced since the accused denied what he had been accused of). The Bey, even though a Hanefite, followed the advice of the most radical Malekites.

The execution that took place on July 24, 1857 raised protests among the Europeans. A French fleet of nine vessels armed with 700 cannons arrived in La Goulette in August. The admiral landed and went to La Marsa where he found the Bey and gave notice that they were to introduce reforms in the kingdom. In a statement where diplomatic language did little to hide his intentions, he told the Bey, according to Ibn Abi Dhiaf, "I was sent by my sovereign with this force to assist you against all persons who will prevent you from according liberty to your subjects and to assure peace and security for their persons and their assets.

Next, it was the English Consul, Richard Wood, who presented the same message, adding that a fleet anchored in Malta would come if necessary. This Consul, who was also a distinguished Arabist, was not flustered by the Bey's entourage, who justified their controversial act with religious considerations. The Consul responded, "What Islam are you referring to ? An Islam that allowed your ancestors to destroy in 80 years what the Romans took 800 years to construct, and it's that that you ask us to respect today, or are you making allusion to the fatwas of your *Ulama* adapted to the ambitions of your rulers ?"

The consuls each handed over a written message from their governments. The

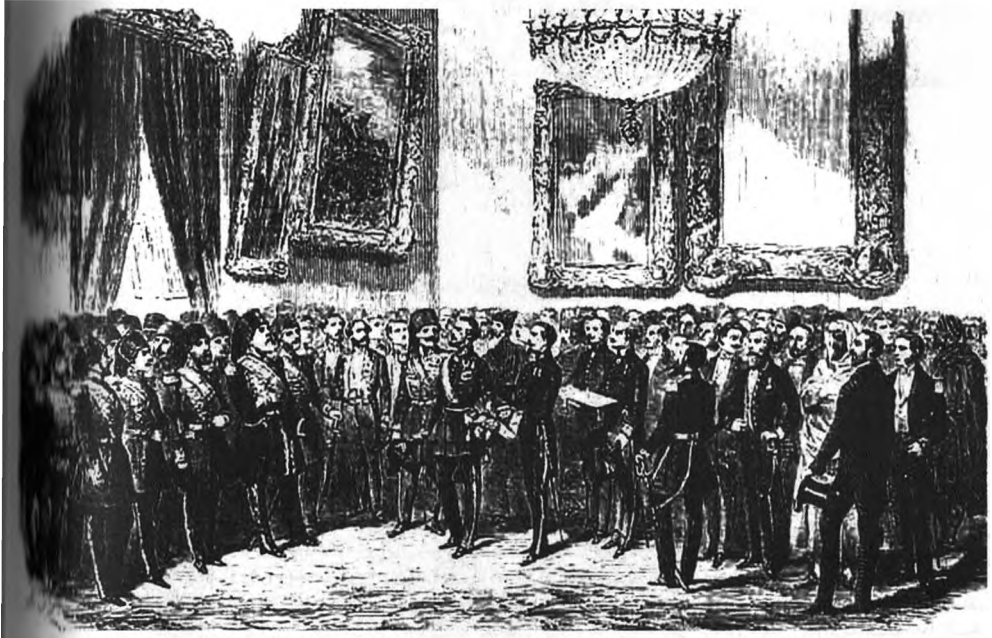




*Proclamation of the
Fundamental Pact,
9 September, 1857 at
the Bardo Palace, Tunis.*

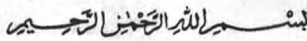
French message was dated July 20, 1857 and expanded on the reforms to be introduced, following the example of the *Tanzimat* published in Istanbul, notably in terms of justice, international commerce, the suppression of monopolies and liberty in land ownership. The Bey understood that he no longer had a way out from the pressure. He therefore ordered his Secretary, Ibn Abi Dhiaf, to draft a commitment (where the name *Ahd* comes from) based on the European demands and the text of the Ottoman *Tanzimat*. This *Ahd Al-Aman*, translated officially in French as *Pacte Fondamental*, was a declaration of rights in eleven points. The articles related to :

- The security of persons and assets (art. 1) ;
- Equal treatment in fiscal matters (art. 2);
- Equal treatment in justice for Muslims and non-Muslims (art. 3) ;



- Respect for religious practices that were not Islam (art. 4) ;
- Regulations and limits for military service (art. 5);
- Participation of a representative of non-Muslims in all jurisdictions passing judgement on non-Muslims (art. 6);
- The creation of a commercial tribunal with the participation of foreigners whenever international treaties were to be made (art. 7);
- Equality for all subjects in all local and legal matters (art. 8);
- Freedom of trade (art. 9);
- Freedom for any foreigner to practise a trade provided they respect the laws of the country (art. 10);
- Freedom for all foreigners to settle in the country and own a home, orchard or land provided they respect the laws in effect (art. 11).

The Bey receives the French Consul, Leon Roche, who urges him to fulfil his commitment to reform the country's institutions.

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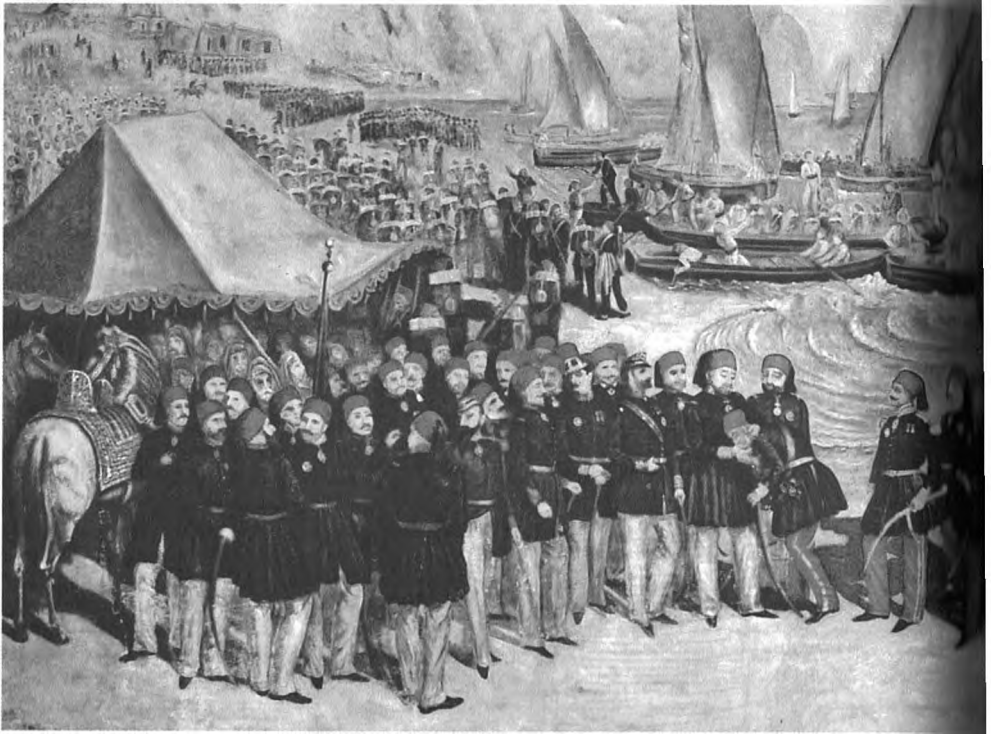


*The Prime Minister
(Grand Vizir),
Mustafa Khaznadar.*

The commitment was read during a formal session of the court in the stateroom of the Bardo Palace in the presence of the Bey, princes, ministers, religious dignitaries, generals and representatives of tribes and consuls on Wednesday September 9, 1857. It was marked with the sovereign seal then sent to the consuls and distributed in all the provinces.

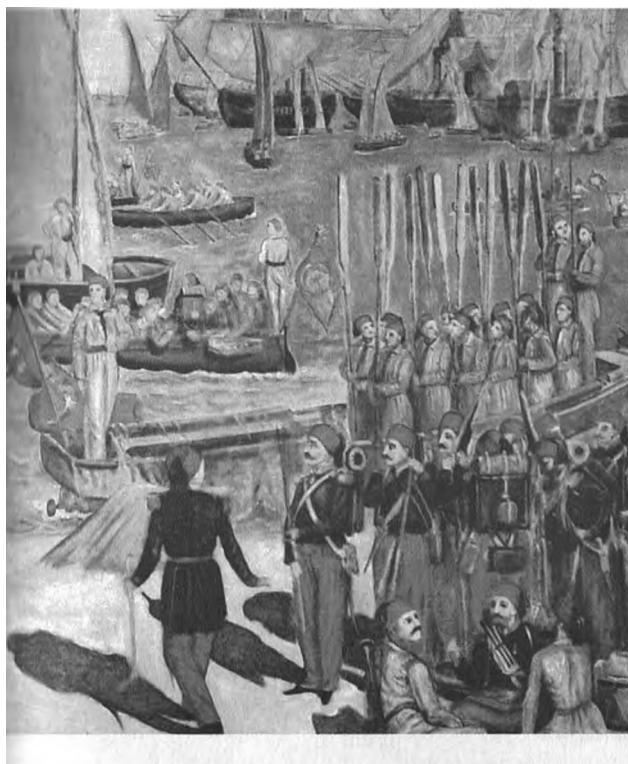
In truth, the Bey believed that this formal declaration exempted him from all other acts. He continued to preside over the courtroom and governed as before. Later there was a formal protest by the French consul

*Opposite page:
The act of the
Fundamental Pact,
signed by Muhammad
Bey.*



Tunisian troops land in La Abdilliya in 1855 after fighting in the Crimean War alongside the Ottoman army. More than 10,000 Tunisians took part on the orders of Ahmad Bey. Oil on canvas by Nouredine Khayachi (detail), based on the original painting by Auguste Moynier.

who reminded him that he had placed his seal on the Pact and that he must follow through. Then on November 4, 1857, the Bey decided to create a commission to draft a law derived from the commitment. He selected *Sheikh Al-Islam* Muhammad Bayram, Sheikh Ahmad Ben Hassine, Sheikh Muhammad Belkhoja, Prime Minister Mustafa Khaznadar, War Minister Mustafa Bash-Agha, Navy Minister Kheireddine, Minister Ismail Sahib-at-Tabaa, the Governor of Aaradh (Gabes) and Secretary Ahmad Ibn Abi Dhiaf. He mandated that they meet two times a week at *Dar el-Bey* in the Casbah of Tunis to clarify the articles in the Pact. He ordered that they familiarise themselves first with the text of the Tanzimat. The Bey designated Muhammad

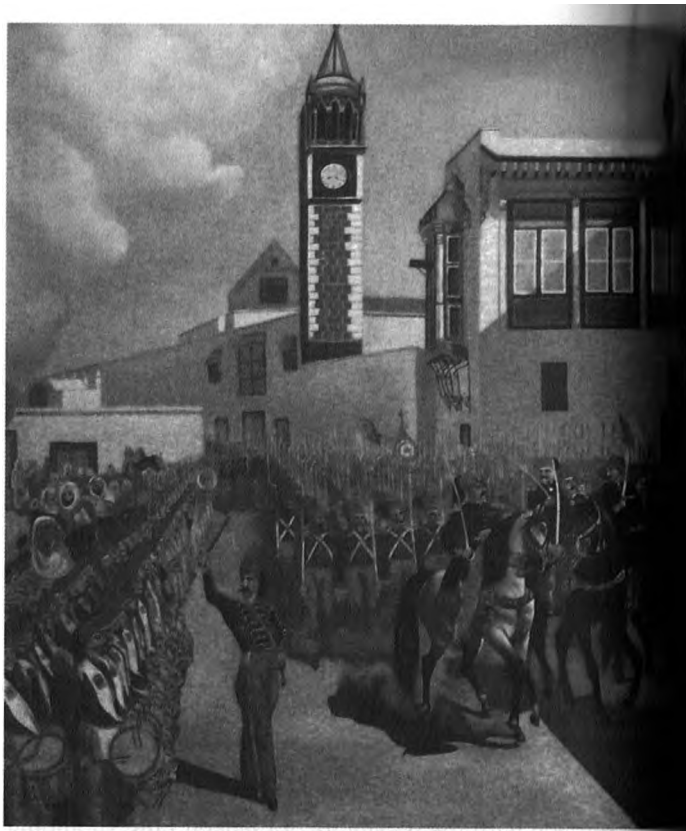


Muhammad Baccouche.

Baccouche and Yusuf Jait as secretaries for the commission with the possibility of General Husayn joining them. The irony of the story comes at the moment the commission met. An emissary from the Sultan asked the Bey, "What have you done to the Tanzimat ? Why has it taken so long to implement ?" One must remember that Tunis had refused to follow Istanbul in putting the reforms in place ordered by *Khatti Sharif* in 1839 and *Khatti Humayun Gulkhane* in 1856. The Bey answered the Ottoman envoy, "That's what we just did."

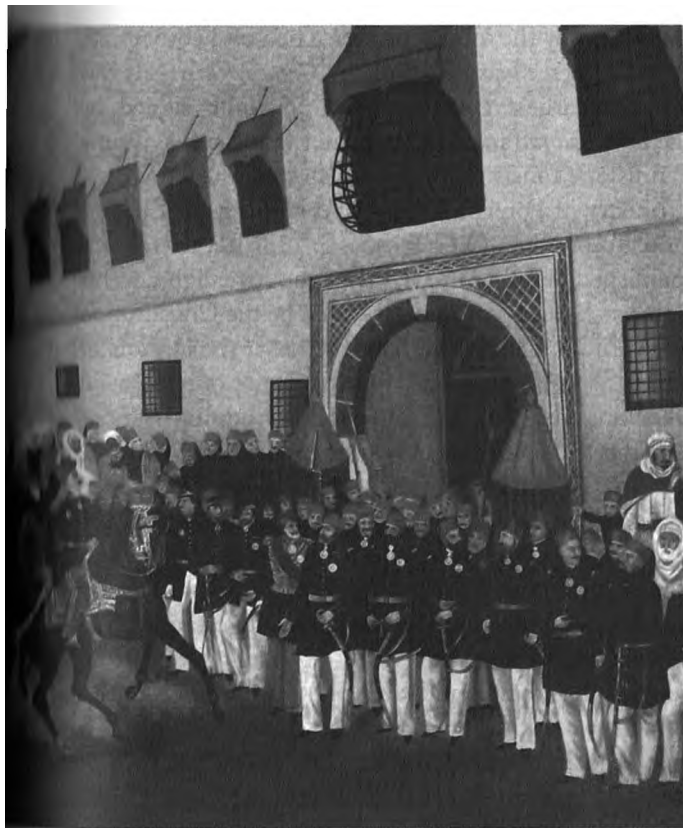
The commission went to work with Prime Minister Mustafa Khaznadar as their president. However, after examining the first article, approved by *Sheikh Al-Islam*, the religious dignitaries asked to be excused from

Muhammad Bey and General Rashid, commander of the Tunisian contingent in the Crimean War, attend the parade of Tunisian troops returning from Crimea. Oil on canvas by Ahmed Fekih, based on the original painting by Auguste Moynier. Tunisian Military Museum, Palais de La Rose, Manouba.



assisting with the work. The commission continued with six members. The Bey for his part, created a private council to get an idea of the results, and this created friction between the two groups.

The Bey died on September 22, 1859 before the commission completed their work. His successor, Muhammad Sadok Bey, took an oath while being enthroned to respect the Fundamental Pact (*Ahd Al-Aman*) like his late brother. The commission continued their work, giving substance to each article. A grand council, courts of justice and a chamber of commerce were created. In November 1860, the Bey designated the members for the council. Ibn Abi Dhi'af noted



that other than himself, all the members of the grand council were born outside the country. The Bey gave them five months to become familiar with the text before its implementation.

In truth, it is necessary to take into consideration all of the texts of this time period to better understand the stakes and follow the changing attitudes. Abdelfattah Amor, Professor of Law, assembled all the texts into one volume in 1987. From that one can see that those working on them were both prudent and instructive. It was the first of its kind in the Muslim world. Also, the Fundamental Pact was followed up by an explanation of the text published that

same year by the official printer. Then on February 27, 1860, a decree was issued by the *Great Ministry*. It was for the earliest government of its kind, signed by *Wizara Kubra* (an expression later translated as Prime Minister), consisting of a Ministry for the Provinces, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Finance and Accounting. On February 25, 1861, a decree was published defining the rights of the sovereign and his subjects, a precursor to what would be the Constitution of April 26, 1861. It all happened as if the authors of the texts wanted to move prudently, not only to avoid shocking the Bey, but also so that administrations could understand this new system that broke with the practice of absolute power.

On April 26, 1861, the proclamation of the Constitution took place during a formal ceremony in the stateroom at the Bardo Palace in the presence of the Bey's family, ministers, religious dignitaries of all faiths, prominent citizens, representatives from around the country and consuls from "friendly states". The first constitution in an Arab country was born. It was read by General Kheireddine in the absence of Mustafa Sahib at-Tabaa, President of the Commission, who had prepared it. Once the formalities were completed, the rulers fell back into old habits. The Bey continued to act as a high court justice. The French complained about a so-called *Mahdi* who was preaching on the Algerian border. The Bey had him arrested and brought to Bardo, where he was brought before the court, condemned to death and executed. Ibn Abi Dhiaf noted that the session only lasted three minutes, while France had only asked him to be removed from the border.

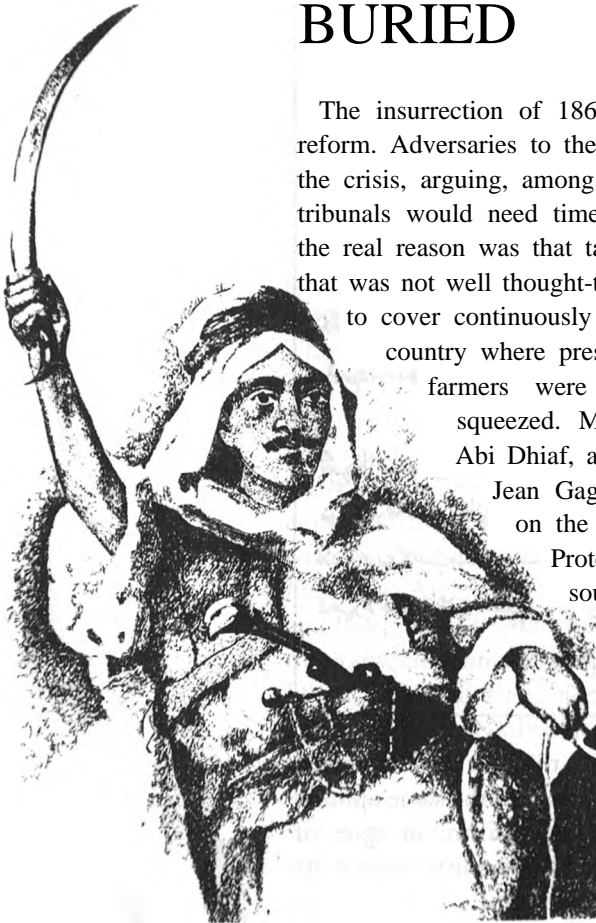
Tunisia was more advanced than other Muslim countries, but it was because of its reform-minded elite and not their ruler. As soon as the Grand Council had announced a decree about "the rights of the

1855 : *Ahd Al-Amane* and the Constitution | 469

1864

THE *BLED* INSURGENCY AND ; THE CONSTITUTION BURIED

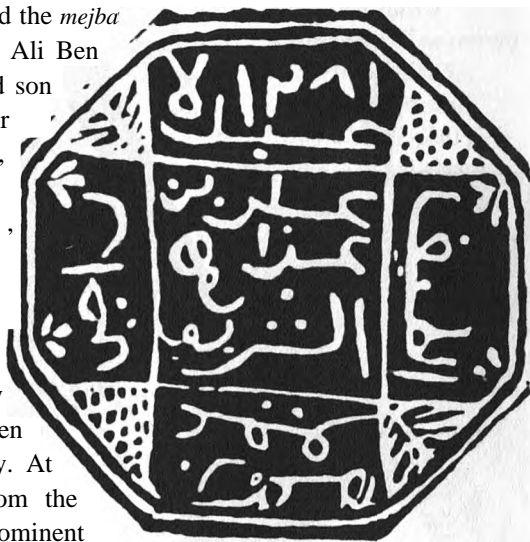
*Heroicised figure
depicting Ali Ben
Ghadhahum.
Rights reserved.*



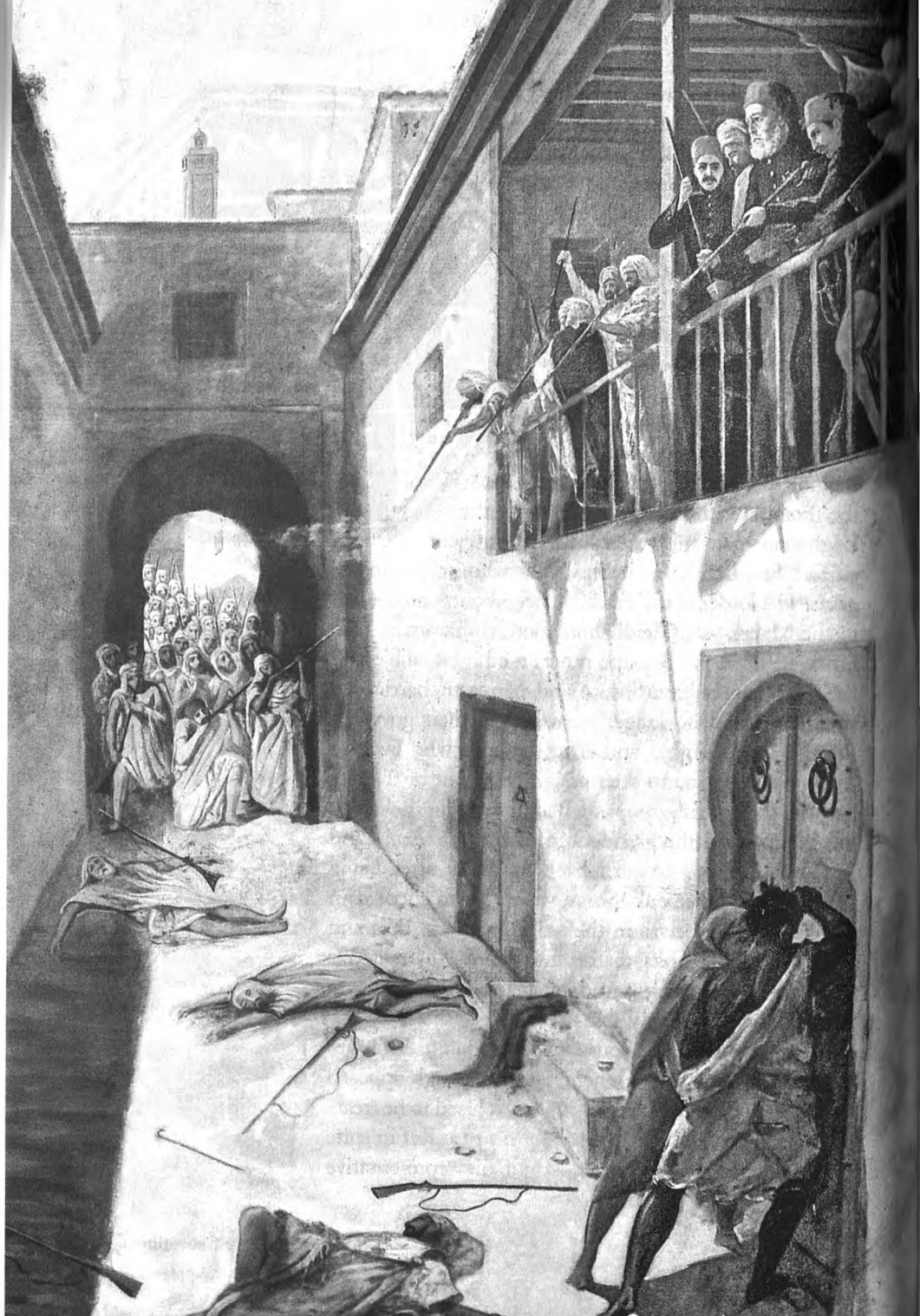
The insurrection of 1864 was the death knell for reform. Adversaries to the Constitution blamed it for the crisis, arguing, among other things, that the new tribunals would need time to make decisions, while the real reason was that taxes had doubled in a way that was not well thought-through, in order to be able to cover continuously growing expenditures in a country where pressure was growing and the farmers were always the ones being squeezed. Many authors, such as Ibn Abi Dhiaf, a witness to the events, and Jean Gagniage, who wrote a thesis on the period prior to the French Protectorate, did justice to the sources of the discontent. The cause of the insurrection was financial collapse followed by unbearable fiscal pressure as well as tax collectors who were asked to use any means necessary to get results.

The man behind the insurrection, triggered by

I lie Beylical decree which doubled the *mejba* of *I ana* (tax) in April 1864, was Ali Ben (ihadhahum, an educated man and son of a Cadhi healer from the Majir tribe from the Kasserine region, I ,ooking back on how things evolved, all areas of the country , took part in the revolt. In the Kairouan campaign, home of the Zlass, it was Sebu'i Ben Muhammad Sebu'i, an affluent citizen, who led the revolt. The city itself led the way because it had been exempted from the tax previously. At the home of the Arab Riah from the Zaghouan region, it was another prominent citizen, Frej Ben Mansur Ben Dahr who led the insurgents. The leader of the Frashish, neighbours and cousins to the Majirs, was Ghadhahum Ben Muhammad. Sfax broke off from the Bey and proclaimed itself subject to the Ottoman Sultan. Sousse and Monastir barricaded themselves and no longer answered to their governor (*Amil*). Cards, Aghas and army generals who lived in Tunis could not go to their assignments out of the city because there were groups of Bedouins lying in wait to kill them. Even the grand Caid of the *Makhzin* Drid tribe was obliged to turn back to Tunis after being stopped at TebourSouk. Some were able to succeed in blockading themselves in their cities, such as Beja and Kairouan, and thanks to the intervention of religious dignitaries, they were saved by being able to flee at night. Others were only able to make it to the capital by going first to Gabes or Sousse and then taking a ship to Tunis. Only one Caid, General Farhat, though opposed to Bardo and the doubling of the tax, refused to be treated as a coward and decided to return to Le Kef in spite of the warnings of his friends and his representative



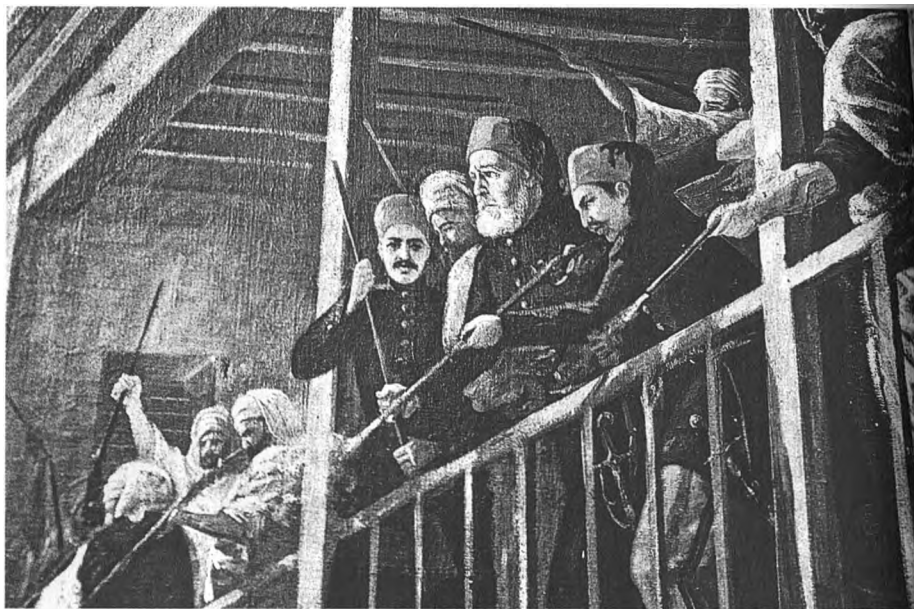
Seal of Ali Ben Ghadhahum, dated in the year of the Hegira 1281 (1864).



there. He was killed just before arriving in front of the Spahis who were supposed to help him. It is true that the previous year, he had stripped the Bedouins there of their tents when they couldn't pay the taxes, leaving them to sleep in the open air. In fact it was this incident that led him to advise the Bey not to double the tax. The regular troops either refused to obey or deserted. The Sahel, which had the largest troop reserves, no longer had any soldiers available. The Bey was desperate and decided to call on the Zouaoua (Zouaves) that had been demobilised by his predecessor. They insisted on receiving their back pay. The Bey accepted and they erected a camp on Jebel Lakhdhar next to the Rabta of Tunis and all Zouaoui who came received all of their back pay.

Toward the end of April 1864, two fleets arrived at La Goulette, one French and the other Ottoman. The Ottoman commander, Captain Haydar Efendi, told the Bey that he had come to place him back on the throne because Istanbul had heard that he had had to flee his capital. However, on April 29, the French Consul, Charles de Beauval, went to the palace in Bardo, accompanied by the commander of the French fleet and his second-in-command, as well as the interpreter, Monge, and Lieutenant Colonel Campenon, a former instructor at the military school in Bardo. The Consul asked to see the Bey, and once with him, asked to speak with him one on one. The Bey refused. The Consul then notified him of the official demand of Napoleon III's government to revoke the Constitution. The Bey, taken aback, tried to defend his position, but Campenon responded disrespectfully and in Arabic, insisting that the Bey and his entourage were responsible for the country's deteriorating situation. The Bey stood up to him and the Consul went a step further some days later, demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Mustafa Khaznadar, General Kheireddine, General Husayn, General Rostem and Secretary Ibn Abi Dhiyf. It was clear that

Tuerie des Jlass a Kairouan. Oil on canvas by Bertrand, 1865, captioned in Arabic: "Maqatalat Aj-Jlass fi-l-Qayrawan ma'a amir al-oumara' Sidi Rashid Agha, fi qi'dat 1281" (March-April 1865). Tunisian Military Museum, Palace of the Rose, Manouba.



Tuerie des Jlass a Kairouan. Oil on canvas by Bertrand, 1865 (detail).

they were demanding that the principle supporters of reform step aside.

On May 1, 1864, the Bey notifies the institutions created by the Constitution (the Grand Council, the Criminal Court and the Court of Appeals), a brief, one-line order, "*These institutions must cease to function*" / Adieu Fundamental Pact and Constitution !

What follows is only a succession of failed revolts. Before things deteriorated, the Bey, aggravated by letters attributed to the French representative which were sent to Ali Ben Ghadhahum assuring French support for Bedouin demands, annulled all pay increases and created an armed corps under Ismail Sahib at-Tabaa. The Bey sent Ismail Sahib at-Tabaa to spread the news and that *aman* would be granted to all who would stop rebelling. A showdown with Ben Ghadhahem's troops took place near Beja and to avoid battle the Grand Sheikh of the Ar-Rahmaniya brotherhood, Mustafa Ben Azzuz, stepped in and convinced the leader of the

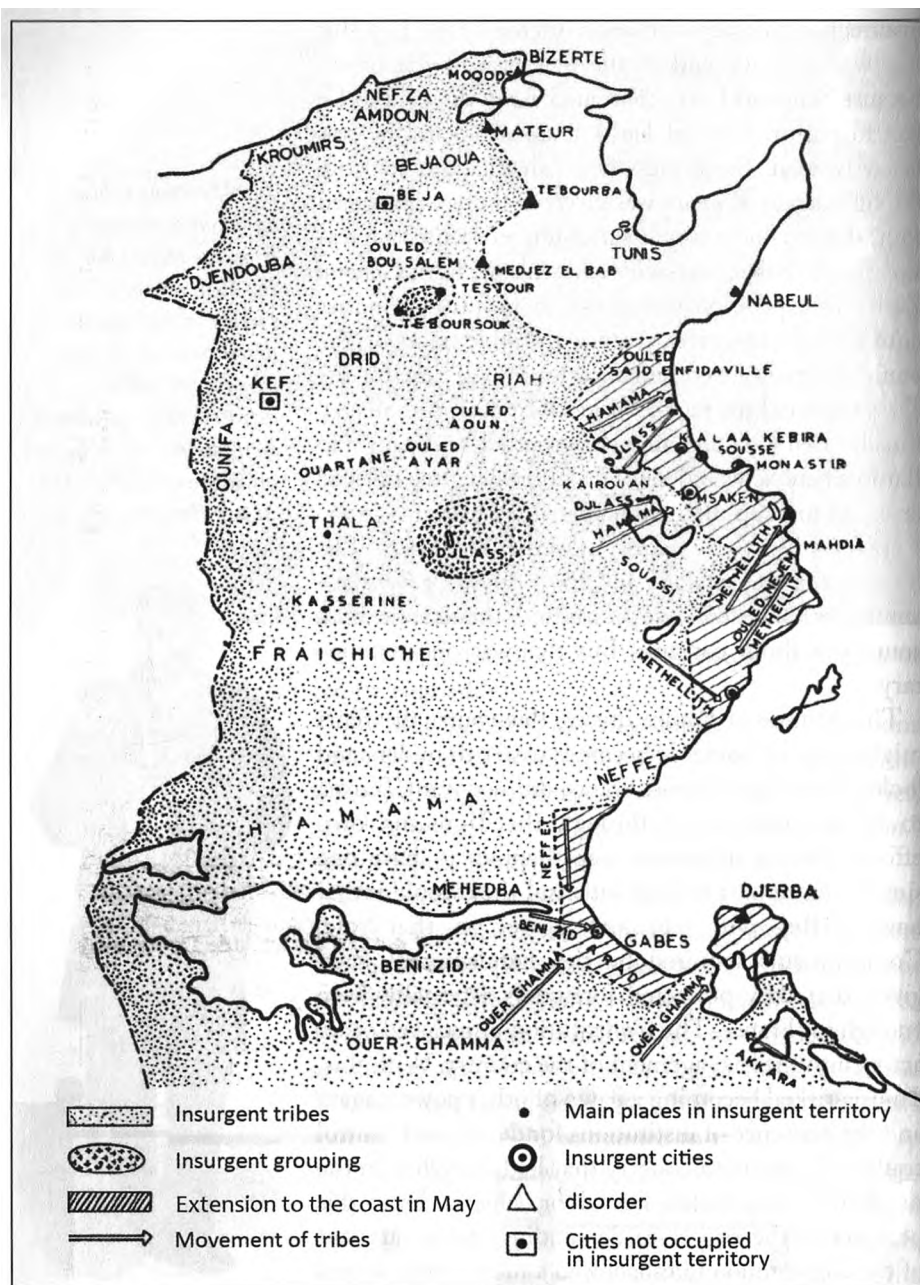
insurrection to accept the *aman* offered by the Bey. But this was only the end of the first part of the revolt, because Sahib at-Tabaa continued along the road to Le Kef to punish General Farhat's assassins, and he was heavy-handed. Suspicious, Ben Ghadhahum took up the fight again. If *aman* was given to those who agreed to it, the provinces would suffer unprecedented repression. In the Sahel, massacres and violence from General Zarrouk's expedition were fresh in peoples memories until the mid-twentieth century. Indelible traces of the punishments inflicted remained for a long time for the Zlass tribe and the people of Jerid, Le Kef, and Siliana. finally, Ben Ghadhahum was arrested and taken to Bardo where he would die. The Beylical regime reduced taxes but took up their old habits of repression.

Adversaries of the reform movement had won. The thieves, the bribe-takers and the «*fermier generaux* » among others were happy to find themselves in a country without controls. But this was only temporary.

The attitude of France during this course of affairs might surprise some. It becomes easier to understand looking back afterwards. France did not want Tunisia to be reformed solely through the Tunisians' own efforts. French diplomats were happier to have one single counterpart to deal with and they would rather have a Bey with absolute power in that role. Commitments required by the Fundamental Pact, given that they protected foreigners especially, were enough for France. The Constitution introduced other actors into the management of the country. With this, Tunisia risked becoming a pawn of other powers again and the existence of institutions for debate and control could only disturb a country that had its sights on the neighbour immediately next door, Algeria. From this perspective the processes demanding the annulment of the Constitution foreshadowed a future international

The "knitting soldier", based on a photograph from the second half of the 19th century. This picture, which shows the destitution of the Bey army, was widely diffused and reproduced in a variety of media : as an engraving, postcard, in popular imagery, etc.



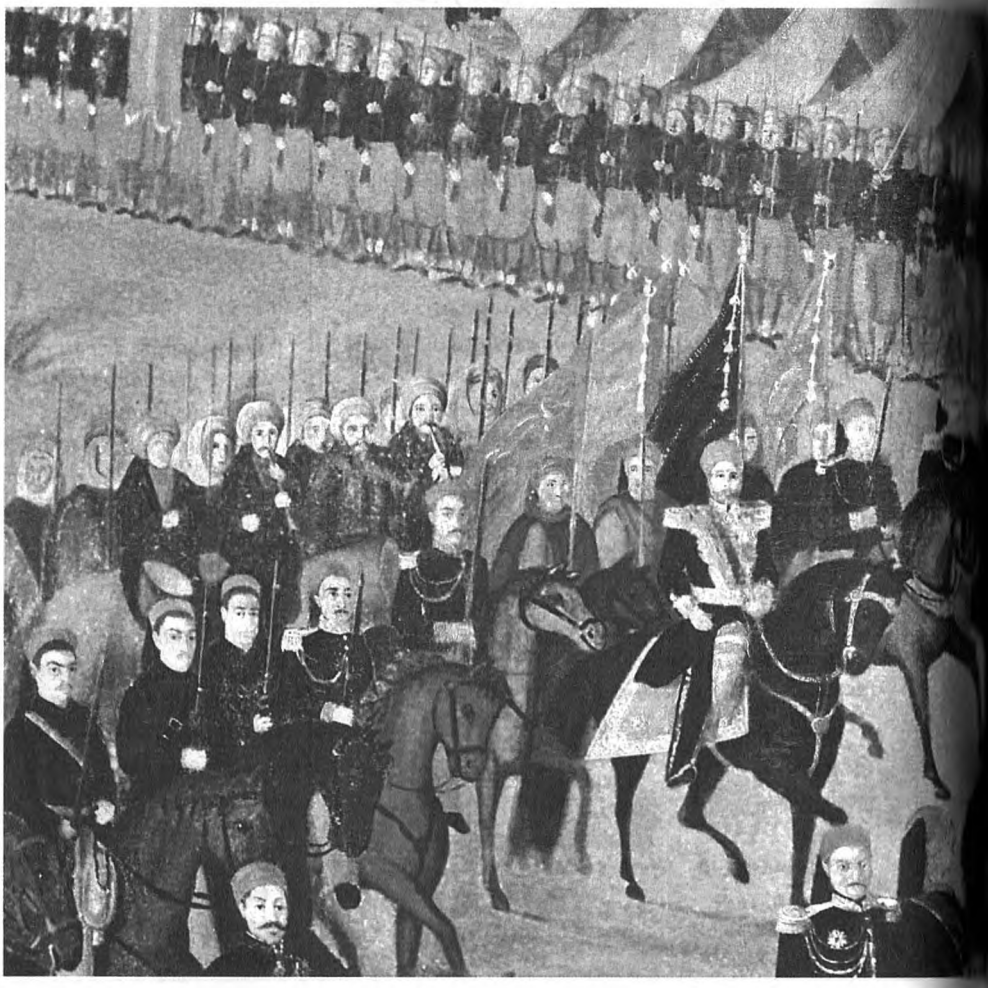


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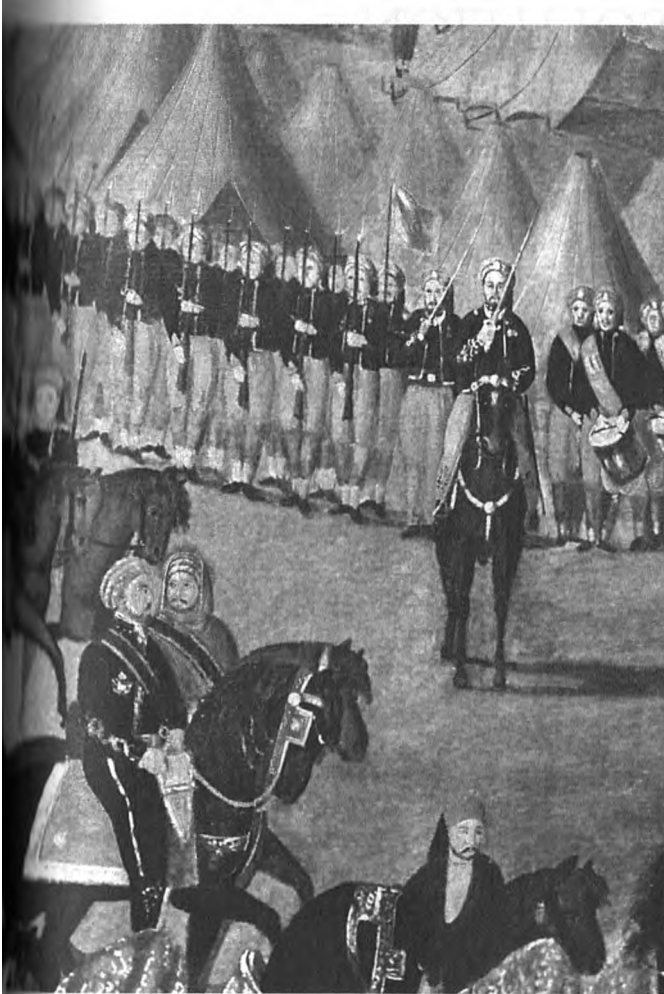
The cahier de doléances (list of grievances) drawn up by the Riahi tribes (Beja) and negotiated with Sheikh Mustafa Ben Azouz during the 1864 insurrection. The thirteen demands included amnesty for all acts committed in the past, the application of Sharia law, the suppression of the courts, tax for all adults set at ten piastres, the restoration of the slave trade and the resignation of the former Caids. (From Bice Slama, op. cit.). National Archives of Tunisia.

*Opposite page :
Sabre given by Sadok
Bey to the redoubtable
General Pelissier,
Governor-General of
Algeria, circa 1865.
Musee de l'Armee (Army
Museum), Paris.*

financial commission and control of the entire Beylical regime. The commander of the French fleet had already tried in vain to oppose the landing of the Ottoman fleet commander to keep the Bey isolated and avoid intervention by the Ottomans or other powers. Great Britain understood what was going on. The British Consul made public their opposition to the abandonment of the Fundamental Pact. Yet, it was the



Constitution that defined the courts, the tribunals and the councils created by the Fundamental Pact, and their elimination signified a return to the previous status quo. It was as if the Pact never existed. The two texts were linked. European powers, despite their difference of opinion, did not bring any solution to this contradiction.



Le Camp de la M'halla.
Oil on canvas by
Bertrand, mid-19 th
century (detail). Tunisian
Military Museum, Palace
of the Rose, Manouba.
The presumptive
successor to the Bey (Bey
el-Mhalla) criss-crossed
the country at the head of
an army twice a year to
collect taxes and subdue
insurgents.

1873

KHEIREDDINE, THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION

*Kheireddine Pasha,
Grand Vizier from
October 1873 to July
1877.*



The time had come for Kheireddine to publicly declare his point of view. We have already seen him at work in the military school at Bardo, in his missions

to Istanbul, and in his mission to France where he presented Tunisia's complaint against the former Fermier General Mahmud Ben Ayed. We have seen him as minister, member of the commission that detailed the text of the Constitution and finally, we have seen him presiding over the Grand Council controlling government action after the death of Mustafa Sahib at-Tabaa. Yet this was no longer the order of the day. In reality, Kheireddine was ahead of the game. As early as 1862 he had resigned from the Navy Ministry and the presidency of the Grand Council, because he opposed a loan from Europe that would only aggravate the situation. The Bey did not abandon him however, since he invited him to be a part of the Privy Council. Between 1863 and 1867 he was responsible for many missions abroad. He would take advantage

Notice announcing the opening of Sadiki College, signed by Kheireddine on February 1, 1875, following the decree dated June 1, 1874 on the appointment of the programme committee. In so doing, the man who wrote *Aqam al-Masalik* was able to put his ideas into practice. As Ahmed Abdessalam notes: "In founding Sadiki College, Kheireddine was not pursuing entirely cultural purposes: he was not seeking the simple diffusion of knowledge. His actions were guided by the concerns of a reforming, but not a revolutionary, statesman". A. Abdessalam, *Sadiki et les Sadikiens*, Tunis, Ceres Productions, 1975, p. 21.

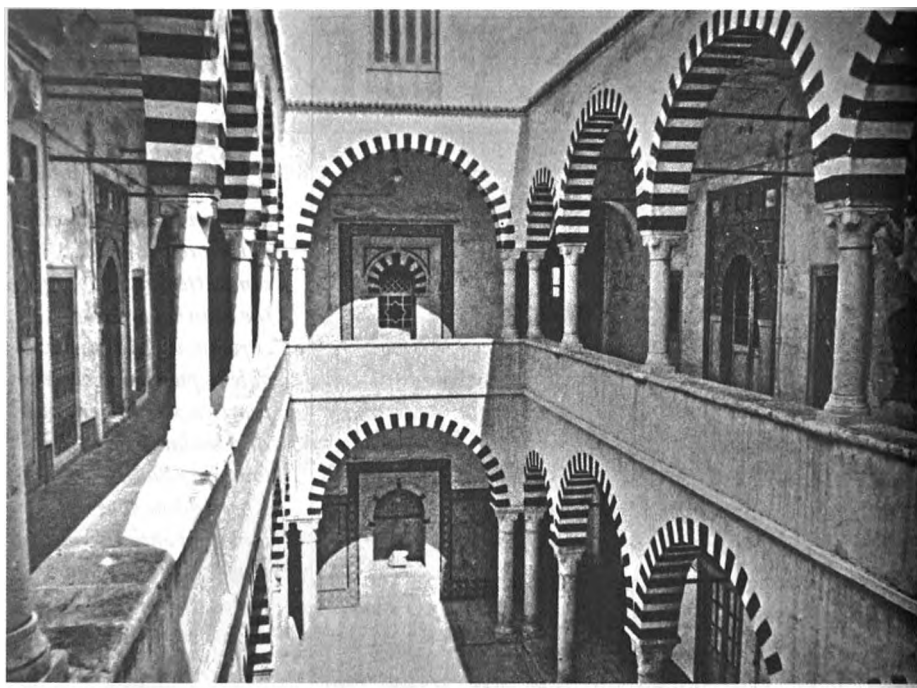
اعلان

المدرسة الصادقية

الحمد لله الوزارة المصنونة تعلن بما يأتي

المدرسة الصادقية بالمحاضرة المحمّدية ستفتتح ان شاء الله تعالى للتعليم في العشرين من المحرم الحرام فاتح شهر العام الجديد المبارك عام اثنين وتسعين ومائتين والـف * وهي معدة لتعليم القروان العظم والعلوم النافعة الشرعية بوسائلها والمعارف السياسية على مقتضى تراتيبها المخصصة من الحضرة العلية * ويقبل فيها من التلامذة من كان في سن سبع سنين الى تمام خمسة عشر عاما هذا في السنة الاولى وهي سنة ١٢٩٢ اما فيما بعدها فيقبل من كان في سن السبع الى سن العشر * وجعلت من يقبل فيها مائة وخمسون تلميذا مائة من اهل المحاضرة وخمسون من اهل الافاق التونسية * وهؤلاء التلامذة على صنفين الصنف الاول يقيمون بالمدرسة ليلا ونهارا والدولة تتكفل لهم بجميع ضرورياتهم مجانا * وعدد هذا الصنف خمسون تلامذا من اهل المحاضرة وضروريين من اهل الافاق * والصنف الثاني يأتون للتعليم نهارا ويبيتون عند اهلهم وعددهم مائة سبعون من اهل المحاضرة وتلامذتهم من اهل الافاق والدولة تتكفل لجميعهم بضروريات العلم فقط مجانا * فمن اراد ان يعلم ولده او قريبه بالمدرسة المذكورة فليقدم الى ناظرها اسمه واسم التلميذ مع بيان سنه وسجل سكنه وما يختاره من الافاق بالمدرسة او لانيان اليها نهارا للتعليم * ومن ليس له ولي فليأت الى المجلس البلدي ليكون دخوله للمدرسة على طريق المجلس البلدي والمجلس يقدم اسمه * وسجل تقييد الاسماء بالمدرسة من قبل الزوال ثلاث ساعات الى الزوال في مدة نهايتها شهر من تاريخ هذا الاعلان * ويقدم الاسبق في التقييد اذا اجتمع من الاسماء اكثر من العدد المطلوب وهو المائة والخمسون تلميذا *

وكتب في الرابع والعشرين من ذي الحجة الحرام سنة احدى وتسعين ومائتين والـف * (انضاء المولى الوزير الاكبر) خير الدين



The former premises of Sadiki College in the barracks of Jamaa Zaytuna Street in Tunis.

of these breaks from public activity, with the help of his followers, to help clarify his ideas on needed reforms, not only in Tunisia, but in the entire Muslim world. From these reflections, inspired by his observations during these many voyages (five to Europe and two to Istanbul), he created a book that lives on today about his ideas for reform in the nineteenth century. The work is called *Aqwam Al-Masalik Fi Maarifati Ahwal Al-Mamalik*, *The Surest Path to Know ledge Concerning the Condition of Countries* (translated by Professor Moncef Chennoufi of the National Foundation of Carthage in 1991 as *Les plus surs directions pour connaitre l'etat des nations* {*The Best Way to Know the State of Nations*}). Kheireddine published it in Tunisia in 1867. He opens it with an introduction titled, *Necessary Reforms in Muslim States*.



The book presents a series of studies on countries he visited or which he had collected precise information about thanks to the help of the assistants he engaged during the course of his voyages, who translated relevant texts on the organisation of these countries. He reviews the Ottoman Empire, France, England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, the German Confederation, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Denmark, Bavaria, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, the Papal estates, Württemberg, Baden and Greece. The book does not ignore the rest of the world, but settles on showing maps of the continents. With these very complete studies he offers his readers a window on the world and the possibility of making useful comparisons.

More important, however, is the long introduction (122 pages in the 1991 edition) where he presents his

The new premises of Sadiki College in the casbah, built on the site of the former Bayram gardens, welcome students from the new academic year in October 1897.

Mustafa Ben Ismail, the Bey's favourite, headed the resistance against Kheireddine, who finished by leaving the government.



own reflections. He insists on the necessity of adopting some methods from the West, denounces the opposition by Muslim religious dignitaries to that, and affirms that it is possible to find a compromise between the two. He defends the advisory system for the Bey as protection against a slide towards absolutism. He proclaims that Islam is not contradictory to liberty, justice and the primacy of the law. After having reviewed the reforms recommended in the Ottoman Empire that he feels have little bearing, he analyses the goals of Muslims, Christians and imperial servants as well as those of the other players opposed to progress in Ottoman society. He concludes that

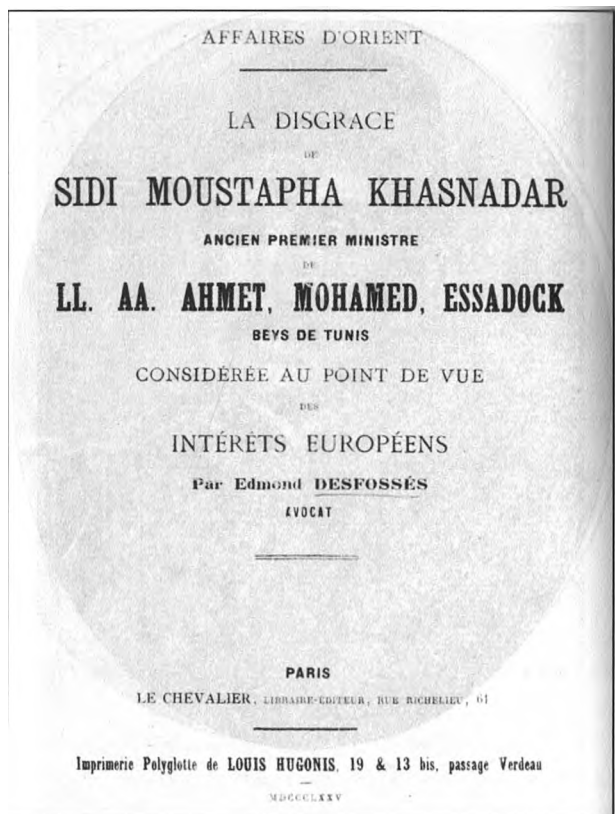


*The Ottoman Sultan
Abdiilhamid II hands
over leadership of the
Ottoman government
to Kheireddine in the
capacity of Sadr Azam,
prime minister.*

Sharia is not in opposition to the *Tanzimat*. In a second part of the introduction, he summarises the evolution of Europe towards modernity after the Middle Ages and the various stages it went through, to distance itself from the inward-looking Muslim world. Finally, in the third part, he addresses a list of European discoveries and inventions that made the West a strong power.

For Kheireddine's readers, this introduction represented the basis for reformist thinking, a real manifesto for modernity, illustrated by descriptions of the structures in place in the countries cited. Kheireddine did not speak of democracy or elections and even less

Despite all Kheireddine's efforts, the political climate that reigned under the government of Mustafa Khaznadar still prevails. Kheireddine's policies were generally unpopular with France, and the lawyer Edmond Desfosses took up his pen to defend the line of Khaznadar, which coincided with French interests.



of universal suffrage, but of liberty, the primacy of the law, equal justice, legitimate power, an advisory government, a system of public financial control and peaceful coexistence between different elements of society. He chose a constitutional monarchy in whatever form and for Kheireddine, there were a number of variations to the countries he had reviewed.

In 1869, to control public expenditures (and especially to assure paying down the national debt which was at 160 million gold francs), an international commission was created with France, England and Italy, and Kheireddine was appointed President. In 1870, he

was appointed Executive Minister (*Wazir Mubashir*), a title equivalent to Deputy Prime Minister, in charge of the entire administration. Then in 1873 he was appointed Prime Minister. In this position, he reorganised his administration into four sections with specific responsibilities for each : the judiciary system was overseen by two sections, one civil and the other penal ; the tax system did not apply to production activities ; the public *Habous* are placed under the responsibility of a special administration. In addition, the educational system was reorganised. This plan created its major work : the Sadiki College, which was destined to educate a modern elite. There was also a thorough reorganisation of the traditional teaching at the Zaytuna Mosque, without creating much conflict with the directors of the institution.

Much has been said on Kheireddine's work as Prime Minister, reproaching him for not having implemented all that he advocated in his book. We cannot lose sight of the fact that his role was to govern for the Bey, an absolute monarch who had just suspended the Constitution and Kheireddine had to negotiate each step of the way with the many adversaries in the Bey's entourage. He had to show that he was pragmatic. Despite that, he was hit with insurmountable resistance by Mustafa Ben Ismail, the Bey's favourite, and in 1877 would end up leaving the government.

For him, all was not lost because the following year, after two spa treatments in France during which time he hoped in vain to be called back by the Bey, he was called to Istanbul by Sultan Abdulhamid II who, after having given him different responsibilities, entrusted him with managing the Ottoman government as Prime Minister or *Sadr Azam*. It was Tunisia that lost out, because by no longer having Kheireddine's official functions, it lost its last chance to reform on its own before colonisation came four years later.

IV. FROM PROTECTORATE TO INDEPENDENCE

1881

THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE

Since the occupation of Algeria, the French had been continually meddling in Tunisian affairs. Ahmad Bey, committed to modernising his country while ensuring independence vis-a-vis Istanbul, was playing the French diplomacy game. He was cautious and even hesitant, but constantly keeping a close eye on the Italians and the English. With the proclamation of the Fundamental Pact in 1857, both France and

*Theodore Roustan,
French consul in Tunis
from 1874 to 1882.*



England now had the opportunity to pressure Mhammad Bey to make a formal commitment respecting the rights of residents and foreigners. However, from that date forward, the policies of the two European countries would move in different directions. While the English wanted to see the ties between Tunis and Istanbul strengthened, France was playing the card of Tunisian autonomy, which would make it easier for them to intervene in the same internal affairs of the country.

The Insurrection of 1864 and the suspension of the 1861 Constitution that followed found the two European countries on the same wavelength : wanting to maintain



The Jules Ferry monument in Tunis, which stood until independence in Place du 14 Janvier on Avenue Habib Bourguiba (formerly Avenue Jules Ferry). It was under Ferry's government that France imposed its Protectorate on Tunisia.

their commitments to the Fundamental Pact, which essentially protected foreigners and their trade. Now there were both the Pact and the Constitution in combination. Renouncing both allowed the Bey to once again exercise his right to absolute monarchy, lost previously because of foreign pressure. On the other hand, Tunisia's financial situation, with its insurmountable debt, increased expenditures and a tax system at a dead end, created an opportunity for foreign powers to intervene directly in managing the country.

The international Financial Commission became a sort of supranational government where representatives

*Jules Barthelemy
Saint-Hilaire, foreign
minister, pushes for
French intervention
in Tunisia.*



of Tunisia, France, England and Italy would negotiate, each making moves based on their diplomatic objectives. Kheireddine, the final hope for Tunisia, withdrew, weakened by the actions of a beylical court thirsty for illicit riches and a Bey more emotionally attached to his favourites (Mustafa Ben Ismail and Allala Bezzai) than to saving his country. In addition, Bismarck encouraged France to, in his words, “harvest the ripe Tunisian pear”. Germany counterbalanced this by taking Alsace-Lorraine in 1870. The departure of Kheireddine in 1877, French fears that Istanbul would claim Tunisia in a similar way to what happened with Egypt (where there was a viceroy Khedive institutionally connected to the French empire), and the ongoing efforts of Consul Theodore Roustan in Tunis would accelerate events.



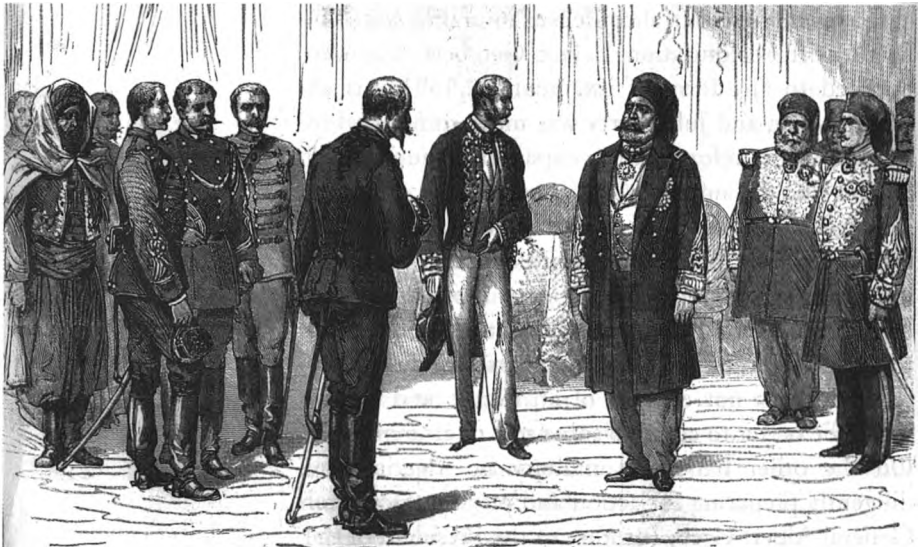
General Saussier, head of the 19th army corps based in Algeria, took an active part in the French expedition in Tunisia.

However, the political consensus in France wasn't in favour of full colonisation. In fact, Gambetta was even opposed to any form of intervention. 1881 was an election year, and Jules Ferry was more committed to his education reforms than expanding the colonial empire ; he did not want the opposition to drag him into a difficult debate. However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, was pushing for intervention in Tunisia even though the War Minister, General Farre, was reluctant. Farre reckoned that the pretext of "Khroumire incursions in Algerian territory" was not enough of an excuse and that it would be better to come to some sort of arrangement. On the other hand, the military in Algeria were diligently preparing for action and pushing Governor General Albert Grevy (brother of the President of the

Republic, Jules Grevy) to ask for the green light in Paris. Those supporting the war won. But what war ?

While military preparations were well underway in Algeria and the French government obtained additional budget effective April 3rd, the instructions given to the expeditions leader, General Forgemol, stated that “the expedition cannot be compared to an international war. Our relations with the Regency of Tunis continue and peace continues between the two governments.” According to his orders, it was a question of “fighting an armed rebellion by substituting our actions in the place of those of the sovereign authority in the territory” and, he added, “this fiction (sic) won’t go as far as to eliminate the combative nature that foreigners bestow on them !” Such instructions were the real headache for the 60-year-old general used to straightforward orders. The fact remained that this war-that-was-not-a-war but an incursion would mobilise five generals, thirteen battalions, five squadrons, four batteries, two mountain sections, four

*The French consul
Theodore Roustan
presents General Breart
to Sadok Bey.*



companies specialised in drivers and convoys and a navy fleet in Algeria.

On April 15, as the troops embarked, General Farre admitted to the Council President, Jules Ferry, that the expedition could have an objective other than punishing the Khroumires, and “it was necessary to completely assure the security of Algeria by establishing definitively our influence in Tunisia”. He therefore changed his opinion and joined those supporting colonisation. To attain this objective another expeditionary force left Marseille and Toulon under the command of General Breart. Their destination was Bizerte and he commanded a brigade with thirty chasseur battalions, six infantry battalions, a company of engineers, and two mountain batteries of 80. Even General



General Logerot.

Forgemol, commander in chief of the expedition coming from Algeria, was not informed of the second front that would arrive on April 28, more than ten days later. The French government had thus crossed the point of no return. It was now up to him to find the diplomatic solution that would justify what should have been called an invasion.

On April 15, they were given the go-ahead to send one column under the command of General Logerot from Souk-Ahras to Le Kef and Souk-el-Arba (Jendouba), which they would reach on April 27th. Another column under the command of General Delebecque on April 26 rushed north, their objective being Tabarka (bombarded by the naval units coming



May 12, 1881: Sadok Bey signs the treaty known as the Treaty of Bardo in Ksar Said.

*Opposite page:
The front page of the satirical newspaper La Comedie Politique. The fiction about the khroumires does not fool anyone: they are nowhere to be found. Numerous political figures in France in 1881 were initially opposed to military intervention in Tunisia.*

from La Calle). They reached it on April 29th, passing through Ain Draham before meeting with Delebecque at Jendouba. To the east on May 1, 2,000 troops under General Breart arrived in Bizerte on three transport ships from the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique (the *Cassard*, the *Sarthe* and the *Dryade*) and were joined by 4,000 men coming from Bone on the *Galissonniere*, the *Alma* and the *Surveillante*. Their mission was to occupy Bizerte and secure the route to Bardo. General Breart was tasked with getting the Bey to sign a treaty he had received from Paris as quickly as possible. The general set out with a column on May 9th and reached Bardo on the 12th.

On May 12, Muhammad Sadok Bey, whose country was invaded “in a friendly manner” by French troops, signed the *Treaty of Bardo*, establishing a protectorate in Tunisia. The text, two copies - one in Arabic and

one in French - had four signatures : that of Muhammad Sadok Bey, General Breart, Prime Minister Mustafa Ben Ismail and Theodore Roustan, Consul General of France.

To say that the Bey signed it without hesitation is not exactly correct. He began by protesting that there had been no negotiations, the text presented was unilaterally conceived and the manner in which it was done, with troops landing, was more like a diktat, saying he needed time to reflect and confer. General Breart, who was received at four o'clock, gave the Bey until nine o'clock. The Bey was not expecting a time limit on the ultimatum. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Bey recalled the general, who was waiting in a room on the ground floor. The agreement was signed.

That did not keep the situation from being most ambiguous. The Bey had dispatched his brother and heir, Ali Bey, who led a column of 3,000 men towards the western part of the country, officially to pacify the region. Could this force stand against the 30,000 men commanded by Forgemol ? Should they have opposed the invasion and rallied the so-called Khroumires, or punished them and taken away any justification for French intrusion ? For the Bey and his heir apparent, it was important not to engage in a war against France, because of the threat of Sadok Bey being deposed and his other brother, Taieb Bey, being enlisted. When the two sides met in the region of Jendouba, the French demanded that the Tunisians retreat. Ali Bey complied after a confrontation that was reported in two different ways : for Ali Bey, it was a massacre and for Forgemol, a skirmish.

The colonial press praises the support of the Bey's family for France.

AFFAIRES DE TUNISIE

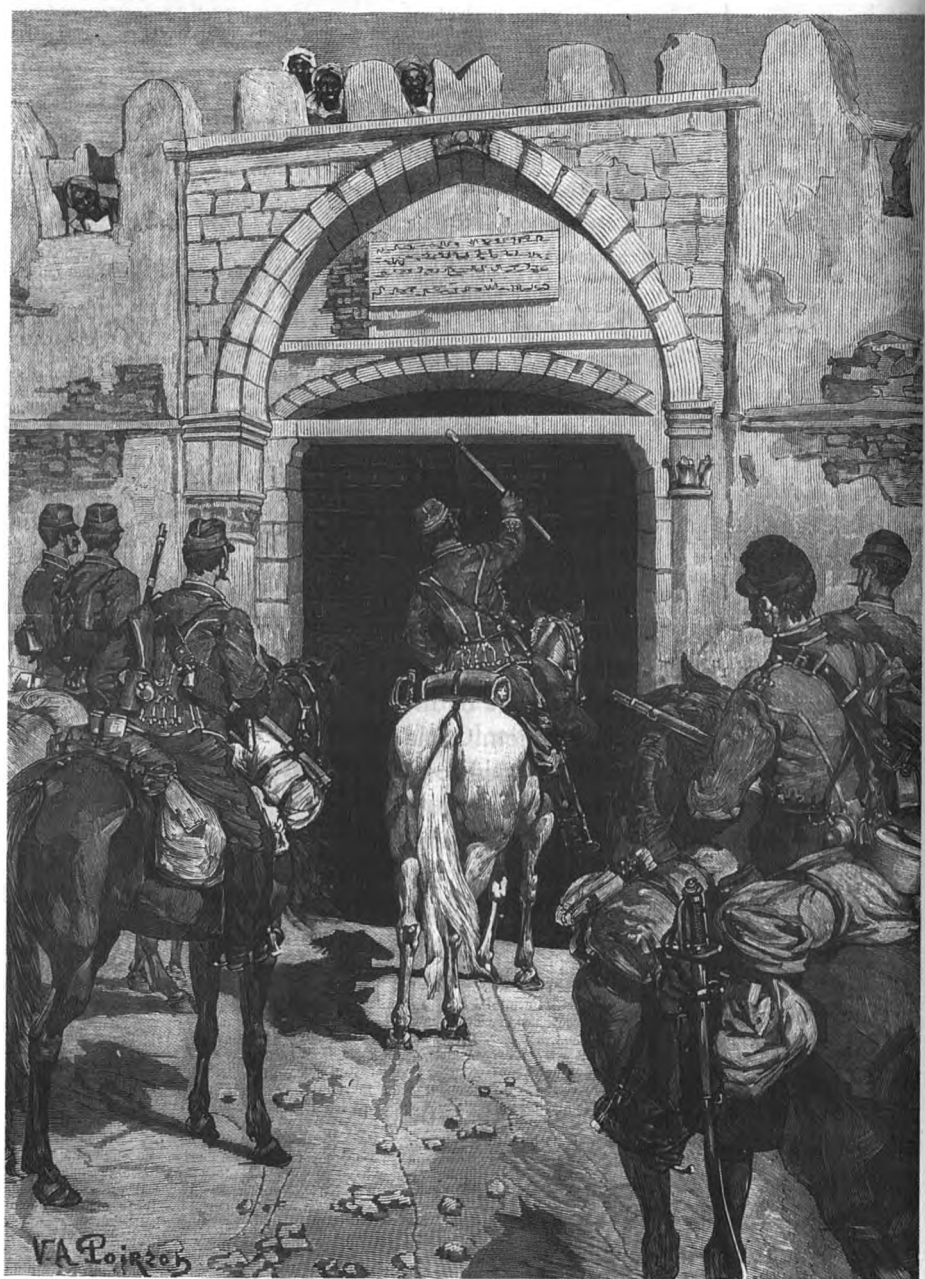
Nous recevons de notre correspondant particulier la dépêche suivante :

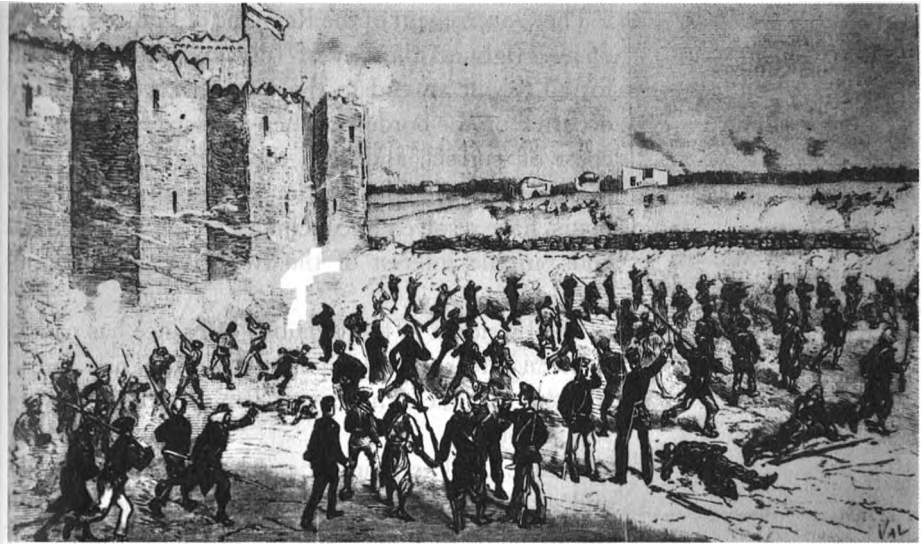
Tunis, 15 juillet, 8 h. matin.

Hier soir, réception brillante à la résidence du ministre de France. Tous les ministres du bey étaient présents, ainsi que divers généraux. Si-Aziz, faisant fonctions de premier ministre, est venu au nom du bey boire à la prospérité de la France et jurer une amitié inaltérable. Les deux fils de Si-Aly-Bey, l'héritier présomptif, sont venus apporter les hommages de leur père. Tous les notables musulmans de Tunis étaient présents; jamais on n'avait vu chose semblable. Cette réception, cette fête et la présence des notables tunisiens à la résidence française sont du meilleur effet. Tous sont unanimes à se louer de l'amabilité et de la cordialité du ministre français, qui sait si bien ramener les gens par son tact et sa politique. M. Roustan est bien l'homme de la situation, et, dans les circonstances actuelles, personne ne pourrait le remplacer à Tunis. Connaissant à fond les hommes et les choses de ce pays, il rendra les plus grands services à la France, et avec lui nous sommes certains de voir bientôt la Tunisie prospérer, au grand avantage de la France et de l'Algérie. La fête s'est terminée dans le plus grand ordre et le plus grand calme. Ainsi sont déjouées les manœuvres de ceux qui comptaient sur des troubles dans la capitale pour nous créer des embarras.

Toutes les précautions étaient prises, et, à la Menouba, nos troupes, au premier signal, seraient accourues à Tunis par un train spécial prêt et avec ses locomotives sous pression.







In fact, the discussions between the Bey and his advisors proved what the Husaynid family had feared : Tunisia was being annexed to Algeria, pure and simple. France knew the Bey feared this outcome. The risk was eliminated (the treaty maintained that the family could remain, and Consul Roustan was sent earlier to assure the Bey that no matter what happened, things would turn out favourably for him), and the French intervention was accepted.

It wasn't the same for the rest of the country. Once the treaty was signed, France had great difficulty asserting its authority. They bombarded Sfax in July, entered Kairouan by force in October and Gafsa and Gabes in November. The resistance, and it was truly a resistance, continued sporadically here and there and would continue in a sense in the South until the end of the First World War.

Text of the Treaty of Bardo

Here is the content of the treaty concluded on May 12 at the Palace of Kassar Said :

Prolonged siege and repeated attacks in front of the ramparts of Sfax.

*Opposite page:
October 26, 1881:
occupation of Kairouan.*

The Government of the Republic of France and that of his Highness the Bey of Tunis, wanting once and for all to put an end to the unrest that has recently occurred on the borders of these two states and on the coast of Tunisia, and with the desire to strengthen their former relations of friendship and good neighbours, have resolved to conclude a convention to these ends, in the interest of the two High Contracting Parties.

The President of the Republic of France has named General Breart as plenipotentiary, who has agreed with his Highness the Bey of Tunis on the following stipulations :

Article 1 - The peace, friendship and trade treaties and all other agreements currently existing between the Republic of France and his Highness the Bey of Tunis are expressly confirmed and renewed.

Article 2 - In order to assist the Government of the Republic of France in accomplishing the measures needed to attain the goal that the High Contracting Parties proposed, His Highness the Bey consents to allowing the French military authorities to occupy any point deemed necessary to reestablish order and security on the border and along the coast. This occupation will cease when the French and Tunisian military authorities acknowledge in common agreement that the local administration is able to guarantee order.

Article 3 - The government of the French Republic commits itself to providing ongoing support for His Highness the Bey of Tunis against all dangers that would menace either his person or His Highness' dynasty, or which would compromise the tranquility of his estates.

Article 4 - The government of the French Republic guarantees the execution of treaties currently in existence between the government of the Regency and various European powers.

Traité conclu entre le —
Gouvernement de la République
et le Gouvernement de S. A le Bey



Le Gouvernement de la —
République Française. et celui de
Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, voulant
empêcher à jamais le renouvellement
des désordres qui se sont produits —
récemment sur les frontières des deux
États et sur le littoral de la —
Tunisie et désireux de resserrer —
leurs anciennes relations d'amitié
et de bon voisinage ont résolu de
conclure une convention à cette fin
dans l'intérêt des deux Hautes Parties
Contractantes

*The Treaty of Bardo,
continued, signed
"Casr Said", May 12,
1881.*

En conséquence le Président de la République Française a nommé pour son Ambassadeur à St Pétersbourg M. de Camille Bréant qui est fondé d'accord avec son Altesse le Czar sur les dispositions suivantes.

Article 15
Les traités de paix, d'amitié et
de commerce et toutes autres conventions
existant actuellement entre la
République Française et Son Altesse
le Roy de Tunis sont expressément
confirmés et renouvelés.

Article 2
En vue de faciliter au _____
l'accomplissement des _____
Français l'accomplissement des _____
mesures qui'il doit prendre pour
attendre le but que se proposent
les Hautes Parties contractantes, Les

changements sont chargés de la
protection des intérêts nationaux et de
nationaux de la Régence du royaume
son Altesse le Duc d'Angoulême et de
travaux autres actes ayant son
caractère international ainsi en suite
Donne connaissance au Gouvernement
de la République Française et aux
de l'Etat entendu généralement avec
lui

Article 7
Le Gouvernement de la République
Française et le Gouvernement de
Son allié le Roy de Tunis se
conviennent de conclure un commun
accord de leur d'une organisation
inamovible de la Republique qui soit
de nature à assurer le service de
la dette publique et à garantir le
pays de l'insécurité de l'avenir.

Article 8
 Tous contributeurs se réservent leurs

imposée aux Indes orientales de la
Lauréole et du littoral. Une invention
admirable en détermination et d'effort
et le mode de reconnaissance d'un de
gouvernement de son littoral de
Ney et notre reconnaissance.

Cher 9.
Après de longues années de
correspondance, les années 48-49 -
marquées de guerre les Bismarcks
dépouillés de la République -
France, le Gouvernement de ce
Régime le Roy de Rome s'engage à
produire toute indépendance. 5 ans
de suppression de guerre, plus
l'île de Jersey, le port de guerre
de toutes parts des clubs de la -
Juni 18

Reçu le Roy de Tunis comme il
 est de l'ambassade militaire Tunis-
 sine de ce jour pour qu'elle
 soit reconnue pour servir le
 établissement de l'ordre et la
 sûreté de la province et de
 libéral. Cette reconnaissance est
 lorsque les ambassadeurs militaires Tunis-
 sine ont été reconnus d'un
 commun accord que l'administration
 locale et en état de garantir le
 maintien de l'ordre.

Article 8.
Le Gouvernement de la —
République Française prend l'engagement
de n'être ni constant, ni éternel. —
C'est à dire à Roy de France quel
fut d'abord qui menaçait la
monarchie de la dynastie de Robespierre
à dire au son empire constituant en
transmission de la Bastille.

siècle et le mouvement de la République Française se porte -
 vers de l'exécution des traités
 actuellement existants entre le
 mouvement de la République et
 les divers gouvernements étrangers

Article 5
Le Gouvernement de la —
République Française sera —
auprès de son Avenir le Ouy de
Tenir par son Ministre Président
qui confiera à l'occupation du —
pouvoir acte et qui sera l'intermédiaire
des rapports du Gouvernement —
L'après avec les Autorités Françaises
pour toutes les affaires communes —
aux deux pays

Article 6
des Agents diplomatiques et -
consulaires de la France en Iran

de la République Française et -
l'instrument de ratification sera
envoyé à Son Altesse le Roy de
Tunis dans le plus bref délai -
possible /

Case said, 12 Moai 1991
4 ستر الطائفة

g^d Mear

Article 5 - The government of the French Republic is to be represented alongside His Highness the Bey of Tunis by a resident minister who will ensure the execution of the present Act and will be an intermediary between the French government and Tunisian authorities concerning all affairs involving both countries.

Article 6 - Diplomatic and consular agents of France in foreign countries will be charged with protecting Tunisian interests and the nationals of the Regency. In return, His Highness the Bey will not conclude any international act without having previously informed the government of the French Republic and without having previously agreed it.

Article 7 - The government of the French Republic and that of His Highness the Bey of Tunis will agree on a common basis for the financial organisation of the Regency so that the service of the public debt and the rights of Tunisia's creditors will be guaranteed.

Article 8 - A war contribution will be imposed on rebellious tribes on the border and on the coast. A subsequent convention determining the figure and the mode of renewing will be the responsibility of the government of His Highness the Bey.

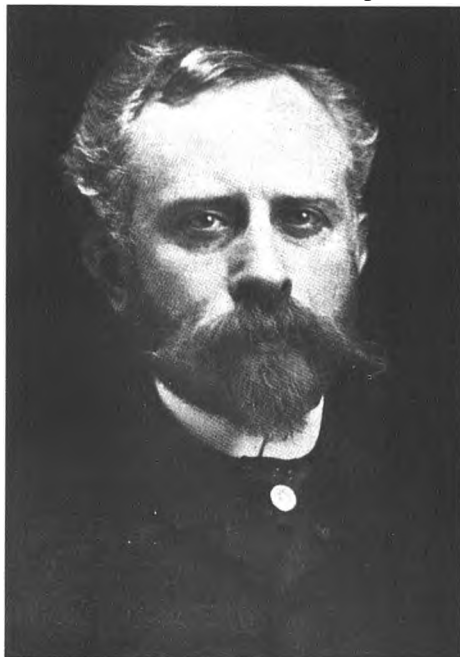
Article 9 - To protect the Algerian possessions of the French Republic from the smuggling of arms and munitions for war, the government of his Highness the Bey of Tunis is committed to prohibiting all introduction of arms or munitions of war on the island of Jerba, in the port of Gabes and other ports in the south of Tunisia.

Article 10 - This treaty is subject to ratification by the government of the French Republic and the instrument of ratification will be submitted to his Highness the Bey of Tunis at the earliest possible date.

1883

DIRECT FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

*Paul Cambon,
Resident Minister.*



The fiction of an intervention to protect Algeria from Khroumire raids and to protect the Bey from the unruliness of his subjects would not last long. Tunisia was certainly not united with Algeria but it was subjected little by little to the same colonial administrative regime. The regime of *direct administration* maintained the appearance of the Tunisian State, and it worked by *co-sovereignty*. The entire Tunisian hierarchy was paralleled with a French hierarchy which had the

real power. The Bey was placed under the control of the Resident General, who became the Minister of Foreign Affairs (with the decree of 9 June 1881) and president of the Council of Ministers, chaired by the Prime Minister. The Tunisian ministers had their equivalent in the French Directors; the Caids had the French Civil Inspectors. The traditional civil service administrations were left in the hands of the Tunisians, but the modern ones (finance, public works, the post office and telegraph, etc.) devolved to the French. In the end, all official acts (decrees, orders, memorandums, decisions about nominations or organisation) were dependent on the French hierarchy, including the text of law



*All Bey III (1817-1902),
signatory to the La
Marsa Convention.*

(beylical decree) which could only be validated by the official stamp of the Resident General.

It could have been worse. Charles-Andre Julien recalled (in *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche*) that beginning in 1882, the new Resident General, Paul Cambon, unveiled his plan to “establish step by step a Ministry of the Bey with French staff, who would govern Tunisia in the name of the Bey at all levels.” Indeed, he created an agreement with Bey Muhammad Sadok on October 30, 1882 that gave the French government the right to organise administrative and judicial practices as they saw fit, to establish tax rates,

*Right and following
pages:
The La Marsa
Convention, signed on
June 8, 1883. The word
“Protectorate”, which did
not feature in the Treaty
of Bardo, is now included
in black and white.*

the basis and collection of taxes and regulate resource allocation ! It was the French government that did not want that and Parliament refused to ratify it.

The *Convention of La Marsa*, signed by the new Bey, Ali, on June 8, 1883, was even worse than agreements signed in the Treaty of Bardo. It established a *direct administration* respecting procedures better than the convention annulled in 1882.

Anyway, this convention was not an international act between states, but an accord created to facilitate implementation of the treaty. This ambiguity would favour France by creating new links tying Tunisia to the French administration, and it would also be used by nationalists to say that the Treaty of Bardo was expressly temporary in nature. The French would talk about *subsequent actions* (meaning everything deriving from the Convention of La Marsa) and the Tunisians would hold onto the part of the Tunisian state that the Treaty of Bardo had not dissolved. In fact, even the term *protectorate* was not in the initial treaty, but in the first article of the Convention of La Marsa (“In order to enable the French government to establish their Protectorate, his Highness the Bey commits itself to administrative, judicial and financial reforms that the French government would deem useful”). And, it’s not by chance that the nationalist party would later take the name Destour (the Constitution), because the Constitution of 1861 was not formally repealed, but suspended. France would also play on ambiguity when they wanted to give up some control in 1922. They agreed to the creation of a *Grand Council*, since there was an assembly mentioned in the text of 1861, but this Council would have *joint sovereignty*, French and Tunisian.

Convention entre
la France et la Tunisie
pour régler les rapports
respectifs des deux
pays

S. A. le Roy de
Tunis. prenant en
considération la
nécessité d'améliorer
la situation intérieure
de la Tunisie dans
les conditions prévues
par le traité du 12
Mars 1881 et le
Gouvernement de la
République ayant à
cœur de répondre à
ce désir et de consolider
ainsi les relations
d'amitié heureusement
existantes entre les
deux pays sont
convenus de conclure
une convention relative
à cet effet en -
conséquence le -
Président de la -

الحمد لله
اتفاق بين فرنسا والقطر
التونسي لتخفيف العلاقات
بين هذين القطرين

لما كانت غاية حصر الباي
المعظم متجهة الى تحسين الأحوال
الداخلية في القطر التونسي وفقا
لأحكام المعاهدة المبرمة في الثاني
عشر من شهر ماي سنة ١٨٨١
وكانت حكومة الجمهورية رغبة
خالصة الرغبة في تحقيق مراد
حضرة توفيقا لعري الوداد
الميمون الكائن بين القطرين
العامين اتفق الطرفان على
عقد اتفاق بخصوص هذا الشأن
واعقد رئيس الجمهورية في ذلك
على مسيو بياربول ميمون
وزير المقيم بتونس الممتاز
بنيشان الكبير دونور من
صديق اوجيسيه ونيشان العهد
ونيشان الكبار من الصبي
الكبير الخ الخ بغيرم الزبير
المعرو اليه المخبرات المؤدنة
باعتقاد في فيه الخطلة واذ
فقدت في تمام الحكم و
الانتظام ارم مع حصر الباقي

République Française
a nommé pour son
plénipotentiaire, M^r
Pierre Paul Cambon,
son ministre résident
à Tunis. Officier de
la Légion d'Honneur,
décoré de l'Aghed et
grand'croix du
Voïchan Oufikhae, etc
etc, lequel, après
avoir communiqué
ses pleins pouvoirs,
trouvés en bonne et
due forme, a arrêté,
avec S. A. le Bey de
Tunis les dispositions
suivantes

Article premier

Afin de faciliter
au Gouvernement
Français l'accomplissement
de son Protectorat,
S. A. le Bey de Tunis
s'engage à procéder
aux réformes administratives,
judiciaires et financières
que le Gouvernement
Français jugera utiles

المعظم الشرط الملبية في
البصل الآتية

البصل الأول

لما كان مراد عظمة الباي المعظم
ان يسهل للحكومة الفرنسية
اتمام ماينها تكفل باجراء
الاصلاحات الادارية والعدلية
والمالية التي ترى الحكومة المشار
اليها فائدة في اجرائها



Article 2.

البصل الثاني

Le Gouvernement Français garantira, à l'époque et sous les conditions qui lui paraîtront les meilleures, un emprunt à — émis par S. O. le Bey, pour la conversion ou le remboursement de la dette consolidée s'élevant à la somme de 125 millions de francs et de la dette flottante jusqu'à concurrence d'un — maximum de — 17.550.000 francs.

S. O. le Bey s'interdit de contracter, à l'avenir, aucun emprunt pour le compte de la Régence sans l'autorisation du Gouvernement Français.

Article 3.

Sur les revenus de la

الحكومة البرانسوية تضمن فرضاً يعقد حصة الباى المعظم لتحويل اولى بيع الدين الموحد البالغ ١٢٥ مليون فرانك والدين السائر الذى لا يمكن ان يتجاوز قدره ١٧,٥٥٠,٠٠٠ فرانك وليكنها هى التى تختار الزمن و الشروط الموافقة لذلك وقد تعهد حصة الباى المعظم ان لا يفقد فرضاً فى الاستقبال لحساب الامالة التونسية ذون اذن الحكومة البرانسوية

البصل الثالث

ياتخذ حصة الباى المعظم

Régence, S. O. le Roy
 prélèvera : 1^{re} les sommes
 nécessaires pour assurer
 le service de l'emprunt
 garanti par la France,
 2^{de} la somme de -
 deux millions de -
 Piastres (1.200.000 francs,
 montant de sa liste
 civile, le surplus des
 revenus devant être
 affecté aux dépenses
 d'administration de
 la Régence et au
 remboursement des
 charges du Protectorat.

Article H.

Le présent arrangement
 confirme et complète,
 en tant que de besoin,
 le traité du 12 Mai
 1881. Il ne modifiera
 pas les dispositions
 précédemment —
 intervenues pour le
 règlement des contributions
 de guerre.

من مداخيل الملكة : أولا المبالغ
 اللازمة للإقامة بمقتضيات
 الغرض الذي تضمنه برانسبا
 ثانيا راتبه السنوي الملوكي
 وقدره فيليونان الزكاة التوضيحية إلى
 مران ٢٠٠,٠٠٠ ليرة وما زاد على
 ذلك يعين لمصاريف إدارة
 الأمانة ودفع مصاريف الحماية

البصل الرابع

هذا الاتفاق مكمّل ومثبت
 للمعاهدة المبرمة في ١٢ من شهر
 ماي ١٨٨١ سنة فيها يحتاج
 منها إلى التثبيت والتكميل
 ولا تتغير به الترتيب التي
 سبق وضعا بما يتعلق بتقرير
 الغرامة الحربية

البصل الخامس Article

La présente convention sera soumise à la ratification du Gouvernement de la République Française et l'instrument de la dite ratification sera remis à et à le Bey de Tunis dans le plus bref délai possible.

En foi de quoi les soussignés ont dressé le présent acte et l'ont revêtu de leurs cachets.

Fait à la Marsa le 8 Juin 1888



Fait Canclony

تقرض هذا العقد على الحكومة البرانسوية لتوقعه وتعداد محجة التوقيع الى حققة الباي المعظم بما امكن من السرعة وايدائنا محجة ما تقدم فخر هذا الرسم وحقه الموقعان بحقيهما



تسليم
11/11/88

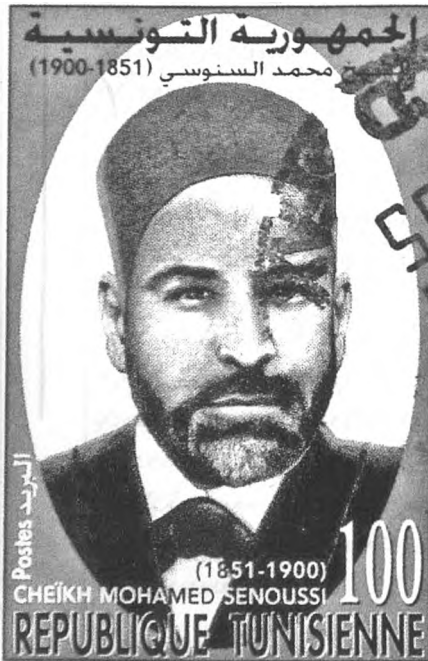
1885

« THE TUNISIAN AFFAIR » INVOLVING THE PROMINENT CITIZENS OF TUNIS

Opposite page:

*Marsa Palace, site of the
1885 demonstration.*

*Postage stamp bearing
the image of Sheikh
Mohamed Senoussi
(1851-1900).*

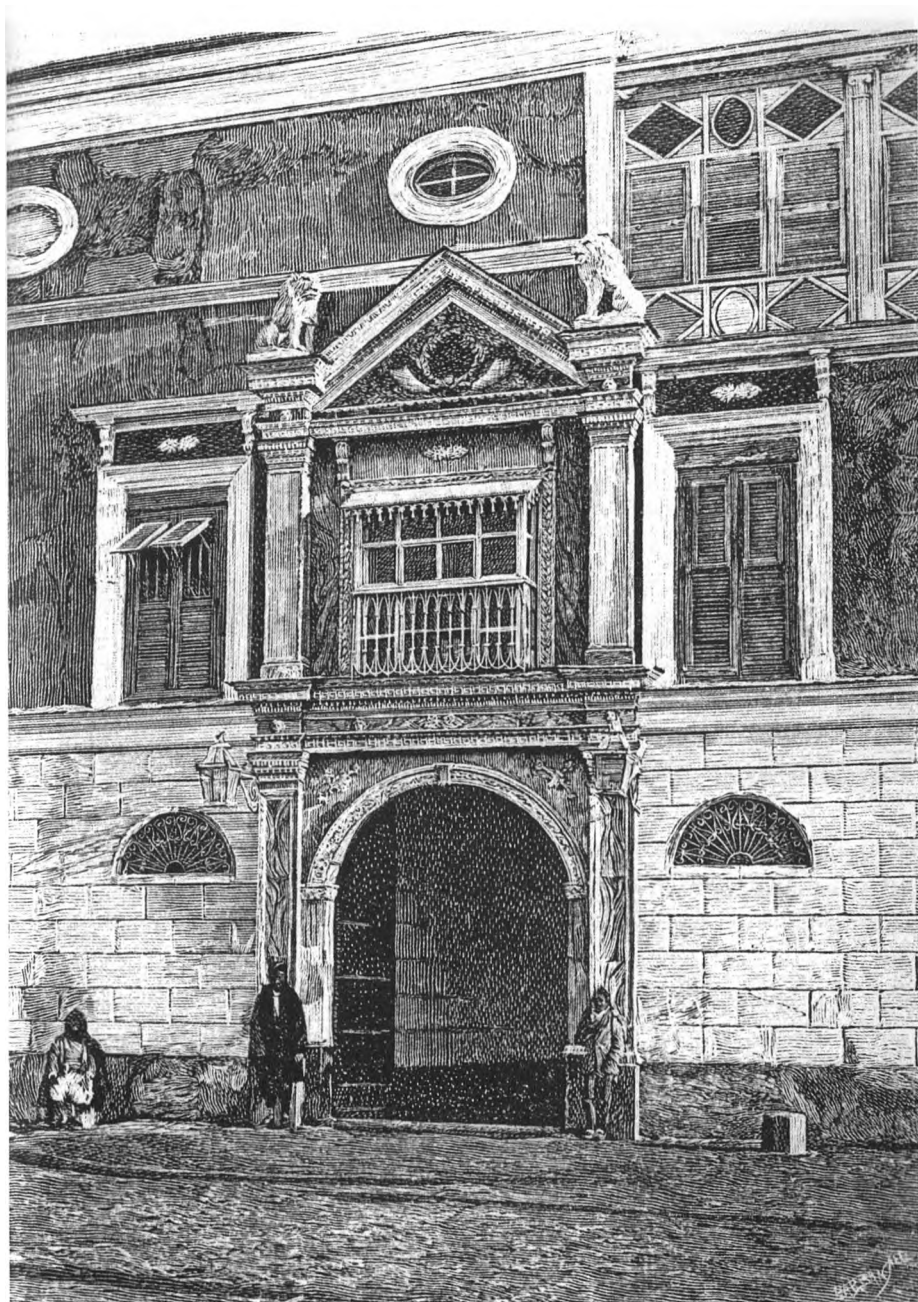


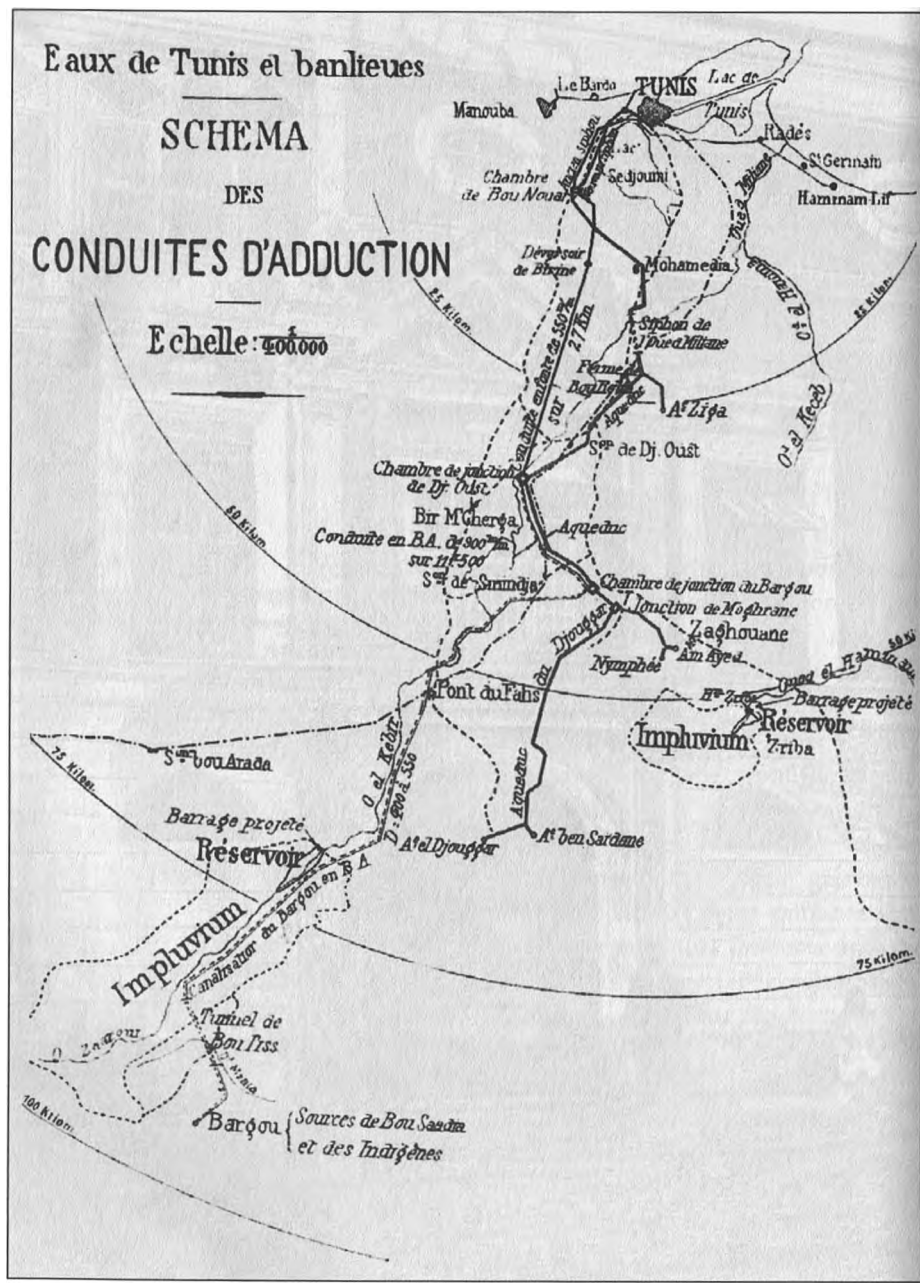
A. FAKHET 2002

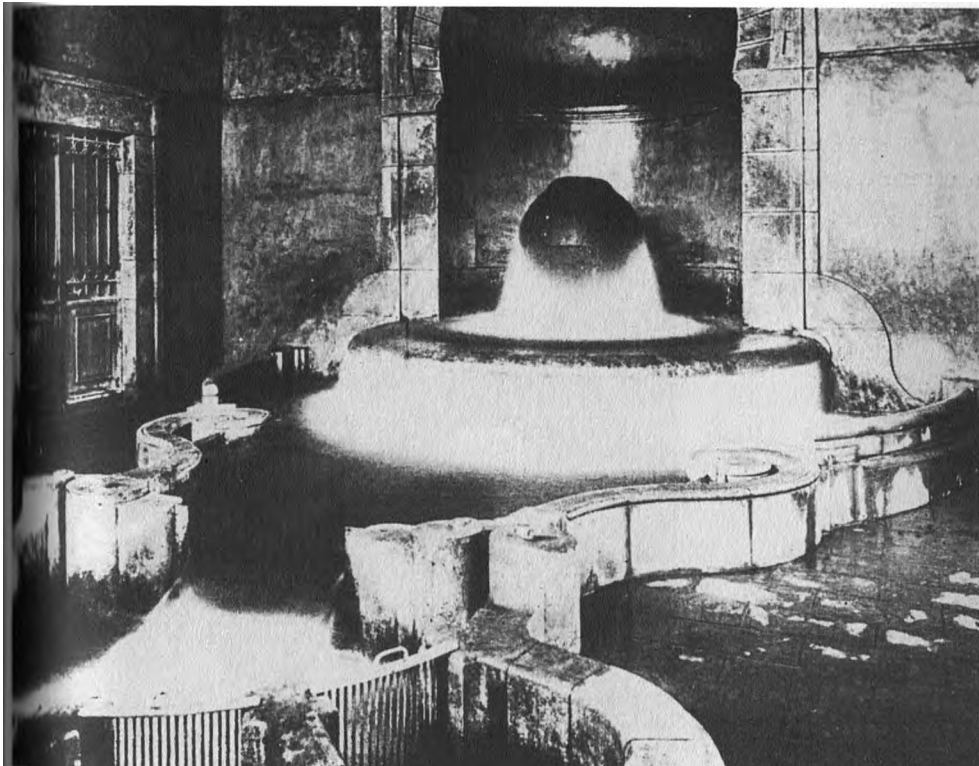
Imp. Poste Tunis

It was not long before the population, that had been handed over and whose leader had accepted the diktat, reacted. The cities that the army had bombarded

before the occupation by force Sfax, Gabes, Gafsa, Kairouan and its surroundings reacted without co-ordinating, spontaneously, leading to their defeat, one by one. On April 6, 1885, forty prominent citizens of the capital, along with 3,000 locals, went to La Marsa to present a petition to Bey Ali. It summarised their grievances against decisions about public assets, imports versus local products and the new tariffs on water coming from Zaghouan, etc. What would be called in France "The Tunisian Affair" involved a number of stages : a meeting between the prominent citizens and the Bey's ministers at the Sidi Mahrez mausoleum, a meeting they had with Prime Minister Mohamed Al-Aziz Bou-Attour, their complaint before the







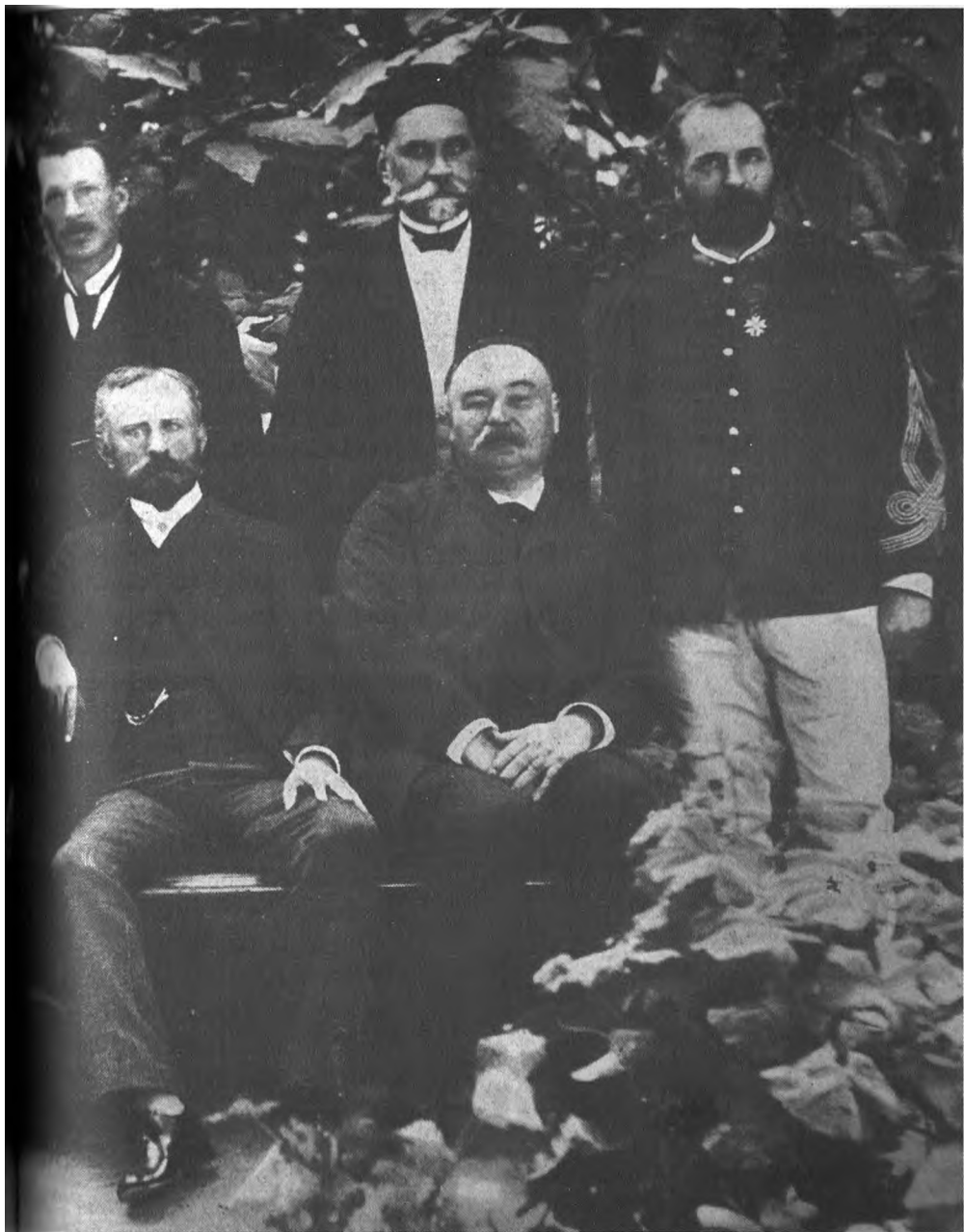
courts against the new French water company of Zaghouan and even a letter they addressed to the President of the French Chamber of Deputies. This was during the first years of the French Protectorate. These citizens believed that they could talk with the authorities. The heads, or presumed heads, of this movement, a total of thirteen citizens, were relieved of their functions, like Professor Mohamed Senoussi (an old friend of Kheireddine and the head of the *Habus* Ahmed Al-Ouartattani, a reformist Zaytunian Sheikh), and Mohamed Dallaji, as well as two Amines from trade associations, that of the perfumers (Attarine) and that of the saddlers (Sarrajine).

Water arriving at the Bab-Sidi Abdallah reservoir in Tunis, late 19th century.

Opposite page : Supply pipes for drinking water in Tunis. The people complained about the cost of the new water brought from Zaghouan.

*The first government
of the Protectorate.
Left to right, seated:
Robin, Al-Aziz Bou
Attour, Paul Cambon
and Depienne. Standing:
Regnault, Maurice
Bompard, Grant,
Mohamed Jallouli and
Commander Coyne.*





1896

AL-KHALDOUNIA

Bechir Sfar
(1856-1917).



Bechir Sfar, who we've already seen active at the head of the first class of students at the

Sadiki College during his university studies in France, and who was now head of the administration of the *Habus*, did not lose sight of his role as an educator, a role that he intended to continue as much as he could. On December 22, 1896, he created the *Al-Khaldounia Association* to give an opportunity for graduates of the Great Mosque *Az-Zaytuna* (more commonly called

La Zitouna) to take courses and attend conferences in subjects they were not taught at the venerable Koranic university.

Ten years later, it was once again Bechir Sfar who, on March 24, 1906, gave a speech before the Resident General Stephen Pichon, asking for reforms the Tunisian people wanted.

This speech, rousing the ire of the colonists, would become memorable since Sfar, a known moderate, had great prestige in the eyes of the Tunisians and was respected by the French administration.

First page of the
articles of associa-
tion and internal
regulations of the
Khaldounia
association, Tunis,
1896.

مقدمة قانون الجمعية الخلدونية

حسن

البصل الأول

تأسست بنود جمعية تونس الخلدونية

مفصل الجمعية

البصل الثاني

مفصل الجمعية البحث عن الوسائل الخوصلة لتوضيح نظام الحارة المسلمين
ولذلك كانت من عزيمته خصوصاً أن ترتب حوسباً وخطباً أرماء ثلثه في علم التاريخ
والجغرافيه والمعارف البشريه والمقتضاه السياسيه وعم جميع الصلح والطبيعه
والكيا وغير ذلك - ثانياً ان تحل مسائل الاستكمال في الحارة على ما هو اهل لذلك
ثالثاً ان تعين على انشاء مكتبات - رابعاً ان تحرك جريده تمشي بالعميه
والبرضاويه والعرفه المصلحه من هاته الجريده ان تعين على تعريف القراء العرب
للبرضاوين والقرن البرضاوين للعرب

البصل الثالث

الجمعية تقي على نفسه المناقشات في السياسة او الدين ونشئ ذلك

تركيب الجمعية

البصل الرابع

تركيب الجمعية من اعضاء شريسيه واعضاء مؤسسين واعضاء مباشرين واعضاء
مكتبيين

البصل الخامس

يعض لقب العضو الشريبي بالجلست العام على مقضى فطلب الفصح المباشر

البصل السادس

الاعضاء المؤسسون هم الذين يدعونه مبلغاً اقله مائه فرنك

البصل السابع

يعرض لقبول العضو المباشر ان يقومه عضواً مباشراً ويقبله الفصح المباشر

البصل الثامن

على كل عضو مباشر ان يؤخذ اذنه على بركه في السنه

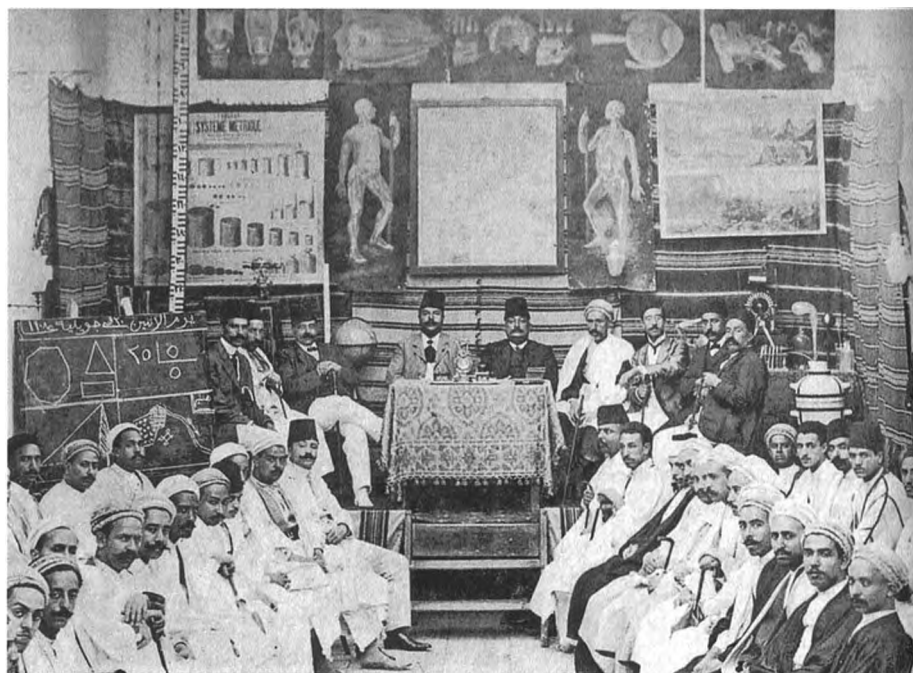
البصل التاسع

العضو المختار هو الذي يعين بمقتضىه على تحريك جريده الجمعية

البصل العاشر

البصل الحادي عشر

رأس مال الجمعية يتجمع من اداوات الاعضاء المباشرين ومداير الاعضاء المؤسسين
وجباة اخرى



الحمد لله

هذه جريدة عموم اعضاء الجمعية الخلدونية على اختلاف
اصناف عقولهم من تاريخ تأسيسها الى خرة دجنبر سنة ١٩٠٠

اعضاء محضون

سو الامير الجليل المرفع شأنه الراضع في افق العالي برهانه
امير الامراء سيدي محمد الهادي باي ولي المهد حرس
الله مهجته وجهته

نجله الكريم البرنس سيدي الطاهر باي
اخوه البرنس سيدي البشير باي

فضيلة مولانا الشيخ سيدي محمود بن الخوجه شيخ الاسلام
جناب امير الامراء سيدي محمد الجلولي وزير القلم والاستشارة
الاميرة المصونة صدقة الدر البرنيس نرلي هانم
الشيخ سيدي محمد محسن امام جامع الزيتونة الاعظم
الشيخ سيدي عمر بن الشيخ الفتي المالكي

List of supporting mem-
bers of Al-Khaldounia,
from the date it was
created until December
1,1909. Crown Prince
Mohamed El-Hedi Bey,
his son Tahar Bey, his
brother Bechir Bey,
Sheikh el-Islam
(Hanafi), Mahmoud
Belkhouja, Mohamed
Jallouli (Ministre de la
Plume), Princess Nazli
(Nazli Fadhel, niece of
the Khedive of Egypt
and wife of the Tunisian
Khalil Bouhajib), and
the Maliki mufti Sheikh
Amor Ben Sheikh.

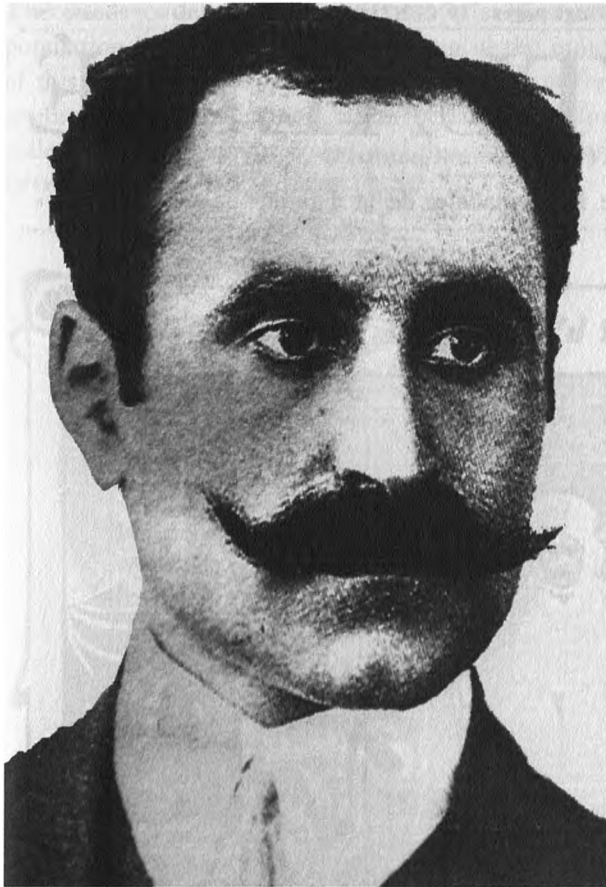
Opposite page:
Members of Al-
Khaldounia receive the
Sheikh from Al-Azhar,
the Egyptian Mohamed
Abduh.
Bechir Sfar and
Mohamed Lasram
chair a meeting at
Al-Khaldounia on July
20,1908. The room is
equipped with modern
teaching aids.

1905

ALUMNI OF SADIKI COLLEGE

The lawyer Ali Bash Hamba, having already created the Alumni Association of Sadiki College on December 23, 1905, assembled a group of elite alumni with a mission to continue the aim of the reformer Kheireddine : to modernise Tunisia. The *Sadikians* considered themselves well equipped to serve their people in the face of a powerful coloniser whose





*All Bash Hamba
(Tunis 1876 - Istanbul,
October 29,1918).*

language and mind they knew well. In the spirit of Kheireddine's reforms, they added defending the interests of a powerless population and ambitious youth to their cause.

On April 27,1906, the *Thala Affair* would explode. It was a protest that followed troubles that took place in the region of the Frashish arising from land that had been confiscated and tax burdens that had built up. The protest at the offices of Civil Control turned into a massacre with twelve dead and seven wounded.

L'ACTUALITÉ

DIRECTION : L. RAOUL
ADMINISTRATION : L. RAOUL & FILS
PARIS — Tél. 106-65

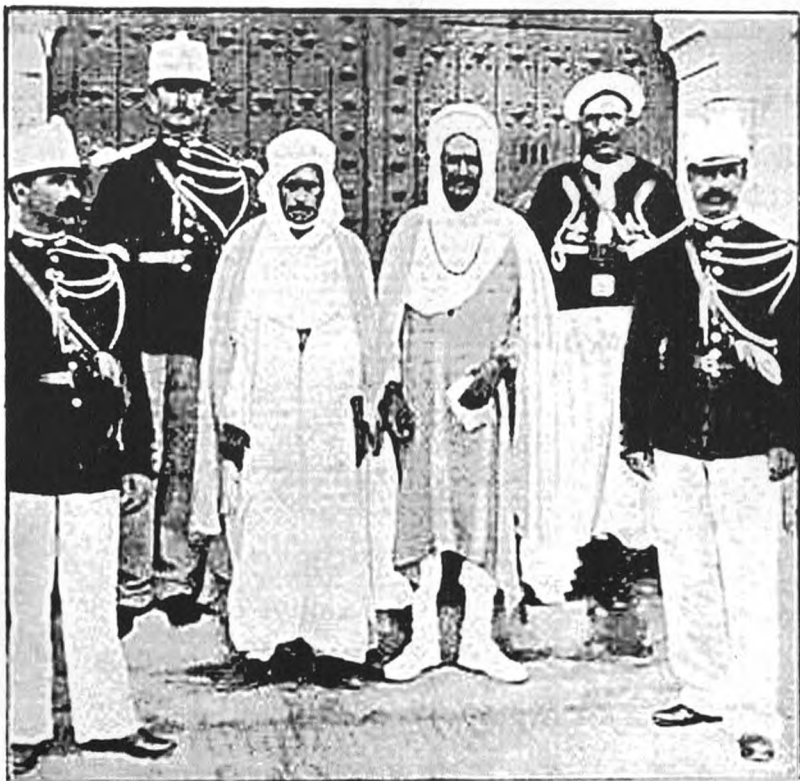
FRANÇAISE, ÉTRANGÈRE, ARTISTIQUE & LITTÉRAIRE ILLUSTRÉE

Revue Hebdomadaire de la Famille

ABONNEMENTS

France par an 4.25 10 an 40
Étranger 5.25 10 an 50

LA VÉRITÉ SUR L'AFFAIRE DE KASSERINE-THALA



ARRESTATION DE DEUX DES MENEURS

(Assassinat de deux colons et d'un ouvrier italien. — Abjuration de trois cavaliers de la roussette.)

The need to defend the interests of the Tunisian population became much more pressing in the mind of this elite, increasingly aware of the dangers of the confiscation of land routes, areas of land used for collective exploitation or *Habus*, and their distribution to colonists.

*Opposite page:
The Kasserine-Thala
affair made the cover of
the Parisian magazine
L'Actualite of December
14, 1906. Amor Ben
Othman and Ali Ben
Mohamed Ben Salah are
the two main accused.*



*Medal from the
agricultural show,
Tunis 1906.*

1907

THE YOUNG TUNISIANS PARTY AND *LE TUNISIEN*

In 1907, Ali Bash Hamba launched the French language newspaper, *Le Tunisien* to defend the “interests of the native population”. The first issue premiered on February 7. From this point forward, national demands had their newspaper. The decree of August 16, 1887 eliminated the previous guarantee regarding the freedom to publish newspapers, but only those linked to the French colonists took advantage of it with *La Tunisie* (1887), *La Petite Tunisie* (1888) and *La De'peche Tunisienne* (1885) as well as *Le Colon Franfaï*s and *La Tunisie Franfaï*se. *Le Tunisien*, the first French language newspaper by Tunisians, would

*The first edition
(February, 7 1907) of
the weekly Le Tunisien,
"the organ that reflects
indigenous interests,"
edited by Ali Bash
Hamba.*



1911

THE DJELLAZ AFFAIR AND TRIPOLI OCCUPIED BY ITALY

Mustafa Kemal (the future Atatürk), dressed in Libyan costume, took part in the Ottoman counter-offensive at Tobruk in 1911, where he succeeded in pushing back the Italian army.



The Young Tunisians protested in 1911 against the Italian occupation of Tripoli and organised a show of solidarity with their neighbours, whose destinies had been linked with Tunisians since the time of Carthage. The following year, France established a protectorate in Morocco, adding its monarchy to their colonial model. For the people of North Africa, it was as if the Catholic *La Reconquista*, another form of Crusade, was still taking place and causing passionate reactions. In this atmosphere, something happened that sparked the fire. The city of Tunis decided to register the Muslim cemetery of Djellaz, a place



تخليد الذكرى
الذين استشهدوا
فد سبيل الوطن

يوم 16 ذو القعدة 1329
الذي هو 7 نوفمبر 1911

من هذا الموقع انطلقت حوادث
فيها تصدى الشعب لتحديات
الاستعمار الفرنسي الذي حاول
استئصال الفكرة الإسلامية وتسخيرها
لأرضه وعبء الشعب عن رضائه مع اشتقائه
بطاير المستعمر في اللاسلال إلى عالمي

من سقط عشرات الضحايا
وامتحننت تونس في الحديد من أبنائها
واعدم فيما بعد الشهيدان
المهوبك الجرحاء والشاذلي القطاري

*Previous page:
Monument erected at
Bab-Alioua in memory of
the victims of November
7, 1911 in Djellaz,
including the two
guillotined martyrs
Mannoubi Jarjar and
Chadli Guetary.*



particularly sacred with the Zaouia {*marabout*) of Sidi Abu-l-Hasan Ash-Shadli, at the top of the hill and its *maghara* (cave to remember the dead). The French law effective on July 1, 1885, extended to Tunisia, and was greeted with enthusiasm by the French colonists, who used the Land Registry to register land often acquired thanks to arbitrary administrative procedures.



Colonial postcard describing the incident at Djellaz as a "Muslim revolt". The caption reads: "Mr Tridon, director of French Tunisia, taking notes on Place Bab Souika. "

For Tunisians, each lot that was registered was a loss for their national heritage. As a result, they saw the Djellaz Affair not simply as being about registration, but the prelude to something more underhand ; dispossession, with the cemetery land becoming the property of the city and future land development. The affair provoked a true popular uprising on November





7, 1911, and confrontations with the armed forces, leaving both dead and wounded. There were numerous arrests and 35 were convicted, seven condemned to death. Two of those convicted (Jarjar and Guetary) were guillotined. The French administration declared a state of siege that would last until 1921.

A demonstration is repressed at Bab Souika, November 8, 1907.

Opposite page : Abdeljelil Zaouche at the Djellaz trial.

Manoubi Ben Ali Khadraoui, known as El-Jarjar, and Chedli Ben Amor El-Guetary, guillotined in 1912.

1912

THE TRAMWAY AFFAIR AND TUNISIA UNDER SIEGE UNTIL 1921

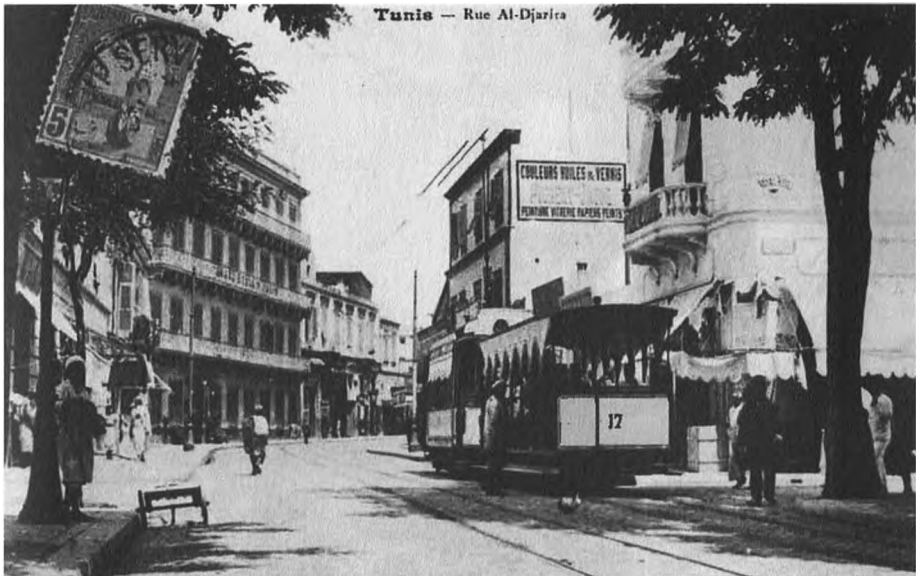
*Photo of a company
share in the Societe des
Tramways de Tunis.*



As if that weren't enough to strain relations between the population and the administration, there was another incident three months later. In February 1912, an Italian tramway conductor in Tunis ran over

a young Tunisian in Bab Souika, a working-class, rebellious neighbourhood. After this incident, Tunisians began boycotting the tram and began a movement demanding equal salaries and work conditions for the company's employees.

The administration accused the Young Tunisians of organising this movement and suspended *Le Tunisien*, exiled Ali Bash Hamba, the Sheikh Thaalbi, and attorneys Hasan Guellaty and Mohamed Noomane. They sent Chedli Darghouth and Sadok Zmerli to Tatuine and arrested and sent Mokhtar Kahia to the Beylical prison (*Zindala*) at Bardo. Bash Hamba would not return to Tunisa. He settled in Switzerland first where he joined his brother Mhamed, who launched



*The tramway at
Bab Souika.*

another paper in Geneva, *La Revue du Maghreb*. The two brothers began working with tireless organiser, the Syrian Shakib Arslan and their fight would take on another dimension. Ah settled in Istanbul and created the *Committee for the Liberation of the Maghreb*.

The core of the nationalist movement was there. The lineage continued on from Kabadou, Kheireddine, General Husayn (whose daughter Ferida would marry Bash Hamba), Sfar and their followers. Noomane would become the lawyer for the Destourians ; Zaouche would manage the city of Tunis ; Kheirallah Ben Mustapha would become famous for his way with words in French ; until others appeared who would become a part of the march towards nationalism, like Chedli Darghouth, Mohamed Lasram, Hassouna Al-Ayachi and Abdelaziz Thaalbi. The Young Tunisians did not constitute a party in the modern sense of the word, but they had their newspapers, their doctrine, their



*Habib Bourguiba and
the Syrian Shakib Arslan
(at a meeting in the
mid-1940s).*



Mohamed Lasram.



*Abdeljelil Zaouche
(1873- 1947).*

influence and especially their attraction for the elite and the youth of the country. They showed their talent for complementing each other ; when one person succeeded with something, the others were supportive. We would see many of them later either as activists or working in the machinery of the State. One of the most famous survivors of the first movement, Abdelaziz Thaalbi, became pivotal in the actions that, at the end of World War I, would give birth to a true party : the *Destour*.

1920

THE DESTOUR

The birth of a party depends on the circumstances, its connections to the past and external relationships. It's normal that the survivors of the experiment in the first decade of the century recalled the newspaper *Le Tunisien*. It is also normal that the wave of hope that roused the world of the colonised touched Tunisians in the same way as Indians or Egyptians after the paper's publication of American President Wilson's

Abdelaziz Thaalbi



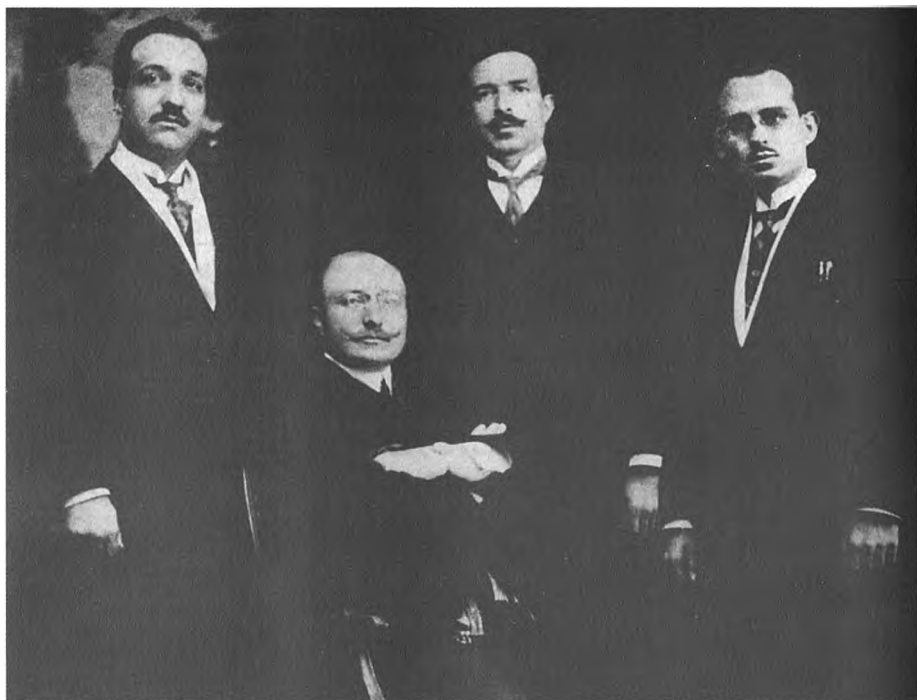
fourteen points supporting the freedom of people and their right to self-determination in January 1918. At the same time, with France among the victors of World War I, it seemed to have the effect of obliging Tunisians to return to the previously restrictive relationship they had before. All of these things would be evident in the different stages of development of the Destour Party.

The end of the Great War emphasised the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Not only was it no longer a question of there being a supra-national authority, but Turkey, the heart of the Ottoman Empire, was itself threatened with extinction. The entire Fertile Crescent (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq),



*Hassen Guellaty.
Courtesy of
Mohamed Bennani.*

coveted by the Hashemite family of the Cherif of Mecca, the Beys of Tunisia and the Viceroys of Egypt had to function autonomously. Egypt sent a delegation (*Wafd*) to London to negotiate independence from England. The Hashemite family was tricked by the promises of British Minister Lord Balfour at the World Jewish Congress for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and then saw themselves chased from Lebanon and Syria by France. They would have to make do with having Iraq under a British protectorate

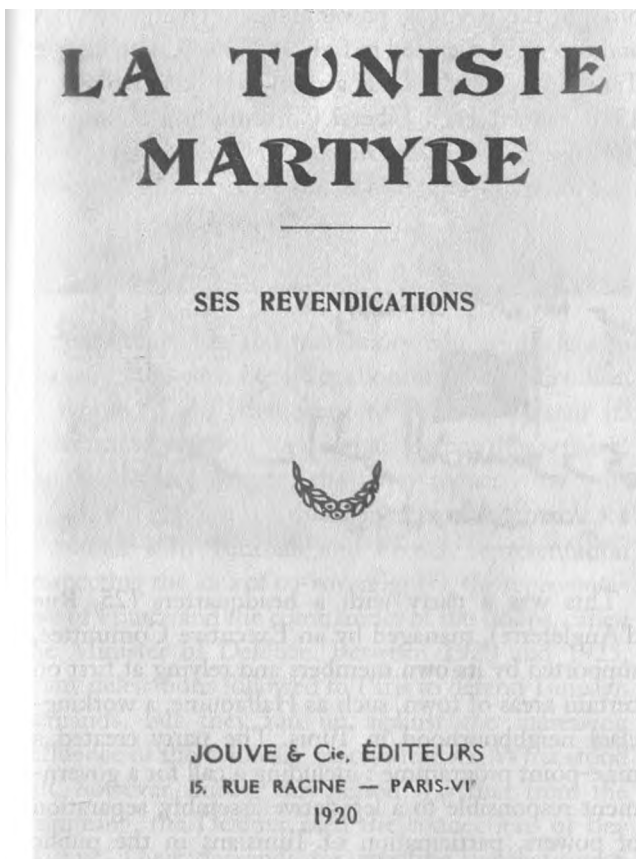


Tunisian delegation in Paris in December 1924. Left to right: Salah Farhat, Ahmed Essafi, Taieb Jemail, Taoufik Madani.

and a Transjordanian wasteland. Tunisians faced different experiences, one disappointment after the other. Legally, even the notion of Regency no longer made sense. Arabic texts gave the Bey the title of *Possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis* (*Sahib Al-Mamlaka At-Tunisiya*). However the name *Regency* in French would stick, as if France wanted to maintain this fiction, while Egypt agreed to an accord with the English, changing its status from Viceroyalty (*khedival*) to Kingdom (*mamlaka*).

First the *Parti Tunisien* was created in Tunis in the spring of 1919 by public figures like Abdelaziz Thaalbi, Ahmed Essafi and Hassen Guellaty. They insisted on creating a Constitution (*Destour*) and addressing a petition to President Wilson asking him

to apply the principle of self-determination to Tunisia. They discovered that the victors understood Wilson's principles to apply to Central and Austro-Hungarian Europe and not the colonised countries. They then focused on France to fight against the propaganda that made the colonial regime look like it was on a *civilising mission*. In January 1920, a book was published in Paris titled *La Tunisie martyre (Tunisia, the Martyr)*. This described the reality of the Protectorate : the expropriation of land, the impoverishing of the rural population, the difficulties faced by the traditional



The work attributed to A. Thaalbi, on which Ahmed Sakka and Ahmed Essafi collaborated. La Tunisie Martyre, Paris, Jouve & Cie, 1920.

economy and the infringements on liberty. It called for a new status for the country, with separation of powers and the election of an assembly that controlled the government, justified by the price paid in blood by Tunisian soldiers during the war. The book, published anonymously, brought together a number of writers, such as Abdelaziz Thaalbi in Arabic and Ahmed Sakka and Ahmed Essafi in French. The Protectorates authorities saw Thaalbi as the principal author and charged him with conspiring against the state.

Tunisians were counting a great deal on a victory for the Left in France, but the elections in October 1919 brought the Right to power. Thaalbi changed tactics and defended the need to fight in Tunisia, even for the Tunisian demands. Thus a party was born in March 1920, named Parti Liberal Constitutionnel Tunisien (*Al-Hizb Al-Hurr Ad-Dustouri At-Tunsi*), which over time in Arabic and French was shortened to *Destour*.



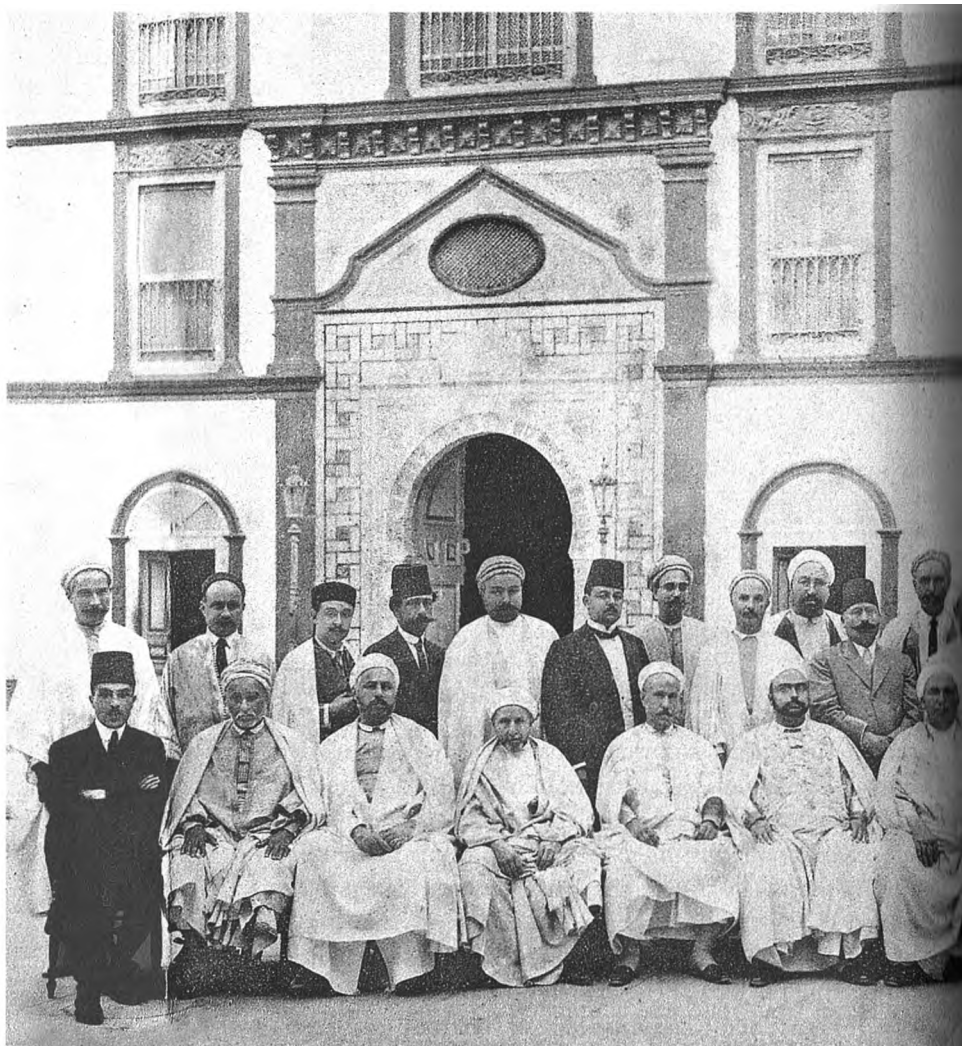
Destour membership card (detail), the Constitutionalist Liberal Party of Tunisia.

This was a party with a headquarters (25, Rue d'Angleterre), managed by an Executive Committee, supported by its own members and relying at first on certain areas of town, such as Halfaouine, a working-class neighbourhood in Tunis. The party created a nine-point programme : including a call for a government responsible to a legislative assembly, separation of powers, participation of Tunisians in the public

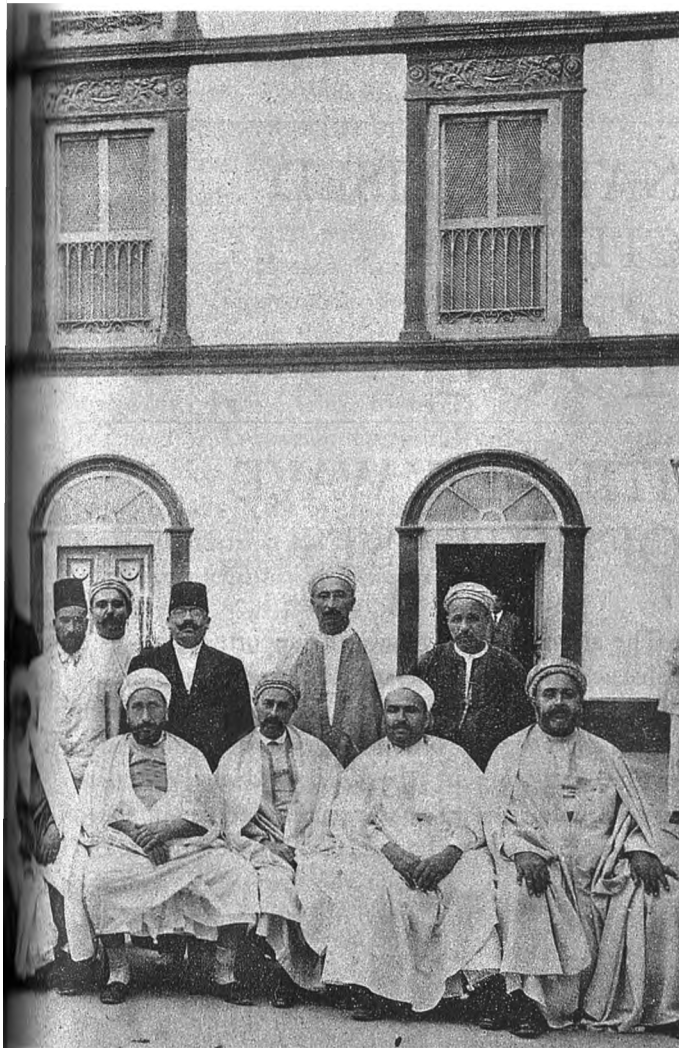


*Muhammad an-Nasir,
Commonly Known
Naceur Bey.*

sector, civil rights and mandatory education (like in France). However, the delegation under the direction of Ahmed Essafi that went to Paris to present its programme failed in its mission. Before this setback, the “moderate” wing of the party reduced the programme. They limited themselves to the demand for a council with Tunisian and French representation (respecting the idea of co-sovereignty), the representative of France and the commander of the troops, called the Minister of Defence. Between 1920 and 1925, many delegations followed to Paris to defend Tunisian demands, but they ran up against the increasing influence of the colonists’ representatives. What stood out, however, during this period was that from the beginning, the Destour used the connections of Bey Naceur. Their demands for enacting a constitution



were addressed to him, and the new party found in him an attentive ear. As a return favour, the Destour supported the Bey when he ran into conflict with the Resident General in 1922 and was forced to abdicate, before backing down on his own abdication thanks



precisely to popular support and a change in attitude by the Resident General. For the first time in the history of the Husaynid dynasty, there was total agreement between the people and their prince.

*The Destour delegation
with Naceur Bey,
June 1920.*

*Foreground, left to right:
Mohamed Bennys,
Tahar Mhiri,
Chedli Belhassen,
Khemais Kehaili,
Othman Belkhouja,
Sadok Ennaifer,
Ta'ieb Radhouane,
Mohamed El Bahi,
Hammouda El Mestiri,
Habib El Almi,
Sliman Jadoui and
Abdelhamid Jarboui.*

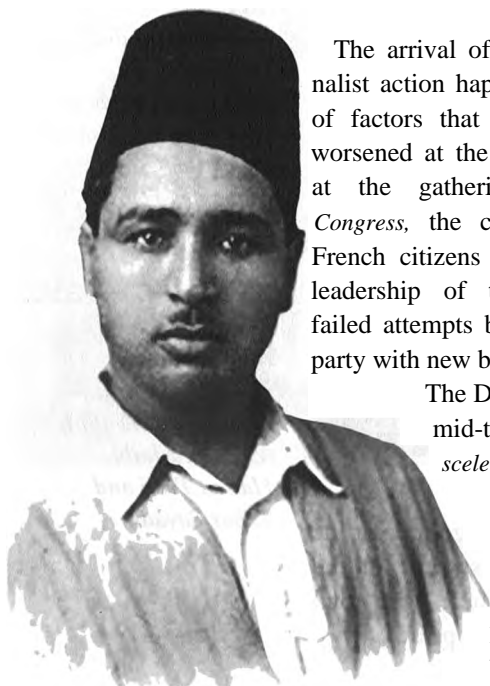
*Standing, left to right:
Mohamed Ressaïsi,
Ali Kahia,
Mohamed Bouhachem,
Mohamed Tlili,
Mohamed Darghouth,
Mohamed Ben Ammar,
Sadok Boukraa,
Mohamed Hentati,
Mohamed Belhassen,
Youssef Zouiten,
Mannoubi Darghouth,
Hassine Chelaïfa,
Ahmed El Atki,
Mohamed Riahi,
Mohamed Chaouchi,
Mohamed Jaïbi,
Hassen Triki and
Tahar Sayadi.*

1930

NATURALISED CITIZENS

1931

THE NEW WAVE OF ACTIVISTS



The arrival of a new wave of supporters for nationalist action happened in stages. There were a number of factors that led to it : the economic crisis that worsened at the end of the twenties, the public shock at the gathering of the *International Eucharistic Congress*, the clashes that ensued when naturalised French citizens were buried, the break-up of the old leadership of the Destourian movement, and the failed attempts by those who wished to regenerate the party with new blood.

The Destour Party had been dormant since the mid-twenties and especially since the “*decrets scelerats*” (scandalous decrees) of January 29, 1926, which allowed the dissolution of the first truly Tunisian national union - CGTT - and exiled its leader, Mohamed Ali El-Hammi (1890-1928). The decrees also allowed a number of newspapers to be banned (*Ifriqiya*,

Al-Asr, *Al-jadid*, and *Le Liberal*), and exiled Ahmed Taoufik El-Madani and Abderrahmane El-Yaalaoui, two Destourians who were active in supporting the Moroccan fighters in the Rif War. The nationalist party was also dormant because of the split within it and the departure of Hassen Guellaty and Mohamed Noomane as leaders, who went on to found the *Reformist Party*, and Farhat Ben Ayed, their representative in Paris, who founded the *Independent Destourian Party* in Tunis. The reasons for the inactivity can be found equally in the opposition between the party leadership and Tahar El-Haddad, whose emancipatory ideas were expressed in his book, *Our Women in Sharia and Society*. Also influential was the abandonment of the CGTT in the ongoing fight after having participated in its creation. A nationalist party that abandoned its union fight, the emancipation of women, solidarity in the fight with



Opposite page:
Tahar Haddad.







November 1925. The trial of the Tunisian trade unionists accused of plotting against the internal security of the state. Leaving the court, left to right: Mohamed Ghannouchi, Mokhtar Ayari, Mohamed Ali El-Hammi (General Secretary of the CGTT), Jean-Paul Finidori (Corsican communist activist, editor of L'Avenir Social), Mahmoud Kabadi and Ali Karoui. El Hammi, Ayari and Finidori were sentenced to ten years of exile, and their three co-defendants to five

*Page 547:
Our Women in Sharia and Society by Tahar Haddad, a work defending the feminist cause, published at the author's expense in Tunis in 1930.*

*Page 551:
Portrait of Tahar Sfar, student in Paris, 1925. (Collection of Rachid Sfar.)*



Mhamed Bourguiba.
Bahri Guiga.



Moroccans over the inflexibility of the Residency (Residence Generale), and continually reducing their demands in the hope of finding something acceptable was not attractive enough to ambitious young people.

It is natural that under these conditions, young activists for the patriotic cause would launch their

The La Voix du Tunisien daily newspaper, edited by Chadly Khairallah. Its motto was: "Defending the interests of Tunisia." L'Action Tunisienne was to take up the same slogan before adopting the sub-title "Tunisian Constitutionalist Liberal Party."

own newspaper, *L'Action Tunisienne*, on November 1, 1932 after having collaborated for two years on another paper, *La Voix du Tunisien*. These young people, Mahmoud Materi, Mhamed and Habib Bourguiba, Bahri Guiga, Tahar Sfar, and their writing, the ideas and the tone in which they talked about the administration, struck a chord in the high-spirited patriotic atmosphere that was taking over the country. However, the Resident General reacted swiftly. He announced the "*decrets super-scelerats*" on May 6, 1933 allowing the government to place any paper deemed suspicious or dangerous under administrative control, and this was expanded to French language papers as well as the Arabic language papers already covered by the previous decree on April 27, 1933.





1931

FIFTY YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE

In 1930, France celebrated a century of colonisation in Algeria. In 1931, it celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the imposition of the Protectorate on Tunisia. It goes without saying that this wasn't seen in the same way from the Tunisian perspective as it was by the French, especially since it was preceded by an ecumenical gathering of the *Eucharistic Congress* at Carthage with a representative of the Pope present to celebrate the return of Christianity to Africa. Secular France was not concerned about invoking religion to add a spiritual dimension to the Protectorate !

From the perspective of the French, it was about fifty years of their “civilising mission and “modernising the

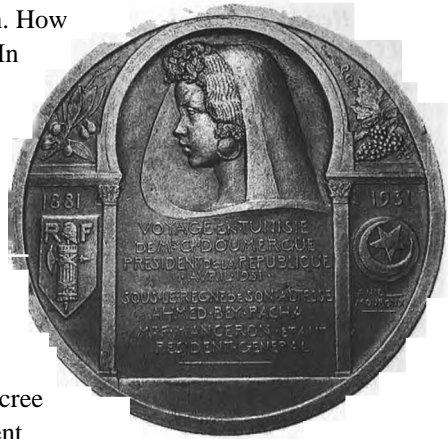


Tunisia as depicted at the Colonial Exhibition of 1931.

country and creating a sound administration. How could one objectively evaluate that today ? In the paragraphs that follow we will review chronologically, the decisions made during those fifty years, in the same terms as they were presented by a defender of the Protectorate, A. Perregrin, author of; *History of Tunisia*, published in 1948 (Editions de la Librairie Namura). We will note the reactions of Tunisians as well.

Theodore Roustan, the first *Resident Minister of France*, made the Bey accept a decree by which the Bey would “charge the Resident Minister of France in Tunis [with] a role as our official and sole intermediary in relations with representatives of our friendly foreign allies” on June 9, 1881, a month after the Treaty of Bardo was signed. On November 10, 1884, a decree was issued making this senior official the agent for the French government in Tunisia, and in another decision on June 23, 1885, he would become the Resident General. Already the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Bey, he would preside over the Council of Ministers, oversee the commanders of the army, and enact and execute Tunisian laws created as Beylical decrees.

On April 4, 1883, the post of Secretary General of the Tunisian government was created and given to a high-level French official charged with coordinating the preparation of all legislative and regulatory texts. On April 18, 1883, a Beylical decree was issued announcing that in Tunisia, the French law of March 27, 1883 now applied, establishing the French judicial system in Tunisia, while another decree placed foreigners under these laws, removing them from consular laws created by the *Capitulation*



Medal commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Protectorate and the visit of President Doumergue to Tunisia in April 1931.



*France's Resident General,
Paul Carnbon. Drawing
by P. Renouard.*



*Information about
Tunisia, for use by French
emigrants, published by
the Directorate of
Agriculture and Trade,
Tunis,!. Picard et Cie,
1897.*



agreements that had removed them from being tied to Tunisian laws. Paul Carnbon, Roustan's successor in 1882, had Ali Bey, who succeeded Sadok Bey (who died in October 1882) sign the *Convention of La Marsa* on June 8, 1883. With this convention Tunisian leaders gave up all their remaining powers to France, committed themselves to introducing all the reforms proposed by the French government, and relinquished the right to contract any loans, handing over debt management to the Protectorate.

On October 4, 1884 a decree was issued creating five civil overseers, bypassing the Tunisian Caids. They took over the military offices, except in the south, that were under the control of the *Indigenous Affairs* division of the French Armed Forces.

On October 14, 1884, a decree authorised that newspapers could be published in Tunisia.

On July 1 1885, a French law was announced in Tunis that would permit land registration before the *Tribunal Mixte*, as a move towards registration with *Land Conservation*. The law was a great success in the eyes of the colonists, because it gave legal status to their occupation of the land.

Keep in mind that even in France it was presented as having been inspired by the *Torrens Act* that determined the legal ownership of the land in Australia. Certain French journalists didn't hesitate to lash out against this solution modelled on Australia, which considered colonised territory as land without owners.

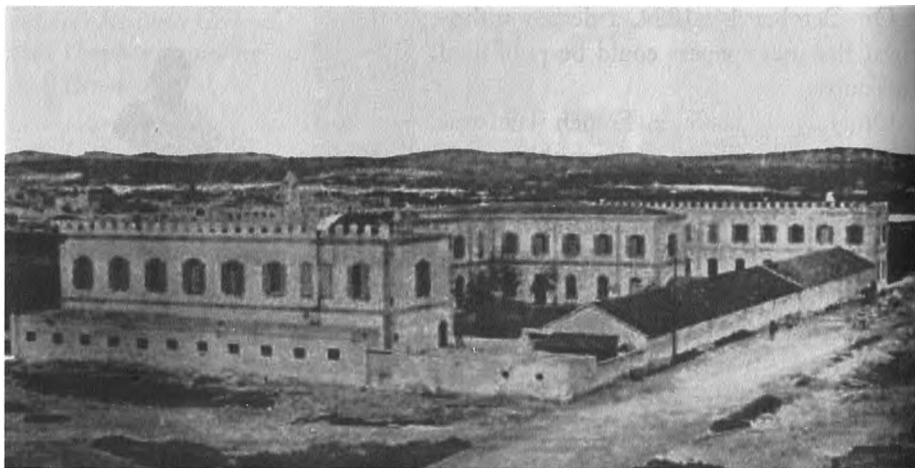
With the law of July 19, 1890, thanks to influence in France from representatives of the French colonists, Resident General Justin Massicault was able to launch a customs union favouring the distribution of Tunisian products, notably wine.

On January 23, 1891, an *Advisory Conference* was created by the Resident General who presided over it, assisted by his department heads. It was composed of representatives of the French colony : members of the Chamber of Commerce and their peers in Sousse and Sfax, the vice-presidents of the municipalities, and the representatives of the union of wine producers and agricultural associations.

On February 8, 1892, a decree gave farmers the right to use national land in the Sfax region to create olive groves, using the *Mugharsa* system (companion planting) where the guardians responsible for the land



Monument erected in Bizerte in honour of the Resident General, Justin Massicault.



*Lycee Carnot.
Postcard, 1891.*

to be cleared would enroll a *Mgharsi* (farmer) who would bring workers, tools and plants for a sum of money. After about 15 or 16 years, once the olive trees were productive, the guardians - who benefited from the land granted by the administration — would give half of it to compensate the *Mgharsi* (the companion farmer) for what he had invested since the beginning.

In 1894, the religious high school, Saint-Charles, founded just before the Protectorate by Cardinal Lavigerie, run by the White Fathers and turned into a cohege in 1889, would take the name Lycee Carnot. It would become the most important French college and, until the Second World War, students from Sadiki College were obliged to attend this school to

*The new port of Tunis
welcomes its first vessel,
Le Tisza.*





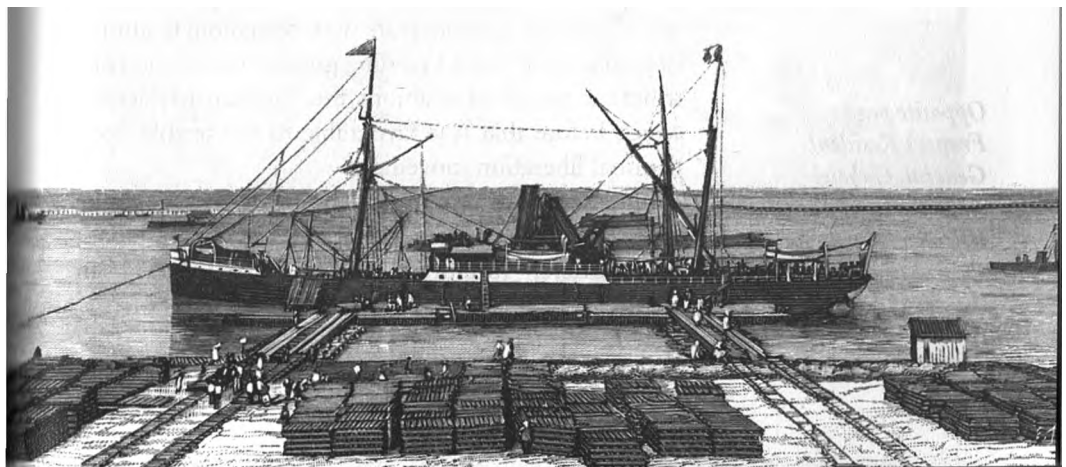
obtain their Baccalaureate before being able to move on to university studies, in France.

On May 28, 1894 the Port of Tunis was officially opened in the presence of two ministers from France : Guerin, Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals, and Poincare, Minister of Public Instruction.

In 1896/1897, the phosphate deposits discovered in the Gafsa region in 1895 were leased out to a French company in return for its commitment to building a railway line from Sfax to Gafsa and paying a royalty based on production.

In 1902, Resident General Stephen Pichon founded a French Chamber of Commerce in Bizerte, and in 1906 he officially opened the rail line joining Pont-du-Fahs

*The Colonists' House
(Maison du Colon)
in Pont-du-Fahs, 1932.*





*Resident General
Stephen Pichon.*

to Kalaat-es-Senam and Sousse to Henchir-Souatir to transport phosphates and ore.

On January 2, 1905, the Resident General reformed the Advisory Conference by having its French members directly chosen by an electorate from three bodies : farmers, tradesmen and representatives of other professions ; some forty councillors. A decree issued on February 2, 1907 created within the Conference a section designated by the government for 16 natives, one being Jewish. The joint meetings gave rise to problems between the representatives of the two communities because of opposing beliefs, so their leaders, the Tunisian Abdeljelil Zaouche and the French De Carnieres decided in a decree issued on April 27, 1910 that the councillors would meet separately.

During Resident General Gabriel Alapetite's term, from 1906 to 1918, "the settlement by French colonists on lots of land was the beginning of a methodical policy of increasing the French population", stated Pellegrin (*Histoire de la Tunisie*, 1944, p. 185). It was this Resident General who had to manage the repercussions in Tunisia of Italy's occupation of Libya as well as the Djellaz and the Tramway affairs (1911/1912). He was also the one to send the current members of the Young Tunisians into exile. He also involved the representatives of the powerful native families (Caids, Khalifats, civil servants in the state section of the Prime Minister, ministers and the Bey's advisors) in administrative authority. They were not all zealous collaborators with the colonial administration, but it was a breeding ground and would contribute to the division among the Tunisian aristocracy, which before that was favourable to the freshly-born national liberation movement.

The Great War from 1914-1918 saw Tunisia, like other colonies, pay the price of participation in blood. Its soldiers, forcibly recruited, participated in

*Opposite page:
France's Resident
General, Gabriel
Alapetite, and Tunisian
riflemen leaving for
the frontline.*

LE MIROIR

PUBLICATION HEBDOMADAIRE, 18, Rue d'Enghien, PARIS

LE MIROIR paie n'importe quel prix les documents photographiques relatifs à la guerre, présentant un intérêt particulier.



LE TÉMOIGNAGE DE LOYALISME DES TURCOS DE TUNISIE PARTANT AU FEU

Des tirailleurs partant de Tunisie pour le front viennent de fournir une touchante preuve de leur loyalisme à M. Alapetite, résident général de France. En passant près de lui, tous lui donnaient un baiser sur l'épaule.



*The rebel commander,
Mohamed Ben Salah
Daghbaji.*

*Medal commemorating
the 30th International
Eucharistic Congress
in Carthage.*



European combat on many fronts, and Tunisia welcomed the wounded as well as refugees from White Russia (General Wrangel's fleet of 29 boats that were disarmed at Bizerte). It was during this war that the southern part of the country became a theatre of battle with insurgents, led most notably by Khelifa Ben Askar and two brothers, Ali and Haj Said Ben Abdellatif. The French troops were under the command of Generals Veran and Alix and Colonels Le Boeuf (who left his name at a Borj in the region of Remada) and Trestournel. This insurrection mobilised 15,000 French troops and cost 748 lives and another 264 wounded. Daghbaji was sentenced to death, he was shot in 1924. It was no small affair.

On July 13, 1922, the great reform establishing the *Grand Council* was announced at the Advisory Council, the *Council of Caidats* and the *Regional Councils*. As per a decree issued on November 10, 1926, French civil servants in the Protectorate received an increase of 33% in their compensation (the famous colonial one-third).

Between May 7 and 13, 1930 in Carthage, the *30th International Eucharistic Congress* took place under the presidency of Cardinal Lepicier. Hailed by Christians as a symbol of the return of Christ to African soil, it was viewed by Tunisians as a new Crusade and humiliation. This would be one of the determining elements in the revival of the national liberation movement, dormant since the mid-Twenties. What could have been an Islamic-Christian encounter became an unacceptable provocation. With financing for the Congress coming from the Tunisian budget, the processions in the street by young Christians wearing crosses only shocked the Tunisian populace. Still, the

organisers had taken care to place the event under the auspices of Ahmed Bey and had a committee of honour comprised of notable Tunisians : *Sheikhs Al-Islam* Malekite Ben Achour and Hanefite Bayram, Prime Minister Bouhajib, Ministers Lakhoua and Jallouli and three representatives from the Grand Council - Chenik, Ben Romdhane and Baccouche — as well as the mayor of Tunis and the Caid of the surrounding area.

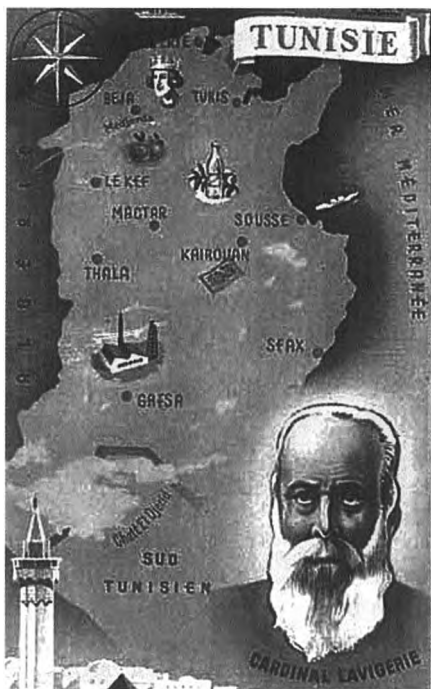
The results of these fifty years could thus be evaluated in contradictory ways. For the French it brought modernisation to Tunisia, rail infrastructure, a telegraph and postal network, a port authority and even aviation (the first connection,



Ahmed Bey II.

Procession during the Eucharistic Congress.





Colonial-era postcard linking Tunisia with Cardinal Lavigerie, and highlighting the figure of St Louis, oranges, olive oil, carpets from Kairouan, the mining industry and a minaret. An eloquent summary of the colonial vision of Tunisia.

Opposite page: Advertisement touting the advantages of travelling and settling in Tunisia.

from Antibes to Tunis, was created in November 1926). It showcased the mineral and agricultural riches of the country. It was good governance in terms of finance and updating the administration. For Tunisians, it involved land that was confiscated and later distributed to the French as plots of land in disregard for the statute of unalienable assets (*Habus*), in disregard of collective land ownership by tribes and in disregard of land routes necessary for crops in the steppe. Bechir Sfar, to the Resident General, had denounced the bankrupting of the native population at the end of the 19th century, and this denunciation would resurface and be elaborated upon by the newspaper, *Le Tunisien*, ten years later in 1907. French rule was promoting a captive economy tied to the French market and supported by

the creation of political, economic, banking and mutualistic structures favouring private colonial enterprises. And on top of everything else, it involved a confiscation of the power of the state for the benefit of France. When the Tunisian elite reviewed their possibilities for action to rectify the problems of the people, they discovered that they had no control at any level at all. The few real improvements, in health and education, were made by clever and clear-sighted local representatives who cared for the people in their charge, who were permanently facing the growing hostility and aggression of a French colony, which was becoming larger and larger and was never satisfied. Thanks to the pressure they placed on Tunisia and their audience in France, they were able to thwart any reforms initiated by the Left or by certain proconsuls who understood what was happening in the country.

COLONISATION DE LA TUNISIE

Billets à demi tarif

pour les émigrants français

sur les compagnies de chemins de fer et de transports maritimes

Cinq départs de bateaux par semaine de Marseille à Tunis

Trente six heures de traversée.

TERRES A VENDRE

à partir de cinquante francs l'hectare



propres
à la culture de la vigne,
de l'olivier,
des céréales,
à l'élevage des bœufs,
des moutons.

Cultures industrielles : lins, tabacs.
Cultures maraichères : primeurs,
oranges, citrons, cédrats, figues, dattes.

On traite au comptant et on livre immédiatement à la gare.

Recompenses obtenues par les uns tunisiens à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889: 1 diplôme d'honneur, 6 médailles d'or, 11 médailles d'argent. *Le phylloxera ne s'est pas encore en Tunisie.* Céréales exportées par la Tunisie en 1890: 1 071 290 quintaux. Huiles d'olives exportées par la Tunisie en 1890: 6 175 790 kilogrammes. Bêtes bovines existant en Tunisie à la fin de 1890: 105 596. - Moutons: 1 015 165.

Exploitation des forêts de la Khroumirie: chênes liège, chênes zens, écorces à tan, exploitation d'allu.

Pêcheries de thon, de sardines, d'anchois, de poulpes, d'éponges.

Mines de fer, de plomb, de cuivre, de zinc.
Puissants gisements de phosphates.

Pour les renseignements plus détaillés qu'on peut désirer, écrire à la

DIRECTION DES RENSEIGNEMENTS ET DE L'AGRICULTURE A TUNIS.

1933

REVIVAL OF THE DESTOUR

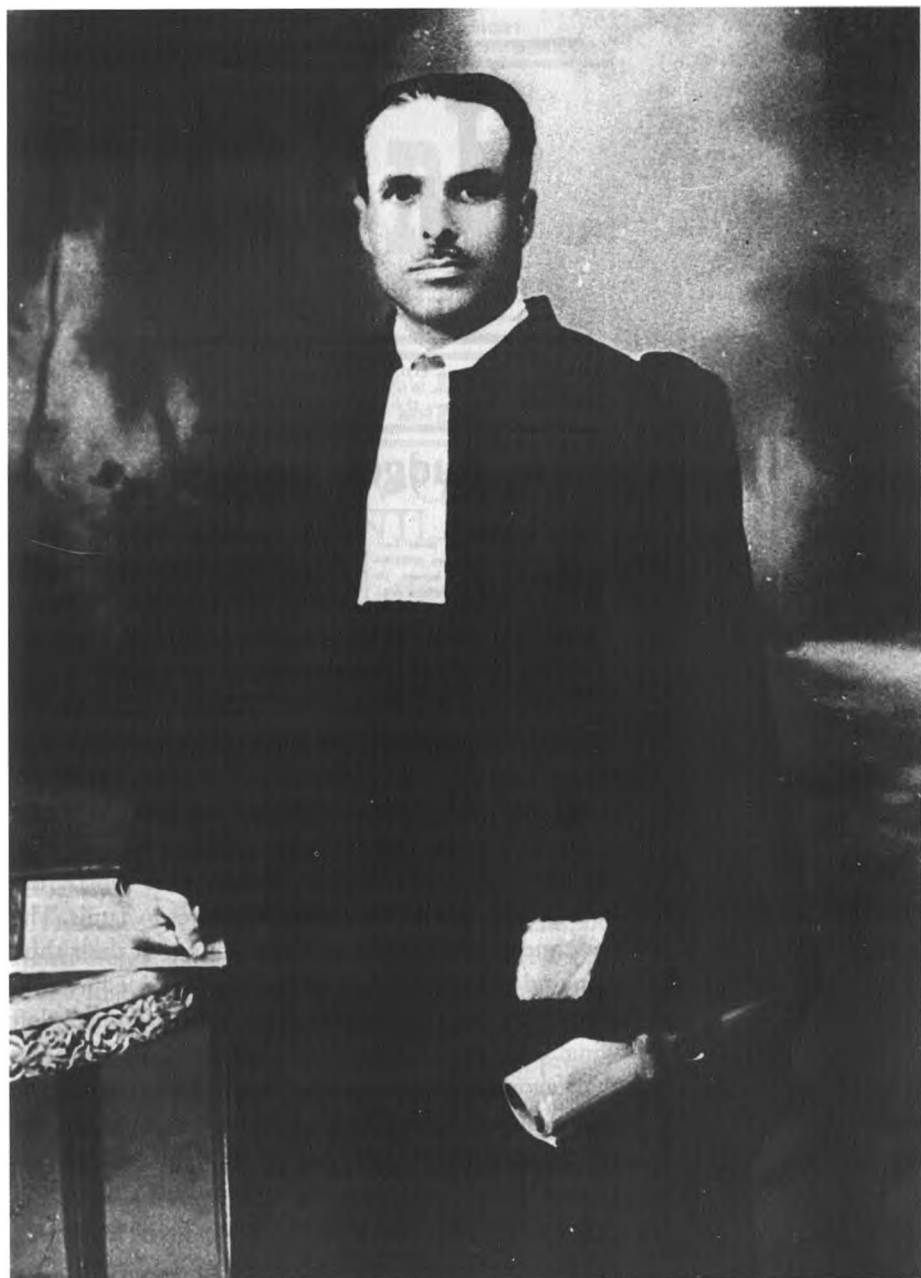
1934

THE NEO-DESTOUR

A delegation from Monastir led by Habib Bourguiba (September 7, 1933) presents its grievances to the Bey regarding the burial of naturalised citizens in Muslim cemeteries.

Encouraged by its young leaders and public opinion, the Destour Party responded to colonial repression by holding an extraordinary congress on May 12 (the anniversary of the Protectorate) and called it the *Congress of Nahj-El-Jebel* (the name of the street in the Tunis Medina where it took place). This congress decided to incorporate all of the *Action Tunisienne* team into the *Executive Committee* of the party, and





Previous page :
The young Habib
Bourguiba, attorney
at Bab Souika in Tunis
in 1931.

PREMIERE ANNEE. -- N° 1.

L'Action

Quotidien

ORGANE DE DÉFENSE

ABONNEMENTS		TOUTE CORRESPONDANCE
TUNISIE	3 mois, 15 fr. ; 6 mois, 30 fr. ; 1 an, 60 fr.	
ETRANGER	3 mois, 30 fr. ; 6 mois, 60 fr. ; 1 an, 120 fr.	
ETUDIANTS	3 mois, 12 fr. ; 6 mois, 20 fr. ; 1 an, 40 fr.	

Le Budget tunisien

De tout temps, l'Etat, pour faciliter le développement des activités individuelles, a senti le besoin de prendre à sa charge un certain nombre de services d'intérêt général, que les particuliers, pour une raison ou une autre, étaient dans l'impossibilité d'assurer avec leurs propres moyens. Pour cela, l'Etat dut user de son pouvoir de contrainte pour imposer que le Grand Conseil de Tunisie a des attributions strictement budgétaires, entendant par là qu'il doit examiner le budget présenté par le Gouvernement sans pouvoir s'immiscer dans la politique générale de ce dernier, nous ne pouvons retenir notre indignation devant une telle hypocrisie.

Malheureusement, en fait, il s'est

L'Action

Fondée en cette période de CRISE, l'Action fait appel aux efforts de ceux qui ont des idées.

Crise économique, crise morale, dépression, qui fait que la présence de la jeunesse, et la

Crise politique faite de l'absence des faibles, des opposants, et de la réaction

adopted "leading the Tunisian people to freedom" as its programme.

But this relationship only lasted nine months, and it is true that there were too many differences separating the party leaders. The older leaders were mostly the bourgeoisie used to the power structures in Tunis. The new ones were, for the majority, young, in their thirties, and more rural, but with a European education, where they had, at the very least, ties to France's left wing. The older leaders had confidence in a process that favoured dialogue with those in power, while the others believed in publicly denouncing the failings of the regime. The former counted on their influence on those close to authority, while the others counted on popular support. The split was made public with two incidents. The first involved an agreement given by a

Tunisienne

dépendant

INTÉRÊTS TUNISIENS

Reedite par le Secrétariat d'Etat
à l'Information et à l'Orientalisme
à l'occasion du 33^e anniversaire de
l'Action Tunisienne.

LE LIRE ADRESSEE

SECRÉTARIAT DE LA RÉDACTION :

BECHIR MHEDHBI

Tunisienne

LA VOIX DU GUENILLARD

La Voix du Guenillard s'excuse
auprès de ses bienveillants lecteurs
de son long silence.

Heureuse et fière de la fin de l'été
l'acte, elle souhaite bon courage
aux volontaires de valeur qui ont
bien voulu l'accueillir et l'aider, et
reprend de suite sa tâche quotidienne.

Pourquoi ce silence soudain ? Et
pourquoi aussi ce mot d'ordre, pu-
sé à tous les Contrôleurs Civils, d'a-
voir à inaugurer les conseils de ré-
gion par le solennel démenti de tout
acte mesure de protection, et l'instru-
ction officielle de tout projet de
transaction.

delegation of the Executive Committee of the party to the Resident General Marcel Peyrouton (who arrived in July 1933). Peyrouton had invited the delegation to discuss ways of reestablishing order while waiting for reforms.

This agreement was supposed to remain secret, but Bahri Guiga, a member of this delegation, was against it and made that fact public. The second incident was the initiative taken by Habib Bourguiba in September to lead a delegation from his city, Monastir, to present grievances to the Bey following the administration's violence against the population when some naturalised citizens were buried in the Muslim cemetery. For the Executive Committee, this sort of initiative should have first received their approval. The Committee therefore decided to exclude Bahri Guiga and formally

*The Tunisian budget :
the first controversial
article by Bourguiba in
L'Action Tunisienne,
November 1, 1932.*



*Destour delegates at the
Ksar Helal Congress,
March 2, 1934.*

warn Bourguiba, who responded by resigning. That was enough for the other members of the young group and their supporters. They decided to turn to arbitration by the party's rank and file. Before the Executive Committee could give its refusal, a temporary committee, whose secretary was Habib Bourguiba, called for a congress addressing all the cells (sections) within the party. The place was Ksar-Hellal in the Sahel, a region particularly touched by the economic crisis and strongly favoured by the Destour.

Sixty sections of a total of 80 responded to the call on March 2, 1934. The congress dissolved the Executive Committee and created in its place a *Political Bureau* comprised of the editors of *L'Action Tunisienne*. It instituted a National Council (*Majlis milli*) with 19 members representing all of the regions. Some of the members would become famous, such as Youssef Rouissi and Hedi Chaker. The Executive Committee responded by calling another conference in Tunis on April 27, 1934 (called the *Congress of Nahj Gharnouta*, the name of the street where it took place). This congress would decide for their part to exclude

the members of the Political Bureau from the party, to consider the Congress of Ksar-Helal as not having happened and to confirm their support for the old system. From now on there were two *Destours*, one led by an Executive Committee and the other by a Political Bureau ; very soon everyone would learn to call them the Old Destour and the Neo-Destour. But history would finish on the side of the Neo-Destour, the more active of the two, which was gaining an ever-growing base of supporters and spreading throughout the country.

*Bourguiba convenes
Destour delegates at the
extraordinary Ksar Helal
congress.*

المجلة

جناب المؤتمر المحترم الوطني الغيور سيدي
ما بعد بناء على طلب الغلبية تشعب الحزب عقد مؤتمر يوم العادة
عصر الحلاب الذي حدث داخل اللجنة التنفيذية في شأن تكليف
البرناج السياسي الذي قدمه المؤتمر الأخير والمساليب العمل وجعل
نظام داخلي يكمل حياة الحزب ونجاح القضية التونسية فقد قررت
اللجنة الوفقيه استدعاءكم لحضور هذا المؤتمر يوم العادة الذي سينعقد
مدينة قسنطينة لال على الساعة التاسعة صباحا من يوم الجمعة
الذي انقضى سنة المواقف لثاني مارس الا برجي القابل والمغرب
ن تعينوا نائبا منكم وتسلموا نيابة بامضاء لجنة تشعبتكم ليدري بها
عند الطلب والسلام

اكتابت للجنة الوفقيه

السيدي بوعزيز

1938

CONFRONTATION

Between 1934 and 1937, the political landscape would radically change twice in Tunisia. The administration of the Protectorate made no mistake about who their adversary was : it was clearly the Neo-Destour which they wanted to force into submission. In response to the public meetings that were multiplying and mobilising the masses in favour of the ideas of this new party (as early as 12 March 1934, Bourguiba led protests bringing together hundreds of people in Tunis), the authorities decided to send the leading members of this party to an internment camp in the South. They were quickly joined by new militants, like Salah Ben Youssef. Their stay at Bordj-Le Boeuf was a first test of the group's cohesion. The camp commander, under orders from the Resident General, tried to play on the different personalities of the detainees. However in 1936, the Front Populaire won the elections in France and the administration of

*Opposite page :
Ahmed Bey II and the
new Resident General,
Armand Guillon, who
succeeded Peyrouton.
Appointed by the Front
Populaire, he released
the nationalist prisoners
but declared a state of
siege in April 1938.*

Bordj-Le Boeuf.





the Protectorate changed policies. The internment camps were closed, and the new French social policies were extended to Tunisia (40-hour working week, paid vacations, etc.). The detainees at Bordj-Le Boeuf were freed, and on both sides, Tunisian and French collaborators wanted to believe in the possibility of a fruitful dialogue.

But the experiment failed just as the Front Populaire failed at remaining in power (March-April 1938). This further new change in direction for France corresponded to a change in Tunisia and tension mounted between Tunisians and the Protectorate's authority. Pellegrin noted in *Histoire de la Tunisie* (1944, p. 204, with an error in date corrected) that strikes were

Postage stamp commemorating the detention of Bourguiba at Botj-Le Boeuf and the creation of the Neo-Destour politburo in 1934.



*The leaders of
Neo-Destour at the
Rue du Tribunal
congress.*



organised in many places from March to August 1937 and that they “regretted the number of dead and wounded in Metlaoui, Djerissa, Metline, etc”. The Neo-Destour seemed to have learned from their previous experiences with the Front Populaire and held their Congress from October 30 to November 2, 1937 at the party headquarters on Rue du Tribunal in Tunis with 700 delegates attending. This was quite a change from the 60-some delegates at the Constituent



Congress in 1934 ! In the course of this congress, the personality of Habib Bourguiba, which appeared clearly during his detainment in the South and later with his grassroots activities, had a forceful impact on the debates. The congress decided to pursue the fight and consolidate the party base, because the tests to come would prove difficult. In fact, the congress questioned the need to replace the word “liberty” in their part of the programme with “independence”. Dr



The front page of the weekly L'Action Tunisienne on June 22, 1937.

Opposite page: Ali Belhaouane, the nationalist leader.

Overleaf (double page): Following the bloody events, the special edition dated January 11, 1938 of L'Avenir Social, the organ of the Communist Party of Tunisia.

Materi, president of the party, was for moderation, while Secretary General Bourguiba was for taking a harder line in terms of actions not words, and he opted for an ambiguous formulation. He stated in the general policy motion that the goal of the party was “to dedicate itself, today like yesterday, to the liberation of the Tunisian people from political oppression and economic exploitation”, and he called for collaboration with “a democratic and liberal France”.

In truth, the atmosphere of public opinion was not leaning toward compromise. The arrival of new nationalist leaders in the field - Sliman Ben Sliman, Hedi Noura, Mongi Slim, and Ali (Allala) Balhaouane - gave vigorous impetus to action by the masses. In addition, the congress added two new members to the Political Bureau (Salah Ben Youssef and Sliman Ben Sliman). It expanded the National Council, increasing the number of members from 19 to 29 to better represent the different regions and a



PROLÉTAIRES ET PEUPLES OPPRIMÉS DE TOUS LES PAYS, UNISSEZ-VOUS

l'Avenir



ORGANE DU PARTI COMMUNISTE

ÉDITION SPÉCIALE

3ème ANNÉE - N. 60 - 25 RUE DE L'ANCIENNE DOUANE — TUNIS

Après Metlaoui. W'dilla. Djerid.

Les agents des "200 familles"

Assez de S

Assez

Le Gouvernement doit

TOUTE LA PRESSE A M

MARDI 11 JANVIER 1938

ocial

DE TUNISIE

INTIMES — HEBDOMADAIRE PARAISSANT LE SAMEDI

**Plus que jamais
il est nécessaire
d'épurer les cadres
de l'administration
de la police et de
l'armée qui cher-
chent à faire haïr
de notre peuple la
France démocrati-
que**

et Metline

inuent à TUER les fils du peuple

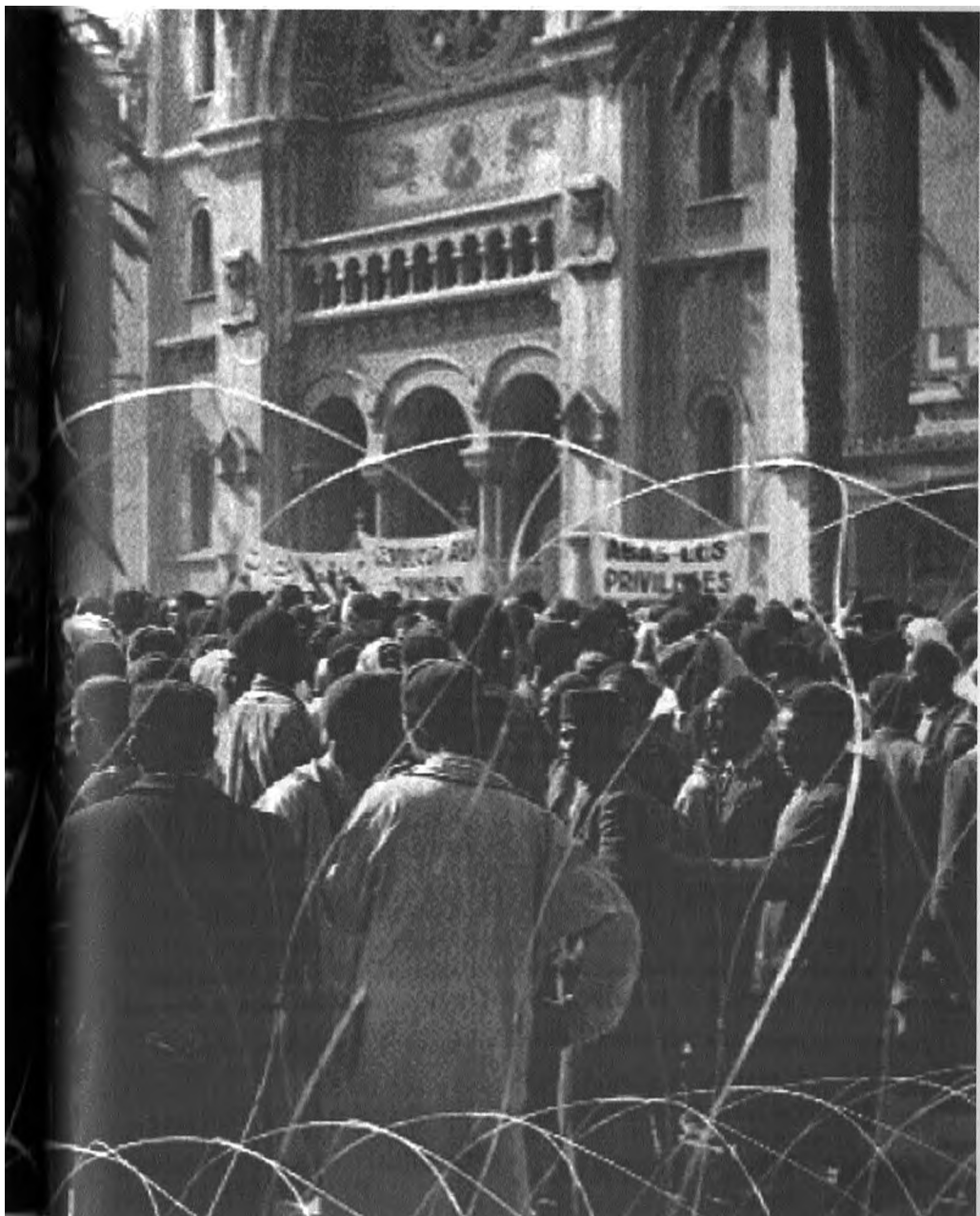
ANG !

de CRIMES !

- châtier les responsables !
- libérer les innocents !

I ET DEFORME LA VERITÉ







Belgacem Gnaoui, leader of the General Confederation of Tunisian Workers).

number of striking personalities were elected, such as Youssef Rouissi (Jerid), Mongi Slim (Tunis), Hedi Nouira (Monastir) and Hedi Chaker (Sfax). Materi, opposed to a hardening of positions by the Neo-Destour, resigned as president of the party in December 1937. In such an atmosphere, the Tunisia that had been seeing a revival of the labour union movement since the creation of a second *Confederation of Tunisian Workers* in June 1937 saw the head of this confederation, Belgacem Gnaoui, dismissed and replaced by Hedi Nouira during an extraordinary congress held on January 29, 1938. The colonial administration responded to the strikes and “agitation” with arrests that led to large protests in April 1938. As a result of bloody confrontations on April 9, 22

EDITION SPECIALE

L'Action Tunisienne

Hédomadaire du Parti Libéral Constitutionnaliste Tunisien
158, Rue Bab-Souk — TUNIS
Téléphone 78.00

LE SANG TUNISIEN A ENCORE COULE

LA POLICE TIRE SUR UN CORTEGE

qui allait porter au Contrôle Civil un acte du jour de protestation
contre le licenciement, par mesure administrative, de notre camarade Hassan Hani refoulé
mardi dernier sur l'Algérie, à sa sortie de prison où il venait de purger une peine de deux mois

Résultat : six morts, une vingtaine de blessés et une grave tension dans les esprits

Habib Bouguelfa et Boubaker Bakir
sont arrêtés immédiatement après les obsèques des victimes

Avant l'irréparable LA VERITE SUR LA TRAGEDIE
DE BIZERTE

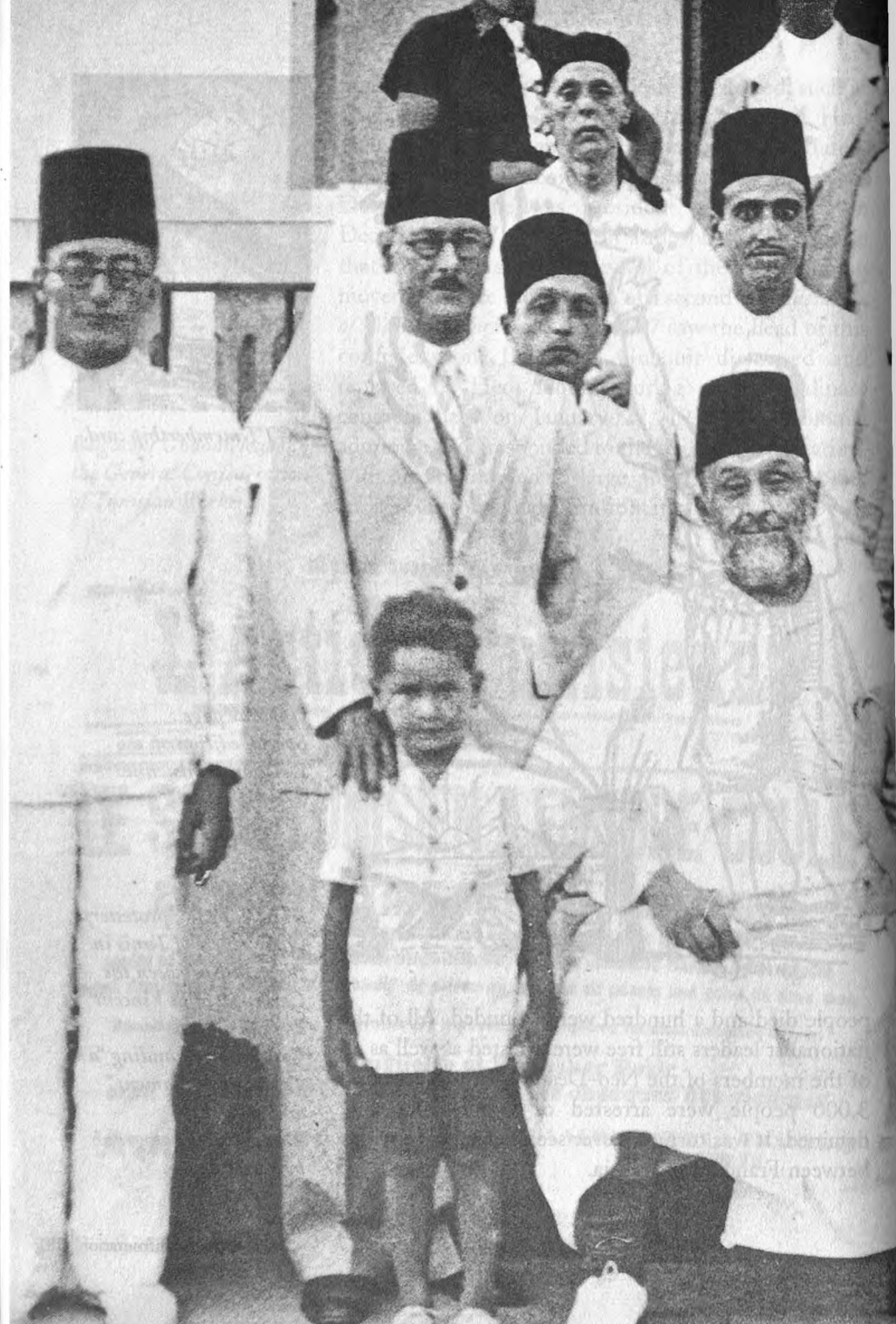


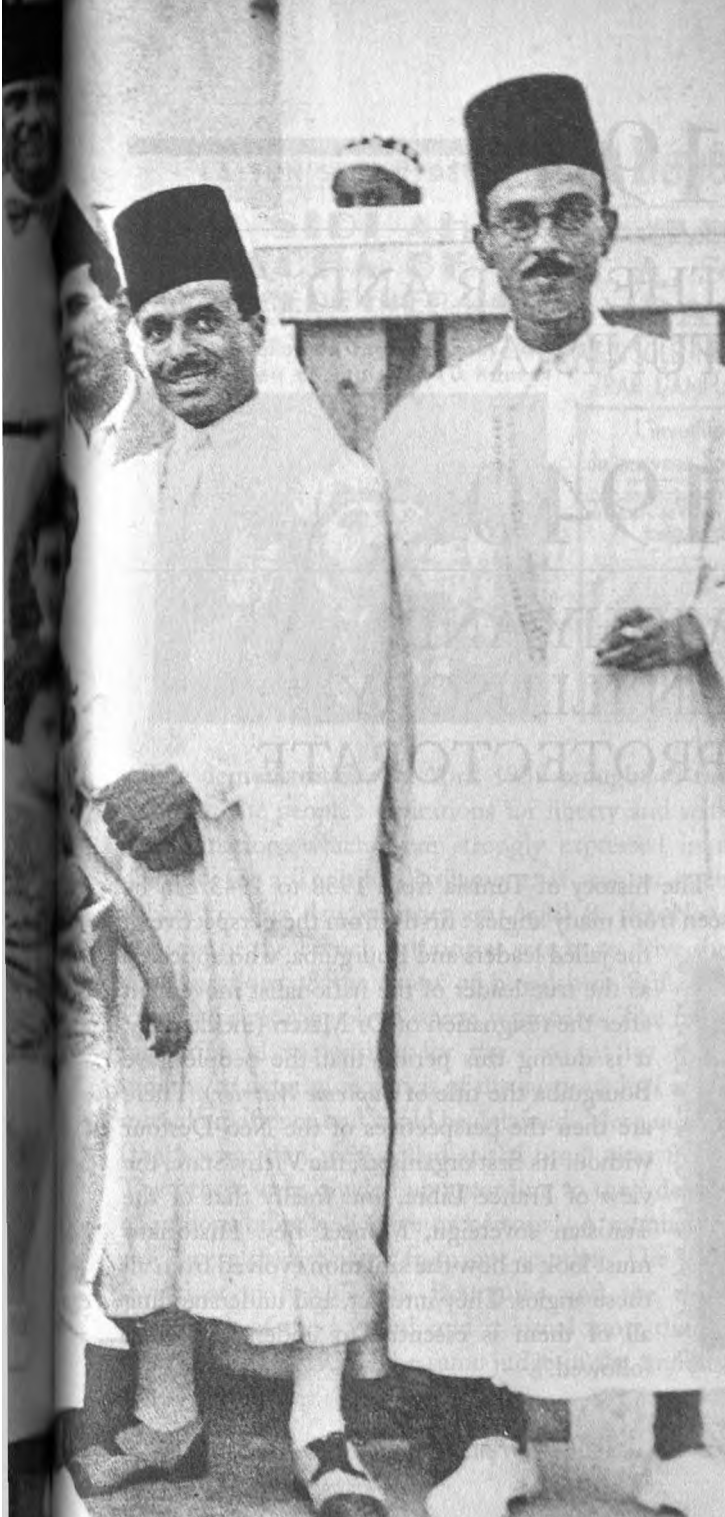
CGTT membership card.

*Opposite page:
Special edition of
L'Action Tunisienne.*

*Previous pages:
April 9, 1938 -.protesters
in the centre of Tunis
in the square between the
Cathedral of St Vincent
de Paul and the
Residence demanding "a
Tunisian parliament"
and "power to
Tunisians". Photograph
by Victor Sebag.*

people died and a hundred were wounded. All of the nationalist leaders still free were arrested as well as all of the members of the Neo-Destour. In total, around 3,000 people were arrested of which 900 were detained. It was turmoil never seen before in relations between France and Tunisia.





The leader of the Old Destour, Abdelaziz Thaalbi, returns from exile in July 1937. He is surrounded by Salah Ben Youssef and Mahmoud Materi as well as Habib Bourguiba Jr., Habib Bourguiba and Bahri Guiga. He will fail to unite the two wings of Destour.

1939

THE WAR AND TUNISIA

1940

VICHY AND AN ILLUSORY PROTECTORATE

The history of Tunisia from 1938 to 1943 can be seen from many angles : firstly, from the perspective of the jailed leaders and Bourguiba, who appeared as the true leader of the nationalist movement after the resignation of Dr Materi (incidentally, it is during this period that the people gave Bourguiba the title of *Supreme Warrior*). There are then the perspectives of the Neo-Destour without its first organisers, the Vichy State, the view of France Libre, and finally that of the Tunisian sovereign, Moncef Bey. Historians must look at how the situation evolved from all these angles. They interact, and understanding all of them is essential to understand what followed.





A ÉTÉ SOLENNELLEMENT INVESTI DE SA DIGNITÉ
PAR L'AMIRAL ESTEVA, Résident Général

Discours de l'Amiral Esteva
Résident Général

[illegible]

« Vous voudrez bien agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de l'attachement et de la reconnaissance que j'ai pour vous et de la confiance que j'ai en vous. Je suis, Monsieur, votre dévoué et respectueux serviteur. »



The demonstrations in April 1938 brought to the forefront the people's aspirations for liberty and self-determination, which were strongly expressed in a demand for a Tunisian Parliament. It was an open debate to this day, whether on April 9, the Neo-Destour or the French authorities sought to drive the confrontations to the point of bloodshed. Still, the French reaction involved severe repression. The military tribunal responsible for the case sat for three months to determine which of the suspects had committed an offence and could be detained. Mere *suspects* (that's what they were called at the time) were freed. The others were divided up according to their degree of responsibility, collective or personal. A number of cases were disassociated from one another. The long investigation began with Bourguiba and the most prominent of the accused, and it lasted more than a year, until May 1939. The same judge in the military

*Page one of La Depeche
Tunisienne of 20 June
1942: Moncef Bey
succeeds Ahmed Bey II.*

*Opposite page:
Postage stamp issued by
the German army in
North Africa.*

N° 10
81300

Nom et prénoms : **Thabib b. Ali b. Hadj Moh. Bourguiba**

Surnoms et pseudonymes : **Monastir**

Né le : **3-8-1903** à **Monastir** et de **Sathouma b. Hadj Ahmed Kheja**

Fils de **Ali** et de **Sathouma b. Hadj Ahmed Kheja**

Profession : **Avocat au Barreau de Tunis** Mofl de la détention : **CJ.**

DOSSIER N°






Arrestations constatées
CJ. 23 JUIN 1937

Renseignements divers
D^r domicile : **158 Rue Bab. Bouidha**
Nom du Cheik :
S^o militaire : **un**

Citoyenneté ou marié : **Sorain Mathilde**

Procédure, haine, rancune, etc.
tation de la population, à l'encontre
de la loi du pays. Procédure
directe soit au 1^{er}, soit
au crime de meurtre, de pillage et d'incendie
procédure ayant pour but d'empêcher ou de
retarder le départ des jeunes soldats, soit de
retourner de leurs obligations. **1^{er} 1937**
N'étant pas encore appelé sous les drapeaux
sous rénumération destinée à être appelée par
application de la loi militaire.

MAIN GAUCHE : Impression successive et roulée des doigts :

Auriculaire	Annulaire	Médus	Index	Pouce
				

Fiche de 161 x 104 - classe alphabétique pour les sujets photographiés - Mod. 1902

Personal ID record and
fingerprints of Bourguiba
(detail).

tribunal, Guerin du Cayla, adjudicated the cases of all the organisers. Materi, Sfar, Thaalbi, Noomane and other lesser known people, said they did not support violent action, so the responsibility was put on Bourguiba and 19 of his companions. The accused, with the exception of two or three, were part of the new wave of activists who were around thirty years old

on average (Ben Slimane, Rouissi, Slim, Belhaouane, Ben Youssef, Nouira, Bougatfa, Chaker, Jrad, Zlitni, and Laouiti). Ahmed Khaled, in his 866-page work, assembled the reports from the 2nd Bureau of the General Staff of the French Armed Forces from 1937 to 1940. These reports were confidential notes taken from day to day with their errors and precision. It transpires from these documents (published in Tunis by the STD in December 1983) that after a period of a few months when calm reigned, the neo-Destourian “unrest” began everywhere again in the form of

Among the 19 accused, who represented a new generation of activists, pictured from left to right and top to bottom are: Hedi Nouira, Mongi Slim, Slimane Ben Slimane, Habib Bougatfa, Hedi Chaker and Youssef Rouissi.





*December 16, 1938:
demonstration in Milan
calling for Tunisia to be
annexed to Italy.*

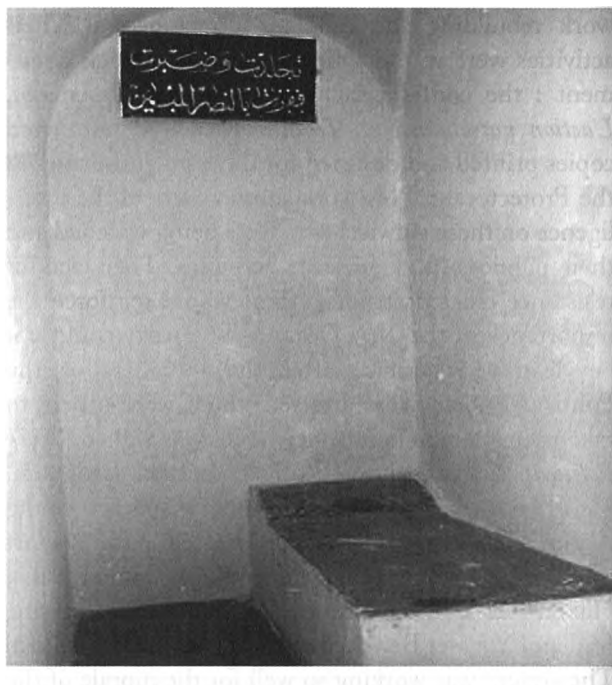
leaflets, the sabotage of telegraph lines, the recreation of cells that had been dissolved by the party, and contact with Algerian nationalists and refugees from Tripoli fleeing Italian rule. It is also apparent from these documents that French authorities were watching what was happening in Libya as Italy was not secretive about its desire to take control of Tunisia.

The truth is, looking back at the history of the national liberation movement after some time has passed, we see that the Neo-Destour went through different phases after April 9, 1938. After the first wave of arrests, calm reigned because there were no longer any more candidates to sacrifice. However, once the “suspects” were liberated, certain among them - Bahi Ladgham (27), Hedi Saidi (32), Mohamed Ben Othman (30), Hassouna El-Karoui (27), and Mabrouk Abdessemad (20?) - went back to

work rebuilding the cells for direct action. Their activities were well detailed in another French document : the confidential work of Roger Casemajor, *L'action nationalistes en Tunisie*, with 200 numbered copies printed and destined for the high authorities in the Protectorate. This work summarised all the intelligence on these activists who were being watched and their public and clandestine activities. Their acts of resistance created an image that would reinforce the importance of the Neo-Destour. The party could not be destroyed because after the members of the Political Bureau were arrested, there were others to take their place. Then came the leaflets signed "*Fifth Political Bureau*" whose members - Bahi Ladgham, Hedi Saidi, the older Hedi Khefacha and the young Ahmed Khabthani (23) - were arrested. After a short time, there was a Seventh Bureau with Rachid Driss, Hassine Triki, Slaheddine Bouchoucha, Belhassine Jrad and Youssef Ben Achour, who were also arrested. The system was working so well for the morale of the population that the authorities one day found leaflets and posters signed « *Tenth Political Bureau* ». After investigation, they discovered that it was the work of one person, an Algerian activist who was calling for civil disobedience and desertion. That's how the generation of 25 to 30-year-old militants made its presence felt at the forefront of the struggle. Activists did not necessarily follow the directions of the party leadership. There were also personal initiatives. An autonomous team comprised of Jerbians from Tunis - Bechir Zargayoune, Amor Ben Hamida, Mohamed Ben Amara - were arrested in the summer of 1939 after acts of sabotage and distribution of leaflets. The inquiry led Hedi Saidi and the others to be condemned to death. After a plea, they were sentenced to forced labour for life.

Once the investigation into Bourguiba and his

The cell occupied by Bourguiba in Teboursouk military prison.



unfortunate partners was completed, they were transferred from military prison to the civilian prison in Tunis, then Teboursouk, then to the South before being sent to France in 1940, because the decision of the Court of Appeals was to transfer their case to the Military Tribunal in Marseilles. Thirteen of those charged were placed in Trets (Bouches-du-Rhone). Seven others were incarcerated at Haut Fort-Saint Nicolas in harsh conditions. During their imprisonment in Tunisia, they were constantly in contact, either through intermediaries or their lawyers, with the clandestine organisers of the movement. Of those who were were arrested and convicted, Bahi Ladgham was sent to Lambeze in Algeria to serve out his sentence. Thameur, Driss, and Triki among others, would stay in civilian prison until the end of November 1942.

*Opposite page:
The courtyard of
Haut-Fort Saint-Nicolas
in Marseille, the prison
where Bourguiba and
his companions were
incarcerated.*



Habib Thameur, doctor and discrete activist, using his practice as a base, quietly but methodically played a leading role in nationalist activity between 1939 and 1943. Beginning in 1940, he led the clandestine Neo-Destour party on two occasions. He was arrested in January 1941 and condemned in February 1942 to 20 years of forced labour. Freed on December 1, 1942 after a hunger strike in July and a revolt at the civilian prison, he again took the leadership of the Neo-Destour as president, rebuilding the cells one after the other, everywhere that he could. He did not like to give speeches so he brought with him a student from Zitouna, Mahmoud Charchour, who orated in his place ! Rachid Driss and Hassine Triki, sentenced and freed at the same time as Thameur, launched a daily paper, *Ifriqiya Al-Fatat* on January 2, 1943. Thameur

Dr. Habib Thameur.





The German army crosses the Avenue de France in Tunis, 1943.

*Opposite page, top:
Many Jews were forced into compulsory labour, German Federal Archives, December 1942. What right did the Petain regime have to extend the racial laws of the Vichy government to Tunisia ?*

took it over a week later, feeling that the party should speak with one voice. The paper then became the official mouthpiece of the Neo-Destour, calling for the liberation of those who were imprisoned and elaborating on Tunisian demands. It is worth noting that it was this paper that gave the title of Supreme Warrior to Bourguiba and President of the Party to Habib Thameur. Rachid Driss and Hassine Triki launched another paper, *Ash-Shabab*. It was during this period that Habib Bourguiba, freed from French prisons and taken to Italy, wrote a letter to Habib Thameur warning him to be on his guard against making any errors in judgement while entertaining collaboration with the German-Italian Axis forces.

German occupation of France in 1940 and Tunisia in 1942 posed a tough problem. Was the Protectorate still valid ? Did the Vichy regime, which had replaced the French Third Republic, have the right to apply



their laws in Tunisia, especially those concerning French Jews and Tunisians ? On the other hand, who did the Bey report to : the occupying authority (Germans) or representatives of the Protectorate (Vichyists who answered to the Germans) or those of a free *France libre* when the Anglo-American Allies landed in Morocco and Algeria in November 1942, then coming later to Tunisia in April-May 1943 ? These were the questions considered by the nationalists and the court of Moncef Bey. One must remember that with the arrival of the Germans, Tunisia was divided in two. To the east was a line that went from the region of Beja to Gafsa, following the arrival of the German army under the orders of General Nehring, then General Von Arnim, who occupied the area in order to secure the retreat of the Afrika Corps under Rommel, coming from Egypt and Libya and heading toward Italy. To the west of this line were the French

AVIS A LA Population Israélite

Les Autorités Allemandes ont imposé à la population de Tunis et de sa banlieue de fournir un contingent important de travailleurs qui seront employés à des travaux de terrassement.

L'exécution de cet ordre est une nécessité inéluctable à laquelle il faut obéir immédiatement.

En conséquence, tous les habitants de sexe masculin de Tunis et de sa banlieue, âgés, aux termes du décret du 12 mars 1943, des ans compris des années 1905 à 1924 inclus, sont tenus de se présenter à l'Ecole de l'Alliance de la Rue Malla-Saïra pasteurs de leurs papiers d'identité devant le Bureau de Recrutement institué par la Commandant local.

Les Autorités Allemandes étant en possession des listes d'état-civil, toute personne visée qui ne se sera pas présentée le Jeudi 10 Décembre 1943, avant midi, sera déclarée apte d'office, recherchée par les Autorités et fera l'objet de sanctions.

Les travailleurs recrutés seront répartis et nourris par la Commandant. Leurs familles seront secourues s'il y a lieu.

Les intermédiaires devant se munir d'une bonne couverture et, si possible, d'un imperméable et d'une grosse paire de bottes.

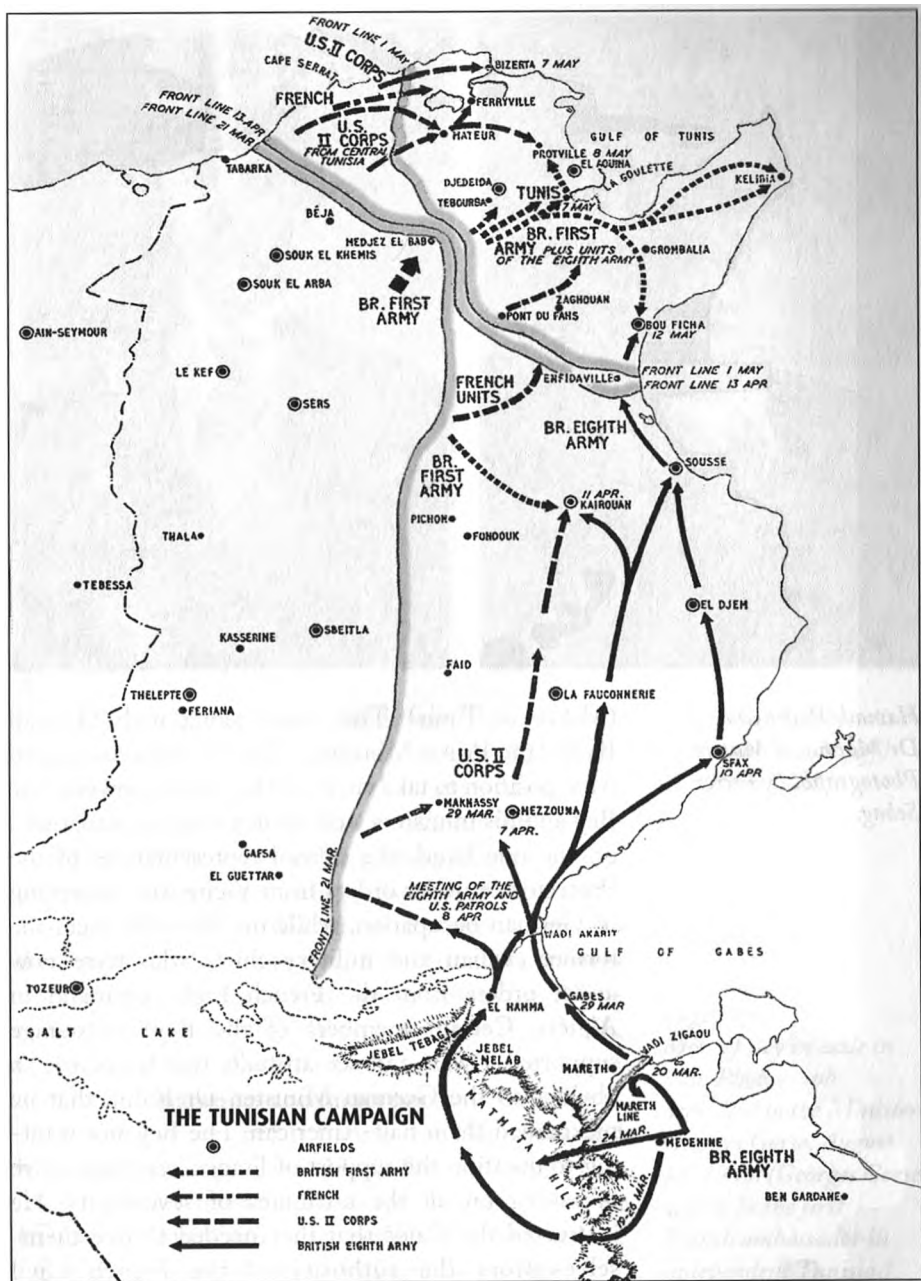


*Moncef Bey and
Prime Minister
Mhamed Chenik.*

*Previous page, bottom:
“Notice to the Jewish
Population, ” requiring
them to “provide a
substantial contingent
of workers who will be
employed in earth
moving work” in
accordance “with the
Decree dated March 12,
1942”.*

forces of Tunisia under General Barre, who was under orders from headquarters in Algiers, and General Juin. Admiral Darlan, who broke with Vichy, after having set up in Algiers, entrusted General Giraud as Commander-In-Chief of all of North Africa, and this made General Juin part of his team.

The French navy, stationed in Bizerte under the command of Admiral Derrien, obeyed German orders and was disarmed. Moncef Bey, who acceded to the throne on June 19, 1942, was assisted by talented advisors, making up a ministry consisting of Mhamed Chenik (Vice-President of the Grand Council) and other well-known figures such as Mahmoud Materi (former President of the Neo-Destour), Salah Farhat (Secretary General of the Destour) and Aziz Jallouli





*Hamadi Badra and
Dr Mahmoud Materi.
Photographs by Victor
Sebag.*

(Mayor of Tunis). This team, along with Hamadi Badra, the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff, wondered what position to take vis-a-vis the various powers. The Bey and his ministers were facing a unique situation : on the one hand, the official representatives of the Protectorate under orders from Vichy were accepting of German occupation, while on the other were the former civilian and military chiefs who were now under orders from the French high command in Algiers. Certain members of the Bey's entourage supported a wait-and-see attitude, which became so obvious to the German Minister, Dr Rahn, that he nicknamed them half-American. The Bey, not wanting to question the support of France, was supportive of taking on all the attributes of sovereignty. He instructed the Caids that they needed to free themselves from the authority of the French Civil



Controllers. He confirmed this by naming Dr Materi as Minister of the Interior, a domain controlled by the Resident General. He decided to create a Minister of the *Habus*, which he entrusted to Jallouli. This led to a conflict with the Vichy representative, Admiral Esteva, who filed a complaint citing misdeeds in a letter to Marshall Petain. The Bey effectively intervened with the French authorities to free the nationalist detainees from civilian prison and the penal colony of Porto-Farina (Ghar-el-Melh). He pressured the French and Germans to free the Neo-Destourian leaders being detained in Marseilles and under house arrest in Trets. As a start, he obtained a transfer for Bourguiba and his fellow activists from Marseilles to Lyon (Fort Montluc) and freedom for those held at Trets. In January 1943 they were all transferred to Rome where the Italians treated them as distinguished visitors.

Salah Farhat (portrait by Alexandre Roubtsoff) and Aziz Jallouli.

ARR.

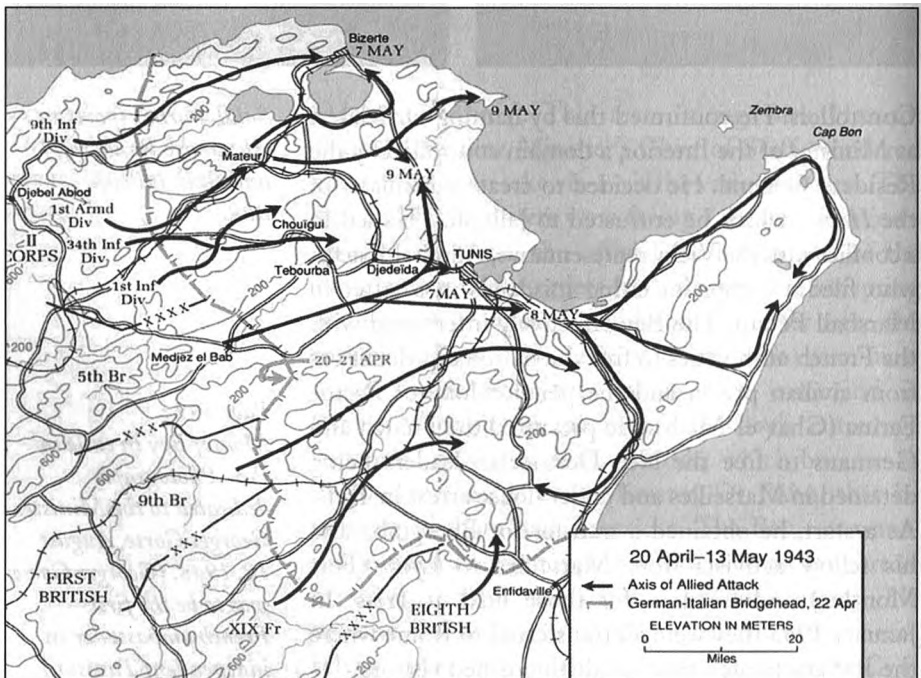
*Page 599:
Moncef Bey in exile in Pau. Photograph dedicated to the Minister Georges Gorse, August 18, 1948. (Georges Gorse was to be the first French ambassador in independent Tunisia.)*

1943

A SOVEREIGN MARTYR: MONCEF BEY

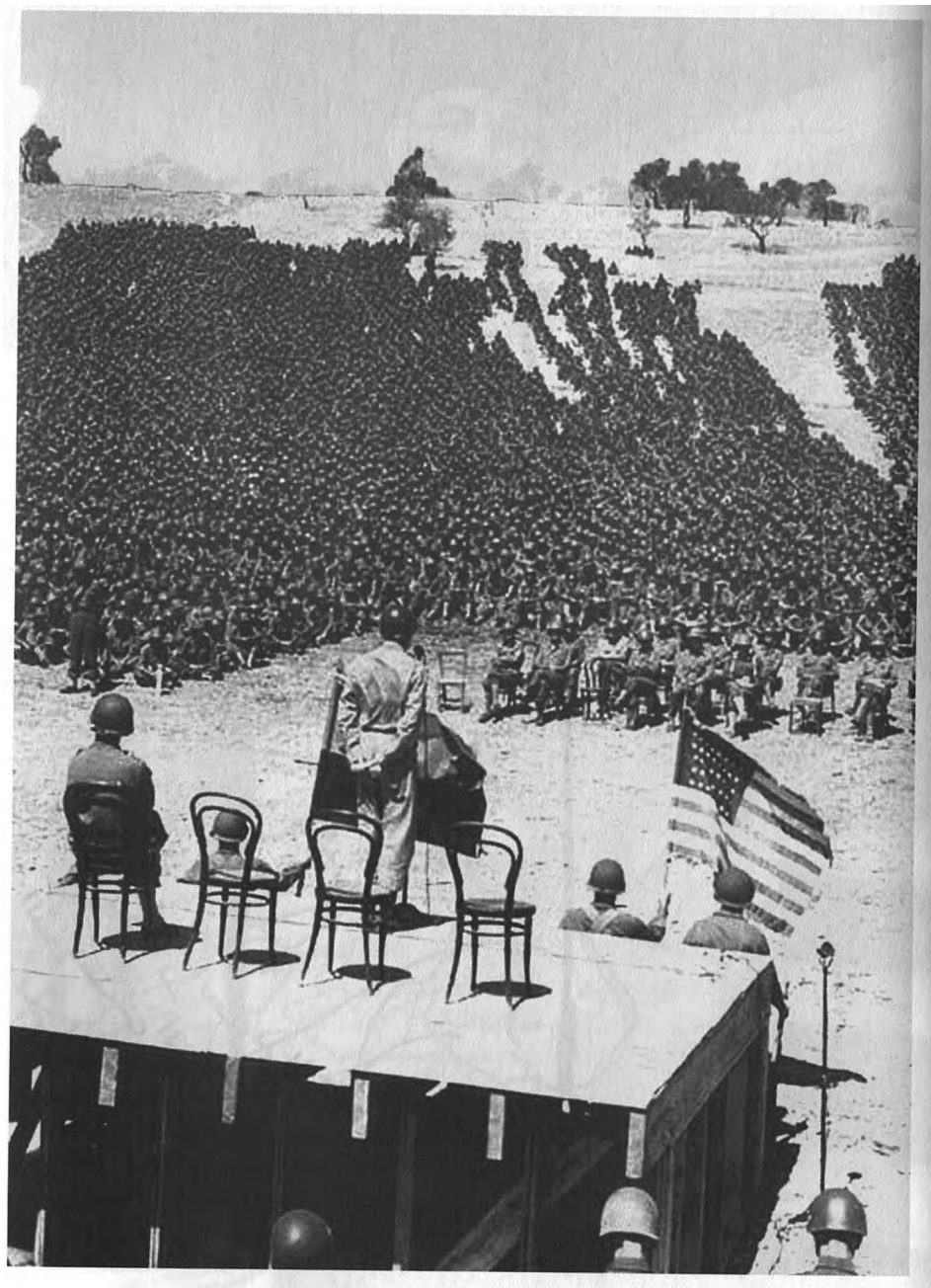
The *Battle of Tunisia* (that's the name given in the history of the Second World War) raged from November 1942 until May 1943. Cities were bombarded by the Allied Air Forces and the country was ravaged in the South where the Germans had drawn a defensive line at Mareth, and in the North the British

*April to May 1943:
the last phase of the war
in Tunisia.*





خداوندی را بگوید
التواضعین الوزر جود ق
ج. بیروت ۱۳۸۸
کتاب



army set up their base as well as the French forces under General Juin. And finally across the region of Kasserine, there was the American army under the command of General Patton. The French army participated in winning back Tunisia, and made Moncef Bey pay a high price, though he never questioned the Protectorate in public. He was without a doubt, a patriotic prince who understood very early from his father, Naceur, how to be close to those who were active for the *emancipation of Tunisia*, without directly being on one side or the other. He could no longer stand to see Tunisian sovereignty trampled by a power that was supposed to

be protecting it. He wanted to set things straight. It was too late or too early. General Giraud gave the orders on May 14, 1943, and the headlines read, "His Highness Sidi Mohamed El Moncef Pasha Bey, Holder of the Kingdom of Tunis has been deposed !" The orders were executed by General Juin, who, accompanied by an aide-de-camp, and a servant, took the Bey to Laghouat in Algeria first, then to Tenes and finally to Pau in France, where he died in 1948.

His removal was a wicked act without any judicial basis. There was no political or moral justification. We don't know who exactly inspired this ; it was undoubtedly not the Americans, who withdrew their support after the grotesque episode where English soldiers transferred the Bey from Hammam-Lif to the garage of the Residency in Tunis, before allowing him to



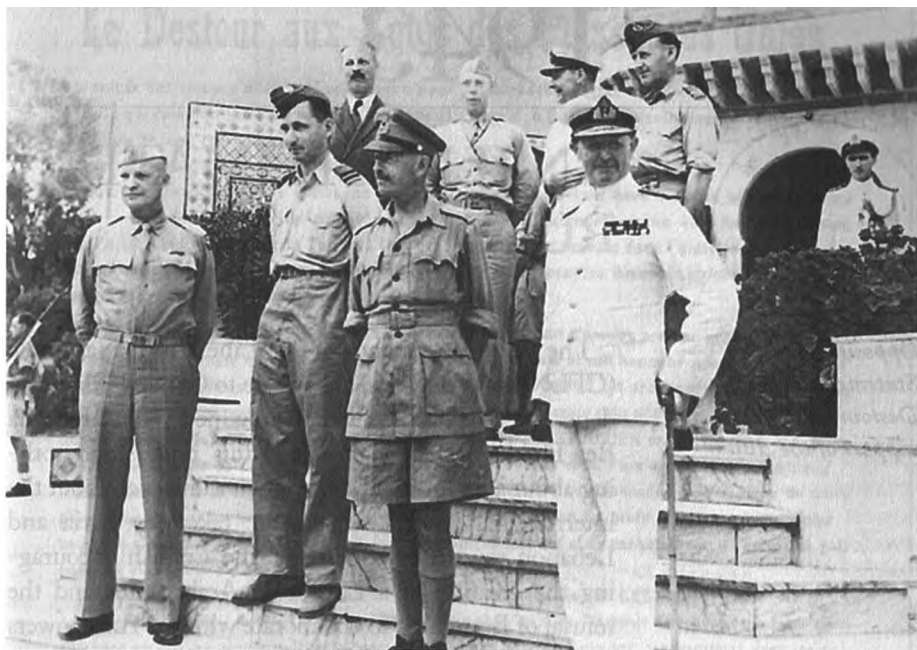
Camp for German prisoners of war in the Mateur region, May 9, 1943.

*Opposite page:
The US army in Kasserine under the command of General George Patton.*



*US troops in Tunis on
what is now known
as Avenue Habib
Bourguiba.*

return to his palace. Nor was it the higher English authorities who supported De Gaulle and not Giraud. Who initiated this operation ? The lobby for the French colonists who wanted to profit from the circumstances by forgetting about their collaboration with Vichy ? Was it a reckless act by General Giraud that proved once again his political inconsistencies ? Charles-Andre Julien (in *L'Afrique du Nord en marche*, pp. 90-92, Omnibus Edition, 2002) reported that "the [French] authorities in Algiers were persuaded that the Bey was a collaborator and had shared their belief with the Allies". That's all ! The author, who did not hesitate to share his opinion, concluded that "... by eliminating Moncef, they had created Moncefism which gave to nationalism an unprecedented bitterness." We must note, however, that neither General De Gaulle nor the government of the Fourth Republic



opposed the decision. It was a political mistake par excellence that would turn the Tunisian people even more against the Protectorate.

One month before, symbolically on April 9 1943, the last of the detainees abroad, Habib Bourguiba, returned to Tunisia. A new era began in Tunisia with :

- the return of Bourguiba,
- the departure abroad of Dr Thameur and those who were being threatened by a colonisation streng -
- thened by the opening of proceedings against a thousand people (Charles A. Julien, *ibid.*'),
- the deposition of Moncef Bey,
- and the ascension to the throne of Lamine Bey, an illegitimate ruler in the eyes of the people.

Everything would change in five years.

The chiefs of the US and British Allies in Tunis. In the foreground, left to right: General Eisenhower, General Arthur Tedder, Commander of the Allied troops in North Africa (1942-1943), General Harold R.L.G. Alexander and Admiral Andrew Browne.

1943

AN ILLEGITIMATE RULER

*Opposite page:
Statement by Neo-
Destour, May 1943, in
support of the Allies.*

*Opposite and overleaf:
General de Gaulle was
keen to support the
legitimacy of Lamine Bey
(considered the "French
Bey" until the death of his
predecessor, Bey Moncef,
in 1948). De Gaulle
officially invited him to
France in July 1945.
Pictured is an excerpt
from the newspaper
Ath-Thouraya, devoting
considerable space to the
speeches made on the
occasion by de Gaulle and
his host.*

The Comité Français de Libération Nationale (CFLN) that had given a mandate to General Giraud to depose "His Highness Sidi Mohamed Moncef Pasha Bey, Holder of the Kingdom of Tunis" understood nothing about a dethroned Bey or about Tunisia or about the international context. The route taken by Syria and Lebanon toward emancipation, the English encouraging the creation of a League of Arab States and the refusal of Bourguiba to collaborate with the Axis powers should have prompted French authorities to adopt an appropriate policy immediately after the territory was "liberated". As usual, the British, being pragmatists, apologised for their part in regards to Moncef Bey, leaving the French to heal the wounds. The Americans strove to save Bourguiba, who had publicly showed his support for the Allies in two leaflets (May 9 and 13, 1943), in addition to letters sent to the American Consulate and a message to the President of the United States. At a meeting on June 9, 1943 with the new Resident General, Bourguiba received his freedom. He reopened his attorney's office and intending to preach moderation, he placed the banner of the Neo-Destour on his balcony. That was too much for the French authorities, who made him take it down. Still, the militants from this point knew that Bourguiba's clerical aides, Allala Laouiti and Mabrouk Abdessemad, would now spread the Destourian directives and his office

Le Destour aux Côtés des Puissances Unies

L'entrée des troupes alliées à Tunis nous a pour toujours débarrassés du spectre du Colonialisme fasciste qui comptait faire de notre chère Tunisie ce qu'il a fait de la Tripolitaine: un domaine d'exploitation et une terre de peuplement.

Cela le peuple tunisien ne l'oubliera jamais.

Toutefois, la victoire des Alliés ne doit pas replacer la Tunisie dans la même situation qu'avant car il ne ramènera la vieille politique de contrainte et d'incompréhension qui fait tant de mal aussi bien à la France qu'à la Tunisie. Une ère nouvelle s'est ouverte dans l'histoire de l'Humanité du jour où les Nations Unies ont proclamé le droit des petits peuples à une vie autonome et digne dans le cadre de la Communauté de toutes les nations.

Le Parti Destourien qui n'a cessé de lutter depuis tant d'années pour un régime nouveau garantissant au peuple tunisien sa liberté intérieure, sa dignité et son honneur a tout de suite senti que l'idéal des Alliés est le sien que la charte de l'Atlantique traduit ses propres aspirations et qu'un eue paix durable entre les grandes puissances ne peut se concevoir sans une organisation internationale garantissant aux petits leur droit à la vie: le parti DESTOURIEN est fermement convaincu que la libération de la Tunisie est conforme à l'idéal de Justice et de Paix des Puissances Alliées.

Son souci des réalités lui fait toutefois un devoir de reconnaître que la situation géographique de notre pays et son importance stratégique lui imposent certaines servitudes au profit de la communauté internationale qui pour être efficaces doivent être librement consenties et ne pas aboutir à l'oppression politique en vue de son exploitation économique.

Telle est et telle a été toujours la pensée des dirigeants responsables du DESTOUR.

Le Secrétaire Général du PARTI du fond de sa prison alors qu'il ne disposait d'aucun moyen pour faire entendre sa voix au peuple tunisien a maintes et maintes fois soit dans ses conversations avec ses visiteurs soit dans ses lettres mis en garde tant les militants destouriens que les sympathisants contre une propagande de nature à égarer l'opinion et à la tromper.

Le Bureau Politique l'a prouvé ensuite d'une manière nette et positive par son attitude à l'égard des puissances de l'Axe. Celle-ci en libérant ses membres après cinq ans de détention dans différentes prisons de Tunisie et de France croyaient faire d'eux des serviteurs complaisants. Mais, malgré les prévenances, les sollicitations et les pressions tant à Rome qu'ici même, les dirigeants destouriens se sont refusés à toute collaboration et à toute compromission.

Tout dernièrement le leader reconnu du Parti, Secrétaire Général du Bureau Politique Habib Bourguiba s'est obstinément refusé, malgré, les sollicitations de toutes sortes à quitter le sol tunisien pour aller à Rome ou à Berlin mettre son autorité au service de l'Axe.

Enfin quoique rendu à la liberté par ces puissances il a tenu, à peine débarqué sur le sol tunisien occupé militairement par les forces de l'Axe, à aller saluer le représentant de la France et à l'assurer que les événements de ces dernières années n'ont ni altéré ses sentiments vis-à-vis de cette Puissance ni entamé sa conviction dans la nécessité plus urgente que jamais pour la France de pratiquer à l'égard du Peuple Tunisien une politique de confiance et de compréhension.

Il a agi ainsi car ce qu'il est fermement convaincu que l'intérêt supérieur de notre Pays n'est pas dans le triomphe du fascisme oppresseur mais dans la victoire des principes de Justice et de liberté qui sont à la base de toute Vraie Démocratie et en particulier de la Démocratie française.

Aussi notre Parti Destourien est prêt à collaborer à cette victoire dont il espère un avenir meilleur.

Cette collaboration il l'a constamment souhaitée il l'appelle de toutes ses forces.

LE BUREAU POLITIQUE
du PARTI DESTOURIEN

والى عليم بان الحكومة الفرنسية قد وضعت تحت الدرس برنامجا للاصلاحات ونظاما لتجهيز البلاد واثرائها وكلاهما يدخلان
النظام الحسن الذي تم انتجازه لفائدة السير بالبلاد التونسية في طريق التقدم واكون سعيدا اذا ما تحققت تلك الاصلاحات
والك البرنامج بمعونة العولمة الفرنسية لانهما يعودان على مجموع السكان بالفائدة .
وبلدي في هذه المناسبة ان اوجه تحياتي الى مستحقها من قواد الجيش المجلين والذين اجتمعوا حول هذه المائدة الى قواد
الجيش الاخرين الذين ساحتى بمقابلتهم بعد ايام والذين لذل الغار رؤوسهم في المواقع الحاسمة التي لم يعرف التاريخ لها
سابقى مجدهم قائما ابد الدهر
لقد كانوا بحق الرؤساء الاكفاء للجنود البواسل الذين سقوا بدمائهم شتى ميادين القتال واتخذوا بفضل تضحياتهم
الشارة وقراننا فاجلسوها في المكان اللائق بها في طليعة الدول العظمى
والى احبي اوائك الابطال الخالدين والاحياء الماجدين تحية ولاء وابانهم تحية اخوية صادرة عن رعاياي الذين حاربوا الى
يوم لفائدة المثل الاعلى .
والعنى على الله ان يعملكم بالسعادة وبكلامكم بالنعانية يا جناب رئيس الحكومة وان يحق الرقاهية والمجادة لفرانسا .

خطاب جناب الجنرال دوغول دام محروسا

لما ضلت حضرتكم العلية فاعربت عن مدى تاثرها بالحلمى الذي قابلتها به الامة الفرنسية اليوم في باريس وبالاسم في
البارك ولم تكن تلك التحايا الصادرة عن مرور ركبتكم الميمون موجهة فحسب الى صديق وطهم الذي خيراها . بل والى الملك
الجالس على عرش امة نبيلة ارتبط مصيرها بمصير فرانسا بروابط لا تنقسم عراها
ان الصداقة التقليدية الموجودة بين فرانسا وتونس قد ارتكزت منذ بزوغ فجرها على اتفاق متين في العواطف والمصالح وقد
ارها قوة وتماسكا الدم العزيز الذي اهرقه ابناؤها في ميادين القتال بافريقيا واطاليا وفرنسا والمانيا .
والتونسيون الذين تحملوا بمزيد الشجاعة والبأس محن الحرب واهوالها التي فاقت ما تحملوه منذ ربيع قرن فانت . قد
جعلوا امتيازات جديدة وخاصة من الثفات فرانسا وعنايتها .
والحكومة الفرنسية ترى من واجبها ان لا تقصر همتها . والحالة تلك . على مديد المساعدة لتونس حتى ترمم خراباتها وتجدد
اساساتها فقط بل هي تريد ان توجه مجهوداتها نحو اجاز مشروع مقبل واسم النطاق . وقد تفضلت جالنتكم بالاشارة اليه
ولا يشتمل ذلك البرنامج المسطر على تنمية تروقة المملكة التونسية بالاساليب المنظمة التي تتوقف عليها ارقاهية البلاد
هي تتناول ايضا بعض الاصلاحات التي ترمي . في نطاق الحماية . الى ترضية المصالح والامال الشرعية لرعاياكم .

مولاي

حكومة الجمهورية ترحب بمقدمكم وفرانسا التي امتحنتم بالويلات وسارت قديما نحو مصيرها الثابت . لسعادة ومشرفة
اولكم المبارك في ارضها وهي تشهد بوفاء القطر التونسي وقاء لم تؤثر فيه الاحداث . وهي تبسط اليه . في شخص مليكم
البارك . احس عواطفها متبلة الى الله جل وعلا ان يكلا برعايته عهدكم الميمون الذي نتمنى ان يدوم طويلا .



عجلة التريا سعيدة بان تفتح صدر صفحاتها
الاولى للحديث عن رحلة جلالة الملك المعظم
سيدنا ومولانا محمد الامين باشا باي دام عزه
وعلا الى فرنسا واراضي المانيا المحتلة تلك
الرحلة الميمونة المباركة التي تشرف فيها مدير
المجلة بمصاحبة الركب الملكي السامي
وتجدون الى جانب الخطابين التاريخيين الملقين
في ١٥ جويلية ١٩٤٥ اثناء العشاء الرسمي
الذي نظمته جناب الجنرال دوغول رئيس
حكومة فرنسا على شرف جلالة باي تونس .
شريط الرحلة بقلم مدير المجلة

صورة تزيينية التقطت لجناب الجنرال
دوغول رئيس حكومة فرنسا عند مسا زار
البلاد التونسية واستدعى جلالة الباي المعظم
لزياره فرنسا فكانت تلبية الدعوة في شهر
جويلية ١٩٤٥ وبرى في الصورة الى جانب
الضيف الكريم . جلالة الباي المعظم و جناب
الجنرال ماست المقيم العام لفرنسا بتونس
والصورة ملتقطة في قصر باردو المعمور .

خطاب جلالة الباي المعظم دام عزه وعلا

يا جناب الرئيس !

لقد بلغ مني التأثر مبلغا عظيما لما بلغني دعوتكم الكريمة وقم بالثني عواطف الحماس القلبية التي شعرت بها منذ ان
ضيفا على فرنسا . واني ارى من خلالها العبارة البليغة عن الصداقة التي تختلج بصدر الجندي العظيم ورئيس حكومة الجمهورية
المجيد وبصدر الشعب الفرنسي نحو شخصي ونحو بلادي .
سبقى مظاهر ذلك الولاء حية في نفسي ويزيدها رسوخا ما تنطوي عليه ضمائر رعاياي وضميري انا من حب لل
الفرنسية النبيلة . هذه العواطف مصدرها القلب والعقل وبرجم عهدا الى العلاقات الودية المتبادلة بين فرنسا والعائلة الم
منذ ما يزيد عن القرنين ولم تكدر صفوها الحوادث مرة واحدة .
وليعلم الشعب التونسي مدى الايمان لفرنسا والى صديقه الحميم الجنرال ماست الذي تتجسم فيه خصال الجندي العا
والاداري المتحك

Tract issued by the
Tunisian Communist
Party (PCT) calling for a
meeting in Hammam-
Lif chaired by Mohamed-
Jrad, member of the PCT
politburo, attended by
Dr Slimane Ben Slimane
representing the Tunisian
Committee for Freedom
and Peace (1949), and
president of the
Association of Victims of
Fascist Persecution.

ايها السكان بحمام الانف

- لتوقيف الاضطهاد الاستعماري
- للنضال في سبيل التحرير القومي
- للدفاع عن السلم المهددة
- للعمل في سبيل الحريات الديمقراطية
- وللتحصيل على مطالب العمال والطبقات الشعبية

احضروا جميعا في

الاجتماع الكبير

الذي تمقدا جمعية ضحايا الاضطهاد الفاشستي في سينيما الكوليزي
يوم الاحد ٢٣ افريل ١٩٥٠ على الساعة العاشرة صباحا

تحت رئاسة محمد جراد

العضو بالديوان السياسي للحزب الشيوعي التونسي
وحيث ياخذ الكلمة

الحكيم سليمان بن سليمان ومدام جولان

عن اللجنة التونسية للحرية والسلم رئيسة جمعية ضحايا الاضطهاد الفاشستي

مطبعة الشريف - تونس

would be the meeting place for all survivors of the 1937 Political Bureau and the Destourian leaders who imposed themselves throughout the struggle. Bourguiba, who had urged his colleagues not to leave Tunisia in vain, saw Habib Thameur, Taieb Slim, Rachid Driss, Hassine Triki, Hedi Saidi and others go to Europe following the Germans. The most urgent obligation was to save the thousand people arrested in the aftermath of “liberation”, and Bourguiba became involved with the help of the Americans once again.

Before the end of the year, the prisoners - 350 in July and then 517 in September - were freed. However, the political horizon remained blocked and the possibilities for action were extremely limited for the nationalists.

Mohamed Lamine, the sovereign, considered by Tunisians as the “Bey of the French” faced rejection: the people boycotted his public appearances and publicly insulted his colleagues and those close to him. Tunisia was no longer in the era of “co-sovereignty”, denounced since the end of the 19th century as contrary to what was in the treaties. France, through the intervention of the CFLN, had taken away all Tunisian sovereignty, and, after having assumed the right to depose a leader who they were supposed to protect, placed the entire administration of the kingdom under the direct control of the Resident General and his representative, the Secretary General of the Tunisian Government, in decrees issued on June 21, 1943 and then March 27, 1944. This was not meant to make Lamine Bey more popular. He realised very well how uncomfortable the situation was and leaned towards rebellion. Lamine Bey hoped to become less unpopular in July, with the announcement of his intention to abdicate, written and sent on June 3, 1943 from Laghouat to Generals Juin and Mast. He had hoped that by abdicating he would live by Tenese near the Mediterranean and not in the desert any longer. However, the Tunisian people did not recognise the authenticity of these documents and continued to give him the cold shoulder, encouraged by the princes in his family. In April 1944, even the French Socialist Party was asking for his return from exile. France demanded abdication in official form and transferred Moncef Bey to Pau during the summer of 1945. His son Raouf was authorised to join him. However, in Tunisia, the time was ripe to demand the return of Sidi El-Moncef until his death in September 1948. So the problem of the throne remained for five years.



The young Sheikh Mohamed Fadhel Ben Achour, member of a review committee charged in 1944 with drawing up the future status of Tunisia.

France, on the one hand, was looking to satisfy a portion of public opinion from the mainland and on the other hand make things difficult for the Neo-Destour, so they rubber-stamped the legality of the Tunisian Communist Party (PCT), which became autonomous from the older party in France in the hope that it could attract the Tunisian working class, who were worried about their standard of living. Bourguiba attempted to respond by travelling and spreading around the country in October 1943, but the Residency restricted his ability to travel. In addition, the Resident

General gave a speech in Kairouan on November 23, 1943 full of promises for graduates and farmers. The field of action for the Neo-Destour was shrinking. A national front was going to replace it: a “study commission” was given the task of creating the future status of Tunisia. It brought together all of the different patriotic forces. In September 1944, Tahar Ben Ammar, Salah Farhat, Habib Bourguiba, Mustapha Kaak, Mohamed Ben Romdhane, Hamadi Badra, Fadhel Ben Achour and Tahar Lakhdar met. In other words, all of the representatives of the Old and the Neo-Destour, the elected assemblies, the reform party and both secular and religious groups came together. They were unanimous in announcing “in light of the circumstances”, that they would limit their demands to “interior autonomy for the Tunisian nation [self-government] - sic -, based on democracy and whose form would be determined by an assembly created by national consultation”. This resolution was presented to an expanded commission on November 13, 1944 and also brought together Maitre Albert Bessis, Dr Materi, Mhamed Chenik, Aziz Jallouli, the three Zouches - Ahmed, Nouredine and Tahar - Bahri Guiga, Moncef Mestiri, Ali Kahia and

Dr Chedli Ben Romdhane. The commission was becoming larger and larger. On February 22, 1945, the text became the *Manifeste du Front Tunisien*, created by the "Committee of Sixty". The public was kept informed by leaflets the Neo-Destour distributed in April. Bourguiba's knowhow shone through.

This accord would be further built upon by the head of the Neo-Destour who, on March 26, 1945, travelled to Cairo where the new League of Arab States was being established. This trip has been presented in the history of the national liberation movement as liberation from the confines that France wanted Tunisia to remain in. This was also a political action to oblige independent Arabs not to forget their brothers who were still dominated. The statutes of the League permitted colonised Arabs to have representatives in the commissions if they had a programme to present. Tunisia had one : the Manifesto of the Tunisian Front, and Bourguiba was an excellent communicator.

In addition, learning that Thameur and his colleagues were stuck in Madrid after their odyssey through Italy, Germany and France, Bourguiba spoke with the Arab chancelleries and struck a chord with the Iraqis who provided them with passports so they could continue on to Cairo. A new horizon was opening up for the Neo-Destourians for international diplomatic action and they were going to take advantage of all available resources. Bourguiba travelled across the Middle East while Thameur and his colleagues, along with the Algerians and Moroccans, and the *Arab Maghreb Bureau*, opened an office at 10, Saad Mausoleum Street (Saad Zaghloul was the leader of the Egyptian liberation movement). This was a symbolic address that would become famous among Maghreban nationalists. In December 1946, Bourguiba went to New York to the United Nations.





Habib Bourguiba, centre, surrounded by the members of the Arab Maghreb Bureau in Cairo, together 'with a handful of sympathisers. To his left, the Moroccan nationalist leader Emir Abdelkrim El-Khattabi, and to his right Mohamed, Abdelkrim's brother. Sitting, far left, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna.

1946

AN INDEPENDENT FRONT

On the home front in Tunisia, things were active. The Manifesto was a great working tool that was however ignored by the Protectorate. France missed many opportunities to reestablish a dialogue with representatives ready to negotiate solutions. Bourguiba even managed to get a report on a policy for cooperation to the Residency on March 28, 1944. Nothing came of it. The Neo-Destourians drew their own conclusions from that, and things were changing in Tunisia from year to year. In 1945 for a start, at the convention for the CGT which met on March 18 and

Maison des Syndicats in Sousse during the 1946 strikes. (Napolitano family archives.)





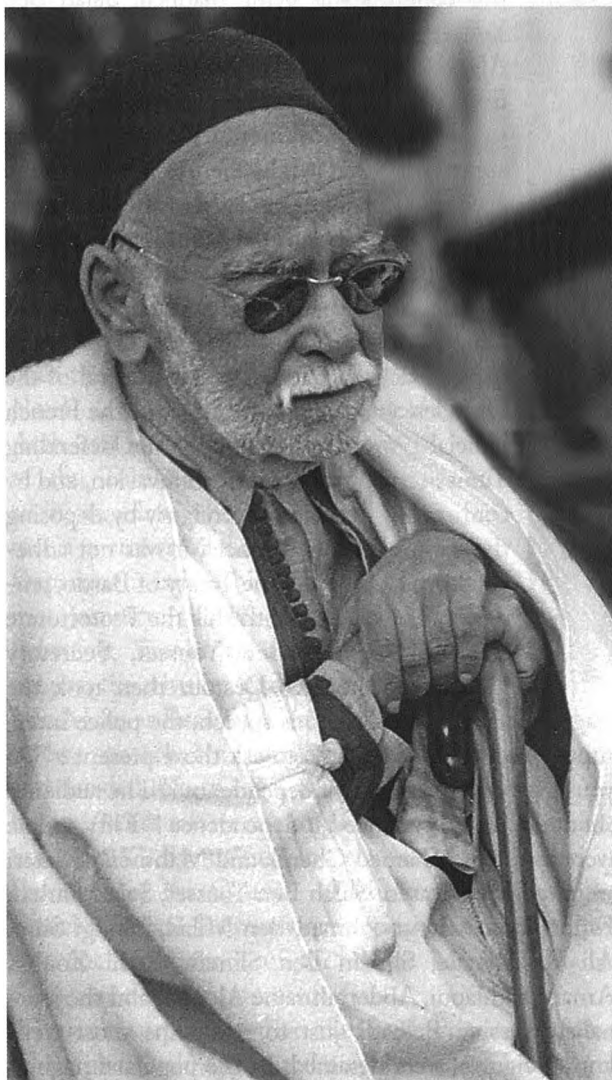


*Previous page:
Farhat Hached
(1914–52), union leader,
founder of the Union
Generale des Travailleurs
Tunisiens (UGTT:
General Union of
Tunisian Workers) in
January 1946.*

19, there was a split, and some Tunisian workers left to create the *Union des Syndicats autonomes du Sud* with Farhat Hached and Habib Achour as leaders. On January 29, 1945, this union would ally with the federations that had been established in the capital to create the UGTT — *Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* (Tunisian General Labour Unions) - and the post of Secretary General was entrusted to Farhat Hached, a man who would play a key role in the development of the country and have an international audience.

It is important to note that at this time, from 1944 to 1948, Tunisia was suffering from a succession of droughts which triggered rural migration toward the cities, and famine reached its peak in 1947. Official statistics show that 36% of the population was undernourished and only 12% of children went to school as opposed to 100% of the French children in Tunisia. The Tunisian trade union members in the CGT wanted to help relieve the misery of the people. But the Communists, who were participating in the French government, felt it was not the moment to interfere with French policy. In 1946, the UGTT began making social demands that would run up against the inflexibility of French employers and the administration. This coincided with a general protest movement that was taking place for other reasons and led by others not associated with the labour unions. On August 13, a demonstration was organised in Sfax calling for the return of Moncef Bey. On August 17, a call for Jihad was given in the mosques. On August 18, meetings and demonstrations were organised all over Tunisia under the auspices of the UGTT. On August 23, on the eve of the *Night of*

Destiny (the 26th day of the month of Ramadan), the political parties took over. This was no longer just a Tunisian front seeking autonomy, but a front for independence. A national congress was held, presided over by a respected magistrate. Laroussi Haddad declared



Opposite page:
Three years after the end of World War II in Tunisia, food stamps were distributed in 1947 — the year the country faced a major famine.

Laroussi Haddad chairs the Neo-Destour conference on the night of August 23 to 24, 1946, known as the “Night of Destiny”.



France's new Resident General, Jean Mons, appointed in February 1946 to develop a new policy.

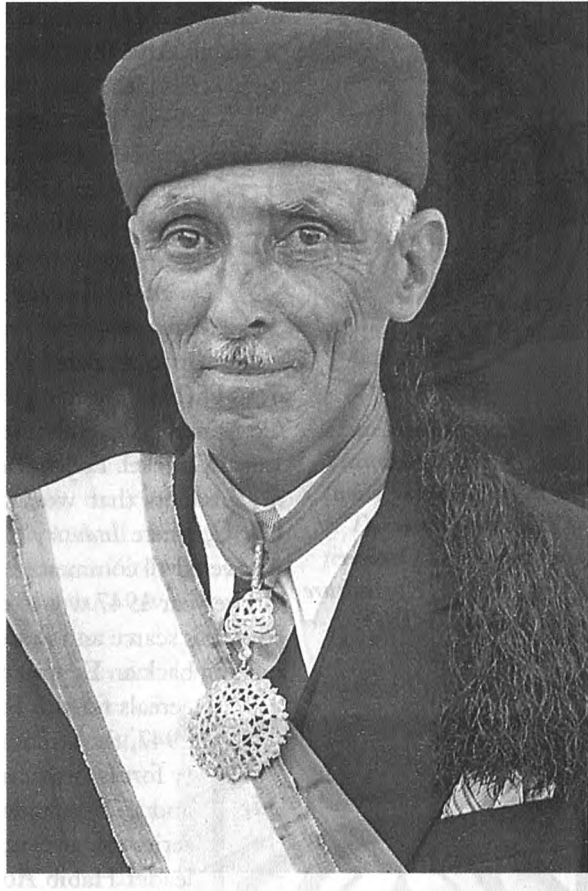
that "Today, it is the Protectorate that I am condemning to death !" Nicknamed the *Congress of the Night of Destiny*, this gathering has remained in history the most celebrated show of national unity. At the same time as this congress was being planned, Salah Ben Youssef received communications from Algeria and Morocco, where the nationalists from the two countries expressed their desire to join the movement. Casemajor, kept apprised of what was happening because of the censorship of communications, was getting an idea of the impact of the Tunisian fight on all of North Africa. The same author reported the minutes of the meeting, written by Habib Chatti but censored, in the *Az-Zohra* newspaper. Salah Farhat, Secretary General of the Old Destour, gave a speech against the French judicial system saying that, by not defending Tunisian soil against German invasion, and by confiscating Tunisian sovereignty by deposing the legitimate Bey, Moncef, it was not adhering to the clauses in the Treaty of Bardo, rendering it obsolete. With this the Protectorate was dead. Salah Ben Youssef, Secretary General of the Neo-Destour then took the

stage, but in the middle of his speech, the police interrupted and he just had time to ask those present: "Do you agree on proclaiming independence ?" The audience shouted : "Independence ! Independence !" Fifty people were arrested. Mhamed Chenik and Mahmoud Materi were quickly released. Salah Ben Youssef, Salah Farhat, Fadhel Ben Achour, Ahmed Ben Milad, Mongi Slim, Ali Balhaouane, Sliman Ben Sliman, Fathi Zouhir, Amar Dakhlaoui, Abderrahmane Aloulou and the journalist Hassine Belhadj, just to name the most well-known figures, were detained. In the popular imagina-

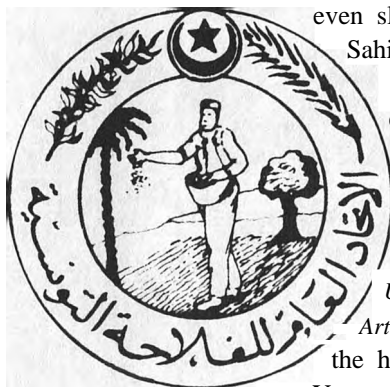
tion, this incarceration was called “Habs (prison of) El-Baqlaoua”, because the detainees were sent sweets at the Eid, which was three days after they were arrested. Their imprisonment without a trial lasted for one month. One can imagine the embarrassment in the Bey’s court and for the French. But this gave an advantage to the Tunisians abroad, where they made waves in the halls of the UN in the month of December once the situation had been placed in the spotlight by Arab and Asian defenders of the Tunisian cause. In addition, Habib Bourguiba met a member of the State Department in Washington in January 1947. In February, France tried to get past the crisis by sending

Jean Mons as Resident General, whose job was to create a new approach. He ended censorship of the newspapers and decided reforms. But what would have been accepted in 1943 as taking one step forward was simply rejected in 1947. By maintaining the Resident General as President of the Council of Ministers and with the French General Secretary overseeing all administrative acts, including those of the Prime Minister, France condemned all the reforms to fail.

It isn’t surprising that the new Prime Minister, Mustapha Kaak, appointed on July 15, was booed and



The new Prime Minister, Mustapha Kaak, appointed on July 15, 1947. Photograph by Victor Sebag.



The Union Generale des Agriculteurs Tunisiens (UGAT: General Union of Tunisian farmers), forerunner of the Union Tunisienne de l'Agriculture et de la Pêche (UTAP: Tunisian Union of Agriculture and Fisheries).



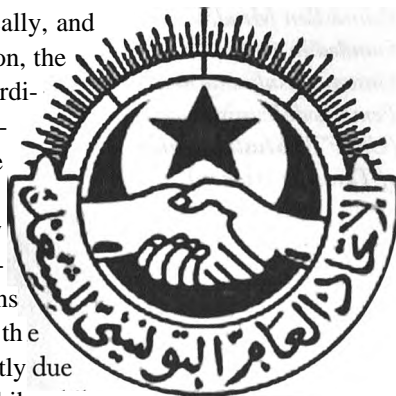
even slapped during a visit from Lamine Bey at the Sahib At-Tabaa mosque in Tunis.

Also, the example of the UGTT had a ripple effect. The *General Federation of Agricultural Unions* had been created in June 1946 under the leadership of Habib Mouelhi and Brahim Abdellah. Salah Ben Youssef stepped in the following year to change the word *Federation* to *Union*. In January 1947, a *Coalition of Unions for Artisans and Small Business Owners* was created with the help of Farhat Hached (UGTT) and Salah Ben Youssef (Neo-Destour). Hached even presided over the Constituent Assembly and Ben Youssef was named Legal Counsel. Ferjani Belhaj Ammar headed this new organisation that would sometime later become the UTIC, where *Industry (I)* replaced *Artisan (A)* and the *C* covered all commerce in order to cover a larger sector.

The year 1947 would end badly. It was a year when food was scarce and France would commit the error of turning back an Egyptian ship loaded with 300 tons of cereals for the Tunisian people. On August 5, 1947, the strike in Sfax turned tragic : security forces fired on the strikers and left 29 dead and 57 wounded. Afterwards there was a series of arrests, included that of the labor leader Habib Achour. This event played such a large role in the development of Tunisian labour unions that it is still commemorated today by the UGTT.

The Neo-Destour, as we have seen, was no stranger to the evolution of the political landscape. From 1945 on, with Bourguiba being sent abroad, the party had undergone a real transformation. The party had lost its lifeblood after the war. From being an exclusive party based on political battles and direct action, guided by the inertia of the Destour, and the

refusal of the communists to think nationalistically, and taking into account the violence of the repression, the Neo-Destour had little by little become the coordinators of something larger and more decentralised. The multiplication of fronts in the national struggle, each one unique in its way, did not keep the Destourians from starting new organisations and thus being more widely represented. Thus the UGTT was born. The actions of their leader, Hached, were undeniable, but the contribution of the federations was also evidently due to the activism of Neo-Destourian militants. Habib



The Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT: General Union of Tunisian Workers), founded in 1946.

Achour, Bechir Bellagha, Abbas Agha, Mahmoud Khiari, Mahmoud Messadi, Abdallah Farhat, among others, were Destourians. Among the civil servants, Mohamed Ben Abdelkader belonged to the Old Destour, and Fadhel Ben Achour was a Zitounian patriot. The farmers, farm workers and land owners would create a coalition of their unions that in 1950 would become the UGAT — *Union Generale des Agriculteurs Tunisiens*. Bchira Ben Mrad, the daughter of Mohamed Salah Ben Mrad (the Hanefite *Sheikh el-Islam*, dismissed for Moncefism and for having protested against the arrests made on the Night of Destiny), created a union for women. The Scouts were also rejuvenated with Mongi Bali. Souad Khatteche Ennai'fer created the *Association of Young Muslim Women* as a counterpart to the *Young Muslims* headed by her husband, Mohamed Salah Ennai'fer, which had been created out of an association founded by Rachid Driss. Even when they were not behind the creation of such organisations, the Neo-Destour helped support them with their members. The nationalists quickly got into the habit of talking about both the party

The union leader, Habib Achour (1913-99).



*Bchira Ben Mrad,
founded in 1936, the
Union Musulmane des
Femmes de Tunisie
(UMFT: Muslim Union
of Tunisian Women).*



and the organisations as one and the same. Salah Ben Youssef was considered as the project manager and mastermind. Mongi Slim, working in Bourguiba's office as director of the party - a newly created post - was tasked with renewing the structures of the Neo-Destour.

The year 1948 would also bring new elements to the political landscape. Habib Bourguiba, who in January was the Secretary General of the new Committee for the Liberation of the Arab Maghreb, was ousted from the position in March. A major disagreement grew between him and Habib Thameur's team, who had the

*Page 620:
The Union des Syndicats
des Artisans et des Petits
Commerçants (Trade
Union Federation of
Artisans and Small
Traders), forerunner of
UTICA.*



*Bust of Mongi Bali,
founder of the Muslim
Scouts of Tunisia, on the
square that bears his
name in Tunis.*

upper hand in the Arab Maghreb Bureau. The Neo-Destour's Political Bureau sent Sliman Ben Sliman to report on the situation in January. The conflict was growing. Salah Ben Youssef returned, accompanied by Jallouli Fares in August. The conflict, as described in the memoirs of Rachid Driss, was in reality a personality clash between a man full of flame and passion — Bourguiba - and a man who was ice-cold and guarded, Thameur. The two men were separated by a difference in character, working methods, management and organisation. It was exacerbated by differences in political beliefs. Bourguiba was disappointed with Arab aid and the failure of the Tunisian cause to become international. In addition, in 1948, Arabs lost Palestine. For Bourguiba, it was obvious that a solution would at some stage have to involve negotiating with France. In this sense, the Tunisian Front (his work in 1945) was more useful than the *Night of Destiny* (the work of Ben Youssef's team). Habib Thameur and his colleagues believed that the word *independence* would work better

Salah Ben Youssef.



on an international level than *self-government*. The Political Bureau came up with a solution and decided to give each person a role : Thameur, organisation and Bourguiba, political propaganda. At the Neo-Destour Congress held in Tunis at the Slim family home on October 17, 1948, Bourguiba, who was Secretary General, would become President of the Party, and Salah Ben Youssef his replacement. Sliman Ben Sliman was renewed as a member and Hedi Nouira, Hedi Chaker, Mongi Slim and Youssef Rouissi, members of the National Council, would officially become members of the Political Bureau along with Jallouli Fares, Allala Balhaouane and Habib Thameur. The members of the Congress believed they had satis-



Mongi Slim. In 1948, Bourguiba thought that he was the victim of a "conspiracy" hatched by Slim and Ben Youssef.

fled everyone. What followed, though, would show how fragile this solution was. Bourguiba considered himself the victim of a plot launched by Ben Youssef and Mongi Slim, Thameur's cousin. Add to that the different political views of those at the top. Ben Youssef and his team stayed in Tunis and evolved into the Front for the Night of Destiny, in other words, for independence, under pressure from forces that they had created themselves. The difference was real, and the activists of this period did some rhetorical acrobatics to explain how to reconcile the two options.

Page 627:

The remains of Moncef Bey being received at the port of Tunis, September 5, 1948.

1948

A LEGITIMATE SOVEREIGN ONCE AGAIN

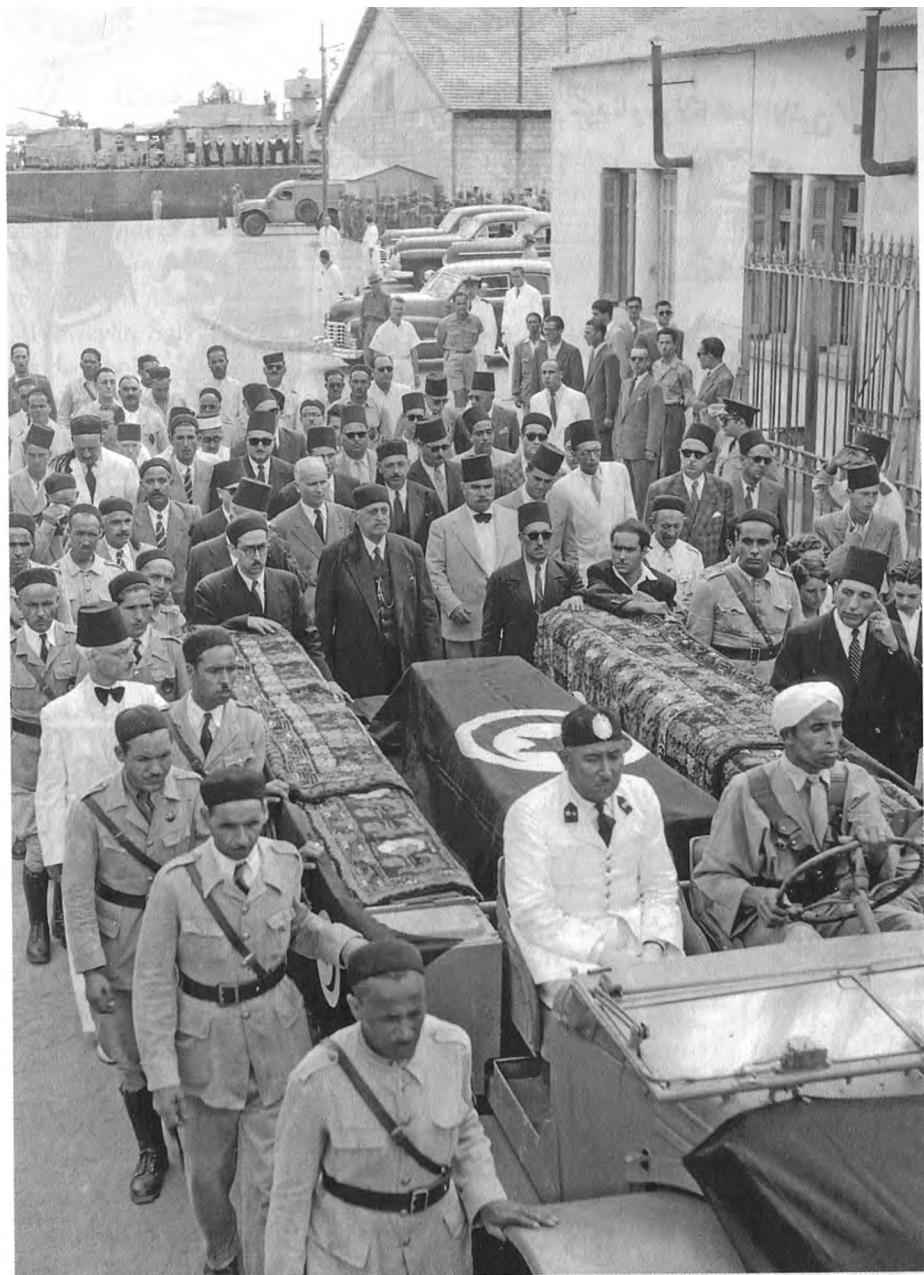
Lamine Bey.



The event that would fundamentally change the political landscape was the death of Moncef Bey on September 1, 1948. The heroic leader in whom Tunisians never lost hope died at Pau. He was ill, certainly, but the news hit the Tunisian people hard, and

they held a magnificent funeral for him. As per his request, he was buried in the Djellaz cemetery (the same one where there were riots in 1911) among his people and not in the historic mausoleum of his dynasty. The martyr king was dead and his legend would grow. Moncefism would become larger than the political movement.

For Lamine Bey, it was the end of an ordeal that lasted five years. He was no longer an illegitimate leader. The Bey of the French had become a head of state that Tunisians could use as a shortcut to the Residency. Salah Ben Youssef understood this well and well before the death of Moncef Bey, he had begun trying to get closer to the reigning Bey by creating a dialogue with his son,

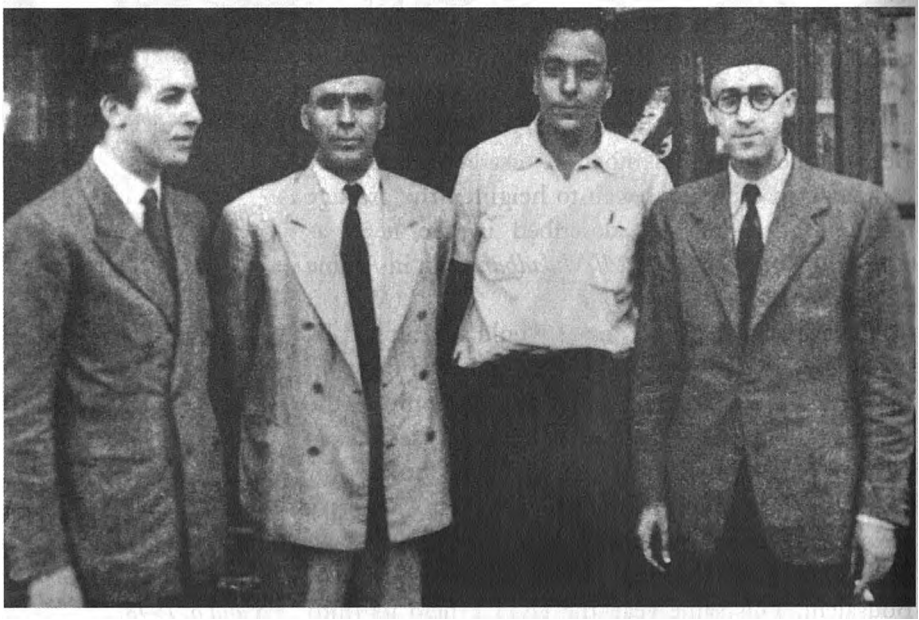




*Opposite page:
Lamine Bey was now
well-known and
associated with Moncef
Bey and Habib
Bourguiba.
Photomontage by the
photographer Nacer
Boudidah, 1950.*

*Front page of the
Tunis-Soir, September
5 and 6, 1948.*

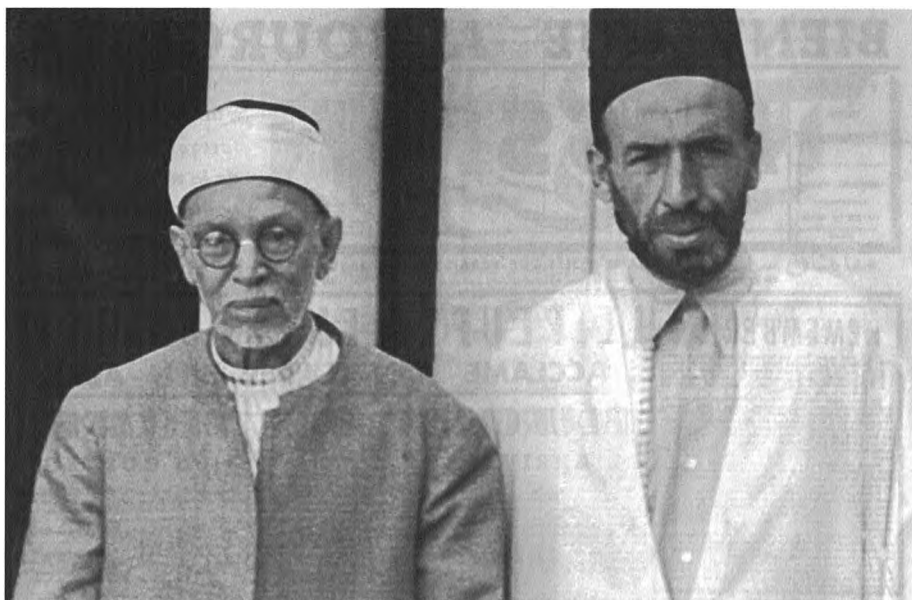
1948 : A Legitimate Sovereign Once Again | 629



*Taieb Slim, Bourguiba,
Ali Kamoun and
Dr Habib Thameur in
Cairo.*

*Opposite page :
Mohieddine Klibi in
Cairo, accompanied by
Sheikh Al-Azhar and
the Tunisian Mohamed
Alkhdr Hussein.*

congress, clearly signifying in the general motion that they were requesting the election of a parliament and the creation of a constitution for a sovereign Tunisian government. The fact that the UGTT and the agricultural unions were acting autonomously created situations that the party was unable to control. There was inconsistency between the “truce” observed by Salah Ben Youssef and the expectations of the country. A new party, *Union and Progress*, began, perhaps instigated by the Residency in order to attract the elites who were critical of the Neo-Destour for not maintaining national unity. Habib Thameur from Cairo and Youssef Rouissi from Damascus called for the party to work together. The agricultural workers’ strike in Enfidha in October 1950 that ended in bloodshed, saw the year end with each faction doing what they wanted on their own. When Ben Youssef of the Front for Independence left, the Old Destour took



advantage by denigrating him in Tunisia and sending one of their members, Mohieddine Klibi, to undermine Bourguiba's credibility to Arab authorities. In brief, the Neo-Destour was not having a good year.

Bourguiba returned to Tunisia on September 8 and the Political Bureau still organised an impressive popular welcome. He decided to begin a tour immediately to regain contact with the people, and in fact, to take back control of the party. He understood that the criticism directed at the leadership of the party, of it being stagnant, was not going to hamper his ability to mobilise the masses that were supported by the labour unions and more aware of the social and political fights needed. In December, Habib Thameur died in a plane crash over Pakistan. The *Supreme Warrior* from this point forward had his hands freed to pursue his objectives as he wished, discussing with France the autonomy he had always sought. The new Ben

*Overleaf right:
Bourguiba makes direct
contact with the people
again. The headline of
Noureddine Ben
Mahmoud's weekly
newspaper, Al-Ousbou,
from October 31, 1949
refers to the unrest facing
the Tunisian government
and Materi's meeting
with France's Resident
General. The paper also
publishes two large pho-
tographs of Bourguiba's
visit to Sfax, honouring
him with the title "Sayid
al-Ahrar": "the leader of
the free people inspects
the ranks".*



غاة الوايين ثمرة جهود الصافيقة يفترقها الرب الهيب

الاستماع

مقابلتان سريتان تعقدان في الليل بقصر السفارة بالمرسى - الاب الروحي
لوزارة الحالية يقصى عن الحكم - هل يتحقق رجاء الجنرال ماسط ؟
اضطراب في الوزارة التونسية - مقابلة الماطري للمقيم طالع اسرار الاسبوع

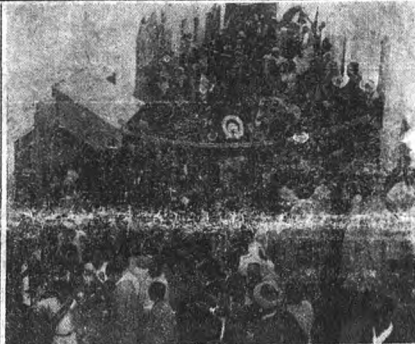
هتلر يتعلم في موسكو

ذكرت جريدة الأدب
الصادرة في بيروت في الكورس
١٩٤٩ مآيلي : من اقرب ما
قرأت أن الكولونيل توبو وهو
من كبار رؤساء قلم المخابرات
الامريكية يؤكد أن هتلر حسي
برزق وانما يتيسر في موسكو في
القبلة على المنطقة .

سيد الاحرار يتفقد الصفوف

الامية تبتف بحياته وتحيي جباله

طالع صفانا
عنه في
الصفحة
التاسعة



قلب المدينة العربية بصفائس يموج - الزعيم مرفوعا على الاكف



صوت الزعيم يدوي في الجماهير الصافيقة المتعلقة بشخصه المصنفة لقوله
الزعيم يسمع بده على صدره متفكراً فيض احساس الامة في صفائس



افراح مستمرة في القصر الملكي العاмер

تقدم « الاسبوع » بواجب التبتة القليلة الحاصلة الى
الكف الامنع ولللاذ الازم سيدنا ومولانا محمد الامين باشا
باي عن السنة الهجرية الجديدة ومن نقله المباركة السعيدة الى
تصير حام الانب العامر جعل الله عهده عهده سمرت واقرأح
وبهجة واتشراح .

كما تبي . جلالته بختان الامير الجليل حفيد الصون
الرفع شأنه سيدي نور الدين باي وتتقدم الى حبيده الملك
لقدي ووالده الامير الجليل سيدي محمد باي بالتهنئة الحاصلة
القبلة على الصفحة (٩)

جزائري

« اذا فقدت فرنسا الشمال الافريقي
شبهات هيتها كدولة عظيمة »
هذا هو خطاب تاجيلان الوالي العامر
بالجزائر على اثر انقضاء مؤتمر الشمال
الافريقي
وعلفت مصف عديدة على هذه
العصرجات . ونحن نشكره على شهادة الكفاءة
التي اعطاها للشعب الشمال الافريقي . فهي
في نظره دول أصبحت تستحق أن تجمي غيرها
لان تجمي بالخير .
فلم يبق لنا ان نترق لنا باهليت
الجمية العمومية ببدان اعترفت لنا بها فرنسا
على لسان واليا العام للمشد .
ولكن شأن بين القول والعمل
نور الدين بن محمود

الحادث الخطير الذي سيثير حروبا عالمية يبشر به برادلي

مرح الجنرال برادلي رئيس اركان حرب القوات المتقابلين وبني بذلك روسيا والولايات المتحدة اموغتها اخطا من يوغوسلافيا يمكن ان يفسر
المسحة الاميركية قذالان اندلام نار الحرب واكد في تصريحه بان اميركا لن تكون هي مصدر التحريض المباشر على الحرب ضد الاتحاد السوفي
استوقد على وقوع حادث ما لا يرضى احد الطرفين ذلك الحادث وكلمه بقل اننا لن نكون للحر شغلي وقودعت بفراد بالاالة المستمرة (بيقس) ١٠

الادوية

الديوان رقم ٥٥٥

في حكومة متحدة
الافريقيا الشمالية

المنطقة وجوب تحرق للمغرب العربي وتوجيهه
في دولة أفريقية جامعة :

١ - إذ التجمع بجميع حادي استقلال
ليبيا وينتدك الوقت الامبراطري للحكومة
الافرنسية في عهد استعفا. ما أقر بكونه
المايلود غسوم. ويسبرون لامة المالية
على ولاهم ورون في استقلالها مقدمة
مناصرة يصعدو كامل جيج لشال الافريقي

٢ - انه منظم إذ يعمل كل جهد فصال
لشكود أفر بقتنا الشابية حرة متصلة

حزب احرار واد

المصر

على خلع شرقة « نوى » الامريكية
غادونا مؤرخنا الجليل الاستاذ حسن حسني
غدا الوهاب ليضهر جليات الاسم
الملك الملك

A black and white portrait of a middle-aged man with glasses, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and a striped tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. He is holding a white document or envelope with both hands in front of him. The background is dark and out of focus.

634 I History of Tunisia



The December 21, 1949 issue of Zine el Abidine Snoussi's newspaper Tounispays tribute to Dr Habib Thameur: "The martyr who slew the Protectorate."

the heart of the French Union. He later retracted that, but the word *independence* had been used. Multiple negotiations would lead to the formation of a ministry presided over by Mhamed Chenik with Hamadi Badra (two Moncefists !) and Salah Ben Youssef in August 1950, the first representative of the Neo-Destour ever to be in the government.

1950/1952

HOW DO YOU SAY AUTONOMY ?

The ministry formed in 1950 was charged with “negotiating in the name of His Highness the Bey institutional changes that, in successive stages, would lead Tunisia toward internal autonomy”. However, this policy line was obviously a break with that of the Night of Destiny in 1946, the programme outlined by the Arab Maghreb Congress in Cairo in 1947, and finally with the policies of the Arab Maghreb Liberation Committee as decided in 1948. The Neo-



Destour needed the support of activists, public opinion, their various partners in the front for independence and Tunisia's various defenders across the world. Once again Bourguiba would set out on a trip, that took him as far as the United States, where Farhat Hached introduced him to AFL-CIO, the American Labor Union.

This stage that began in 1950 and which would lead Tunisia towards independence was an independence that had painful beginnings.

Let's summarise this stage in order to better understand the ins and outs, because so many factors interacted with each other.

The first negotiations Tunisians had with France failed in 1951. The fight began again, along with repression in 1952, and insurrection continued until 1954. On March 21, 1952, the Sultan of Morocco asked for a review of the Protectorate, and on



Lamine Bey receives members of the new government formed by Mhamed Chenik. Left to right: Hamadi Badra, Salah Ben Youssef Mhamed Chenik, Lamine Bey, Dr Mahmoud Materi, Mohamed Salah Mzali, Dr Hamadi Ben Salem and General Saadallah.

November 18, he demanded negotiations for independence.

He was deposed on August 20, 1953. An armed struggle began in Morocco. The President of the French government, Mendes France, began new negotiations for internal autonomy for Tunisia in July



*September 7, 1952 :
Lamine Bey meets the
Conseil des Quarante,
composed of forty
individuals representing
Tunisia's political and
social authorities.
They reject the French
proposals, which do
not move towards
recognising sovereignty.*

1954. The Algerian revolt began in November 1954 and would become a war for independence lasting seven years. Negotiations for Tunisian autonomy concluded in June 1955. The Secretary General of the Neo-Destour was opposed to this autonomy and began an insurrection movement, Youssefism. The Algerians asked Tunisians and Moroccans to join in the fight together for all of North Africa and allied with the Tunisian Youssefistes. The Sultan of Morocco was brought back from Madagascar to Celle-Saint-Cloud in France, and on November 6, 1955 announced negotiations for Morocco's independence. On November 16, Mohamed V returned to his country, and this is the day that is celebrated in Morocco like an independence day. After concessions were given to the Moroccans, negotiations began again in

February 1956 with Tunisia for its independence. All of these events were intertwined, whether the official historians of each of the three Maghreb countries want it or not!

Let's look again at the timeline of events. The Tunisian Ministry was created on August 17, 1950 of



course, but nothing happened for five months, as if France considered the creation of the ministry an end in itself. On October 1, the Tunisian ministers asked the Resident General Louis Perillier for explanations. He responded on the 7th, admitting there had been a “pause” ! However, following the strike at Enfidha, entailing the bloodshed of Tunisian

workers on November 20, the Minister of Social Affairs, Hamadi Badra, stood up for the strikers and placed the responsibility for what happened on the French authorities. Negotiations began, nonetheless, and ended with the reforms of February 8, 1951. The colonists represented by the Rassemblement Français de Tunisie (RFT) launched a campaign against the changes that were considered by Tunisian opinion to be cosmetic. The Tunisians hoped that, as a first step towards autonomy, the creation of a balanced government would be announced, the “reinstatement of a Tunisian Executive” as demanded by Bourguiba in his seven points. What a disappointment!

The clashes between Tunisian ministers and French managers, and conflicts between ministers and French Grand Council members were more and more frequent,

The ministers Salah Ben Youssef and Hamadi Badra in Paris in January 1952 to deliver a request to the president of the UN Security Council: submit the dispute between Tunisia and France to international arbitration.

and as the date of the renewal of the Grand Council approached, the Bey, on May 15, 1951, took the initiative in his speech commemorating the anniversary of his ascension to the throne, publicly declaring that “the Tunisian people... acquired the right... to live in peace and dignity in an environment of complete national sovereignty”. The RFT was rankled, and the French government, as stated by R. Le Tourneau in *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane* (p. 121), charged the Resident General with “notifying the Bey about his misconduct!” In July, the French representative finalised a draft that would give the French permanent representation in Tunisian institutions. In other words, he adopted the demands of the most conservative citizens within the colony. He even envisaged that if the Tunisian government opposed it, their government ought to be dissolved. Chenik’s ministry, which sensed what was coming, sought clarification. On October 31, he delivered a memorandum to the Quai d’Orsay in Paris (which managed Tunisian affairs) asking for details of their position, including the statement : “This new direction can take no other course than the total neutralisation of Tunisian sovereignty.” On this note, the French government responded with a refusal to engage, clearly expressed in a letter dated December 15, 1951.

Bourguiba was not in Tunisia. He had been travelling around the world since February 2, 1951 while maintaining constant contact with Tunis. He passed through Paris and learned of the French response the same day as the Tunisian ministers did. He immediately rejected it. He returned to Tunisia on January 12, 1952. The crisis broke out when two Tunisian ministers, Salah Ben Youssef and Hamadi Badra, flew to Paris on January 13, 1951 to present to the President of the UN Security Council, which was meeting at the Palais de Chaillot, a request for international mediation to resolve the differences between Tunisia and France.



1952/1954

A DECISIVE POWER STRUGGLE

Slaheddine Baccouche, former prime minister (1943-47), succeeded Mhamed Chenik as head of the government in March 1952. For the Tunisian people, Baccouche was a puppet.



A power struggle began between Tunisia and France in January 1952, between Tunisian nationalists determined to fight to the finish and French security forces led by a hardliner, the Resident General Jean-Marie de Hauteclouque, who had declared, upon his arrival on a military cruiser, "I am at the peak of my powers". This attitude might raise the morale of the French colonial die-hards, but it didn't worry the Tunisians because this time, Bourguiba was not alone : the

Tunisian front was represented by their sovereign, who had given the green light to his government in dispatching two of its members to the UN. There were also the Neo-Destour and their supporters who were ready for anything, the UGTT and their members as well as other national organisations that were mobilised. The Resident General believed he could intimidate everyone by arresting Bourguiba and Mongi Slim on January 18. The Neo-Destour responded by holding their congress the same day, presided over by Hedi Chaker. Their objective of independence was proclaimed anew and the go-ahead was given for a struggle that would upset the order of things in all of North Africa.



This battle had numerous phases. There were protests and strikes one after the other. Afterwards came repression and “sweeps” (undiscriminating arrests). The most horrifying moments happened in Cap Bon, in the village of Tazerka, abandoned to the Foreign Legion and the infantrymen under General Garbay, the executioner of Madagascar. The Sovereign was to send ministers to investigate the abuse, damage, assaults and rapes committed by the French troops. General strikes lasted as long as humanly possible for a population that was deprived of everything. In March, students began protest movements in all academic institutions. There were power plays the same month in the Residency, which by now had arrested Chenik’s ministers and sent them to Kebili. A government was formed and presided over by Slaheddine Baccouche, considered by the people as a *Kisling*, a puppet. At the same time, the Arabs and Asiatic peoples were mobilising at the UN. The

Students at the Zaytuna Mosque take part in a hunger strike in October 1952.



*The assassination of
Farhat Hached in Rades,
December 5, 1952.*



year ended with the assassination on December 5 of Farhat Hached, the union leader, the one they couldn't arrest because of his international renown, especially among the Americans. The crime was committed by a group calling themselves the Red Hand, an ultra-colonial terrorist organisation, but in truth working with the known complicity of the police and direct support from the Residency.

In Morocco, the Protectorate's authorities were surprised by the people's reaction to Hached's assassination. The inhabitants of the Carrières Centrales descended into the streets of Casablanca, and violent skirmishes began with security forces leaving dead, wounded and numerous arrests. From that point on, all of the Maghreb would be shaken up. It is important to remember that on two occasions, March 21 and November 18, 1952, Sultan Mohamed V had requested that negotiations begin for independence.

This time, he openly condemned the reaction of the security forces, which led the hardline colonialists to call him the “Sultan of the Carrieres Centrales”.

The assassination of Farhat Hached drew France into what it had been trying to avoid for all of 1952 : it drew international attention to the Tunisian Affair. From that point forward the French had to find solutions other than repression. They changed the Proconsul and appointed Pierre Voizard as Resident General. He attempted another option for the government in 1953 with Mohamed Salah Mzali as leader, a former member of Chenik’s government who had been dismissed in March 1952. But the Tunisian resistance movement had changed.

In addition to increasing its diplomatic activities abroad, the independent movement had new combatant

*Opposite page:
Members of the Ghenik
government in exile in
Kebili.*

*Left to right:
Mohamed Salah Mzali,
Mhamed Chenik,
Dr Mahmoud Materi
and Dr Hamadi Ben
Salem.*

LE PEUPLE TUNISIEN REND UN DERNIER HOMMAGE A FARHAT HACHED

Tirant la leçon de la mort du leader M. Ben Salah appelle les Tunisiens à l'union

PLUSIEURS dizaines de milliers de personnes ont assisté dimanche matin à Tunis à l'inhumation dans le mausolée édifié place de la Kasbah, de la dépouille mortelle de Farhat Hached, qui arrivée la veille de Kerkennah avait été veillée toute la nuit rue de Constantine. C'est à 3 heures 15 que le convoi mortuaire s'est ébranlé, au milieu d'une foule énorme massée aux abords de la Maison de l'UGTT et contenue par un service d'ordre de dockers et de scouts musulmans.

Derrière la camionnette transportant le cercueil on remarquait notamment M. Ahmed Ben Salah, leader de l'UGTT, M. Tahar Ben Ammar, Président du Conseil, M. Habib Bourguiba, Président du Néo-Destour, les Ministres du Gouvernement Tunisien, des représentants du Bureau Politique du Néo-Destour, des organisations nationales de Tunis et de l'Intérieur.



*Funeral ceremony
and tribute to
Farhat Hached in
the casbah. Left to
right: Habib
Bourguiba, Prince
Chedli Bey, Tahar
Ben Ammar and
Ahmed Ben Salah,
leader of the UGTT,
responsible for
delivering the
eulogy.*

COUP DE THEATRE DANS L'AFFAIRE DE LURS

Aujourd'hui 6 pages

TUNIS-SOIR

TUNIS-SOIR

QUOTIDIEN POLITIQUE ET D'INFORMATIONS
15 francs DIRECTEUR-PROPRIETAIRES : Olivier CARUANA 15 francs

10me - ANNÉE N° 8149

JEUDI
16 OCTOBRE 1952

Abonnement : 1 an 120 francs
6 mois 60 francs
3 mois 30 francs
15 jours 10 francs
COTISATION : 1 franc
COTISATION : 1 franc
COTISATION : 1 franc
COTISATION : 1 franc

La petite Elizabeth
était encore
vivante
quand elle fut
aperçue
— par —
Gustav Domnici
le mo in du crime



الزاد في احتفال العام الجديد - وبراد في الموضة يرد التحية
لاضداد يتناظر الحائط في الموضة الثانية يستقبل الرئيس

JEU TRES SERRE A L'O.N.U. A PROPOS DE LA TUNISIE

Cette note résumait partiellement les débats qui ont eu lieu à l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952, sous la présidence de M. A. J. van der Grinten, Secrétaire Général de l'Organisation.

L'Assemblée a entendu une conférence de presse donnée par M. A. J. van der Grinten, Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., à propos de la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

La diplomatie américaine

Il est intéressant de noter que la diplomatie américaine a été très active dans la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

Les mémoires de Fares

Il est intéressant de noter que les mémoires de Fares ont été publiés par M. A. J. van der Grinten, Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., à propos de la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

Irak et Indonésie mènent le jeu

Il est intéressant de noter que l'Irak et l'Indonésie ont joué un rôle très important dans la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

Les amis de la France

Il est intéressant de noter que les amis de la France ont joué un rôle très important dans la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

Réveil

Il est intéressant de noter que le réveil a été très important dans la tenue de la session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. à New York, le 14 octobre 1952.

Le fils de l'entrepreneur avait tué son père trop brutal

Il est intéressant de noter que le fils de l'entrepreneur a tué son père trop brutal.

Le meurtrier avoué

Il est intéressant de noter que le meurtrier a avoué.

Que ques questions à résoudre

Il est intéressant de noter que que ques questions à résoudre.

Hedi Chaker, assassinated on September 13, 1953.



fighters, actively organising resistance : the Fellagas. The word comes from southern Tunisia and originally referred to border dwellers who would illegally cross back and forth from Libya. They became known throughout all of North Africa and especially Algeria, where they were most numerous. By January 1953, there had already been a group of fighters coming from Libya that had been caught and killed by French troops between Medenine and Benguerdane. Other groups appeared in the nearby hills. There were more or less twenty independent fighter groups, active throughout the territory except in the extreme south. Countering them, in addition to the repeated actions of the French troops, were non-military terrorists on the side of the colonialists. On September 13, 1953, Hedi Chaker, President of the Neo-Destour Congress was killed by a group manipulated by colonialists. In Morocco, Mohamed V was deposed in August and deported to Madagascar with his family, which led the people to boycott his replacement, Arafa, Sultan of the French. Pier Voizard's reforms were rejected in Tunisia.

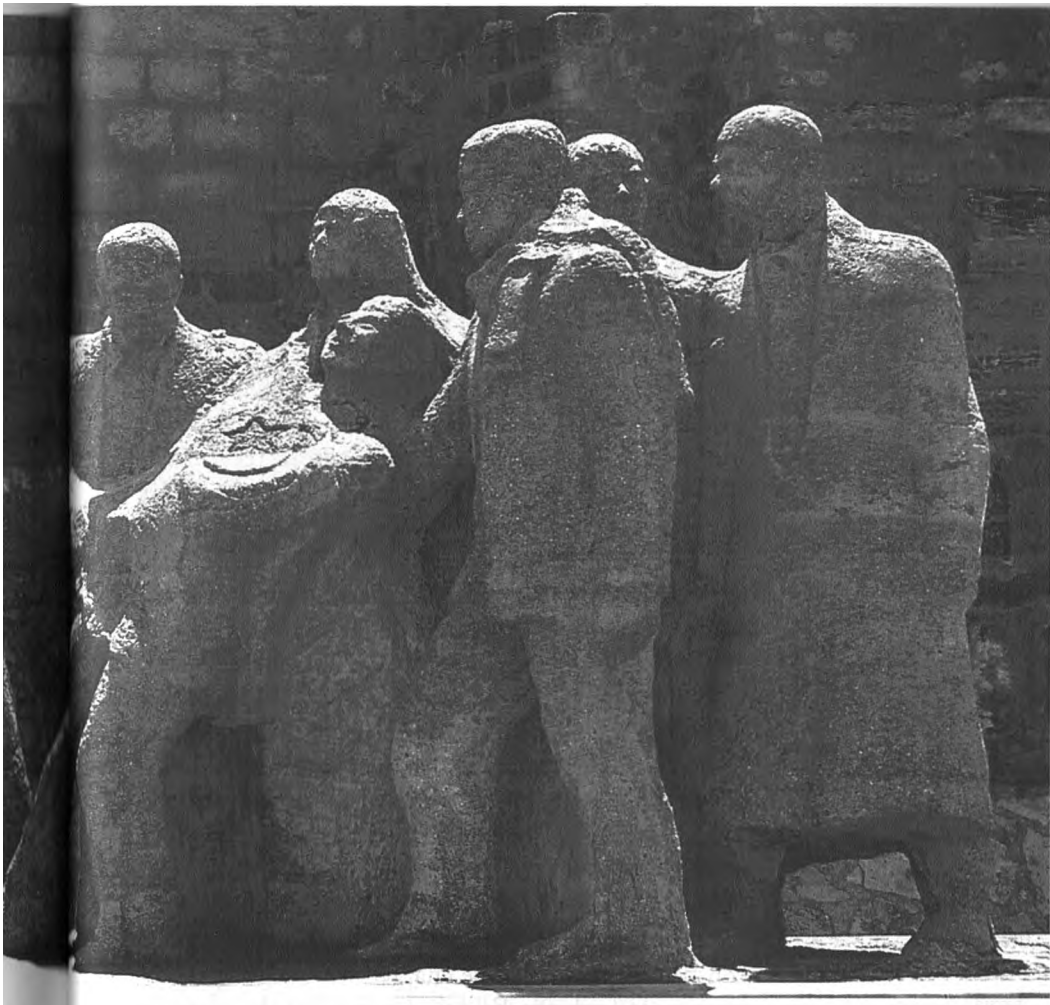
The protectorates on both sides of North Africa were at a total impasse. The international situation changed in 1954. The French defeat at Dien Bien Phu on May 7 brought Pierre Mendes France to power in June. His bold negotiations undertaken in Geneva brought an end to the war in Indochina.

In Tunisia, the shift in direction was signalled by an unexpected speech that this same President of the French Council, Mendes France, gave before the Bey in Carthage on July 31, 1954, where he acknowledged internal autonomy "without restrictions". It was therefore a question of defining the new form of the Tunisian government.

*Opposite page:
The UN negotiations continue. The support provided by the US State Department to the Tunisian position at the UN was largely the result of campaigning by Farhat Hached and his close ties with the US unions.*



The Tunisian resistance changes tack. In addition to wide-ranging diplomatic activity around the world, a new breed of fighter emerged from the Tunisian maquis partisans known as "fellaghas". Contemporary photomontage linking the "Supreme Commander" with the chiefs of the fellaghas. The title reads: "The Mujahedeen, heroes": "If you support Allah, He will support you" (Qur'an, Verse 7, Surah XLVII). Top to bottom, left to right : Bourguiba and Lazhar Chraïti, Sassi Lassoued, Mosbah [Jarbou], Hassen Abdelaziz. (Chraïti was later sentenced to death following the 1962 plot on Bourguiba's life.)



The independent state will pay homage to the martyrs of the national struggle and erect several monuments across Tunisia. Pictured here is the Monument aux Martyrs by the sculptor Hedi Selmi in Sousse, January 22, 1952.

1954/1955

... AND AUTONOMY IS AGREED

Pierre Mendes France's trip and his speech, as explained by Charles-Andre Julien in *Et la Tunisie devint indépendante* (Edition J.A., Paris, 1985, p. 155), was not "an improvised dramatic turn of events". He had taken a long time to prepare it in secrecy in the office of the Council President (nowadays equivalent to the President of the Republic), because he feared the reactions of opponents. Mendes France was accompanied by Marshall Juin, a respected military authority, and General Boyer de la Tour who on July 30, 1954 was named the new Resident General, Christian Fouchet, Secretary of State for Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs and Yves Perrussel, former president of the RPF in Tunis, who hoped that his presence would calm the colony. "Internal autonomy for the Tunisian state is proclaimed and recognised without ulterior motives by the French government...", declared Mendes France, and he added in this speech for the Bey, "If you wish, a new government can be constructed that... will be charged with negotiating in your name with the French government the conventions necessary to clearly define the rights of each party." The Tunisians were satisfied and the French liberals were relieved, having been worried about the deterioration of relations and open hostilities of the representatives of this colony, who as members of the RFT had pushed the limits of civility in refusing to meet with the President of the French government.



The Afro-Asian Group of the UN was also satisfied and decided, on India's suggestion, to postpone their examination of the "Tunisian question" by the political commission of the General Assembly until September 15. The constitution of the new government was not going to happen by itself. Mendes France asked certain people to step aside : those who had been a part of the Council of Forty created by the Bey in August 1952 who had rejected Hautecloque's reforms and members of Chenik's government who had filed complaints against France. Autonomy "proclaimed and recognised" also needed to be defined with the agreement of France. There were strong emotions among Tunisian representatives abroad. Salah Ben Youssef, Mohamed Badra, Ali Balhaouane, Bahi Ladgham met in Geneva and asked for explanations as to why their colleagues from the Political Bureau had had them rush there. Bourguiba, in his new abode, Chateau de Ferte at Amilly, near Montargis, calmed the group by stating that "these propositions constitute a step. Independence remains

Pierre Mendes France, chairman of the Conseil, arriving at the Bey Palace in Carthage on July 31, 1954. Mendes France comes with the offer of internal autonomy for Tunisia, accompanied by Christian Fouchet, the Gaullist Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, and Marshal Alphonse Juin, a World War II hero and NATO Commander in Chief for Central Europe, who has come to lend credibility to the emancipatory politics of Mendes France.

*Habib Bourguiba Jr.,
Bahi Ladgham and
Salah Ben Youssef in
discussion at the UN
with U Thant, the
Burma representative
(and future UN Secretary
General), 1952.*



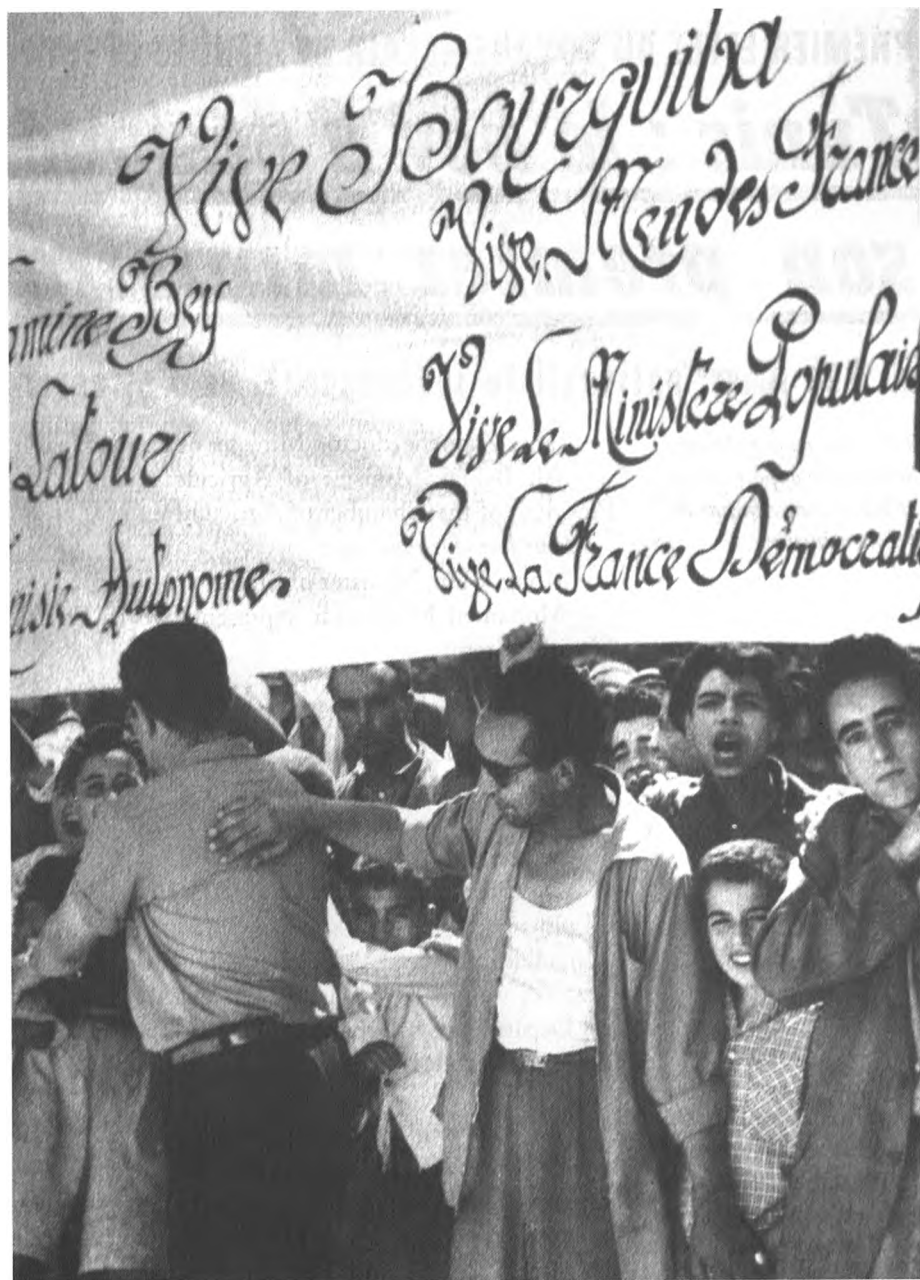
the ideal of the Tunisian people, but from now on, the march toward this ideal will no longer will be a struggle between the Tunisian people and France.”

So it was now necessary to create the government. The French choice of Prime Minister was Aziz Jallouli, but he categorically refused to become Prime Minister. They offered the post to Tahar Ben Ammar, President of the Chamber of Agriculture in the North, an independent active in the political arena since 1921 and a former president of the Tunisian section of the Grand Council. He accepted. But the choice of ministers would prove more difficult because the Prime Minister wanted to create a government with Destourians and ended up in conflict with the Resident General, Boyer de la Tour. It was Bourguiba that decided by accepting the compromise. The new ministry was finally created on August 4.

It consisted of:

- *Four independents*, or those considered as such :
 - Tahar Ben Ammar, Prime Minister,
 - Aziz Jallouli, Minister of State,

*The crowd in Tunis cheer
the new policy announced
by the Mendes France
government.*



PREMIER EFFET DU VOYAGE-ÉCLAIR DE MENDÈS ET JUIN

Tunis : le bey a désigné son premier ministre

M. Ben Amar, nationaliste indépendant, va s'efforcer

The front page of France Soir on the appointment of Tahar Ben Ammar as prime minister.

-Tahar Zaouche, doctor, Minister of Public Health,
- Ali Belhaj, Minister of Agriculture and Vice-President of the Chamber of Agriculture.

• *Four Neo-Destourians :*

- Mongi Slim, Minister of State,
- Mohamed Masmoudi, representative in France, Minister State,

- Hedi Nouria, lawyer, Minister of Commerce,
- Sadok Mokadem, doctor, Minister of Justice.

• *One Caid, a war veteran educated at Saint-Cyr :*

- Nasr Ben Said, land owner, Minister of Housing and Urban Development.

• *One socialist SFIO :*

- Chedly Rhaim, Labour Union Leader, Minister of Employment.

In addition General Boyer de la Tour, Resident General, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Departments of Finance, Public Education, Public Works and the PTT (Posts and Telecommunications) were given to French managers.

It was not only a question of negotiating "recognised" internal autonomy, but also how it was to be implemented. There were two obstacles facing the two sides. For the Tunisians, it was necessary to close the internment camps and free the prisoners. For the

French, it was necessary to put an end to the underground movement of the Fellagas. It was not going to be easy. It was only in September that 200 Tunisians under house arrest were freed and relocated, that the internment camp in Tatouine was closed and that the Neo-Destour was legalised. And it wasn't until November that the two sides agreed on a text requiring the Fellagas to turn in their arms in exchange for *aman* (the assurance of non-prosecution). Nearly 2,400 fighters turned in 1,862 weapons to 44 French and Tunisian officials.

It was then possible for serious negotiations to resume, but not without some large differences of opinion and major incidents. A few Fellagas (Tahar Lassoued and his group, for example) refused to leave their hideout and continued to fight. They were joined by six other groups when the Youssefist dissenters



Mendes France receives a Tunisian delegation: Aziz Jallouli, Mongi Slim, Tahar Ben Ammar and Albert Bessis.

*Salah Ben Youssef
in Paris.*



became more prominent. At the same time, terrorism organised by French colonists claimed Tunisian regional personalities as victims. The disagreements within the Neo-Destour, between those who supported continuing the struggle until the end of negotiations and those who advocated a total cessation of hostilities, began to become public and were kindled by the delegation abroad, notably in the declaration on December 31, 1954 by Salah Ben Youssef affirming that the long and fruitless negotiations were an indication that "France had no intention of honouring their engagements." Bourguiba, who was in Chantilly, moved closer to Paris, showing he was just as impatient to see negotiations concluded. The French side was held back by the difficulties that Pierre Mendès France was having with his own majority in the debates being held by the European Defence Community (EDC). Moreover, it was this question that would end with his government falling on February 6, 1955.



Tunisians feared that the successor to Mendes France would go back on commitments made, especially as some representatives of the right wing and centre right were beginning to adopt the position of the French colonists. They were, frankly, hostile to the idea of internal autonomy and were represented in Paris by two Senators, Antoine Colonna and Gabriel Puaux, the latter of whom was the author of the letter of December 15, 1951 which had set things off. The opposition of Mendes France had already used the Tunisian Affair to unleash, according to the words of Christian Fouchet, Secretary of State for Tunisian Affairs, "the pack of hounds multiplied". However, the successor to Mendes France was Edgar Faure, named on February 23, 1955, who was capable, well-versed in political manoeuvring and at ease in the halls of power of the Fourth Republic. Tunisians who knew him well were relieved. He had lived in Tunisia during the Occupation and had defended Destourians in court. He wanted to show the ease with which he was able

The Tunisian delegation during negotiations with Edgar Faure's government.

Left to right:

Albert Manet (French delegation), Albert Bessis, Taoufik ben Sheikh (?), Mongi Slim, Tahar Ben Ammar, Aziz Jallouli and Mohamed Masmoudi.

*Hotel Matignon in Paris,
and the signing of the
agreements on internal
autonomy, June 3, 1955.*

*Left to right: Edgard
Faure, Habib Chatti, (?),
Jean Basdevant, Tahar
Ben Ammar, Taoufik Ben
Sheikh, Fathi Zouhir,
Ahmed Mestiri and
Mongi Slim.*



to manoeuvre between the parties of the French majority and the Tunisians, in the midst of an international environment looking favourably on a Third World which was coming to prominence in April 1955 with developments at Bandoeng (Indonesia), and where Tunisia was represented abroad by the Neo-Destourian Salah Ben Youssef.

Finally, after having surmounted a number of obsta-



cles, smoothed over by direct meetings between Edgar Faure and Bourguiba, the conventions were signed on June 3, 1955 in Paris. This was a historic step. They included :

- 1) A general convention and four procedural appendices relating to the execution of the treaty and to resolving differences : the installation of administrative services ; defence and security; fiscal and customs



statutes of the French forces ; public order and interpretation of conventions under mediation.

2) A convention on the personal status code.

3) A convention for the judiciary with two procedural appendices.

4) A convention on administrative and technical cooperation and an appendix of contract rules that in itself contained four procedural appendices.

5) A convention on culture with a procedural appendix.

6) An economic and financial convention.

7) An agreement between signatories on agricultural credit.

In all there were seven conventions and twelve appendices in addition to the exchange of letters of interpretation, bringing the total number of pages of these provisions of law to over 90.

In truth, apart from the negotiators and their collaborators, very few read the texts of the conventions. On the one hand, Bourguiba's return to Tunisia on June 1, 1955, now free from all constraints and having been thankful for the results of negotiations, sent Tunisians into an inauspicious state of euphoria and left little room for a cold understanding and analysis of the texts. On the other hand, the way Ben Youssef's opposition had become public, the attacks organised by the dissident Fellagas, and the terrorist attacks by the French colonists created a situation where on one side, there were those who supported the Conventions and on the other, their adversaries, some Tunisian and some French. Each went along with what their chiefs said either for or against internal autonomy, without looking to understand how matters were going to work.

Salah Ben Youssef returned to Tunisia in September 1955. His denunciation of the Conventions was categorical. The Neo-Destour Congress was planned for November 15. Ben Youssef refused to attend. The

The Neo-Destour Congress in Sfax sealed the split between Bourguiba's and Ben Youssef's supporters. From top to bottom : Bourguiba, Mongi Slim, Bahi Ladgham; Mhamed Chenik, Tahar Ben Ammar and a delegation from Egypt; attendees at the meeting.

*The composition of the
new politburo of the
Neo-Destour; top to
bottom and left to right:
Ahmed Tlili, Bahi
Ladgham, Ali
Belhaouane, Ta'ieb
Mehiri, Mohamed
Masmoudi, Mongi Slim,
Sadok Mokadem,
Abdallah Farhat, Jallouli
Fares and Hedi Nouira.*

Congress stood alongside Bourguiba, approved the Conventions for internal autonomy and asked a new Political Bureau to go further, toward independence. In practice, the Youssefist criticism and the criticism of the colonists were on the same themes but coming from different directions. The permanent ties with France were reaffirmed by maintaining the Treaty of Bardo. Tunisia would respect the rights of the French: defence, security and foreign affairs would remain in the hands of France for fifteen years at least. The military police was only eliminated in rural locations where there were no French, and when certain services were conceded later to Tunisians, they would be managed by French civil servants. The colonists' representation in municipalities depended on the size of the French population in each area. In judicial matters, the Tunisian judicial authorities became the only ones available in cases where Tunisians were involved, except in cases where French interests, administrative regulations or commercial law, were involved. The French courts continued to be a part of the French judicial system and all changes were subject to prior agreement. After a term of five years, with the expansion of certain specialties in the Tunisian courts, mixed judiciaries were created to deal with affairs where this was appropriate. These courts were presided over by judges whose nationality was chosen by the defence. On appeal, they were automatically presided over by a French judge. These were the clauses that were often cited in speeches and often taken out of context and that would fuel debate. As we can imagine, what was used by the French to calm the colonists was used by the Youssefists to reject the conventions.

الذخائر السنية للحايد



علي النهوان



توفيق المجدد



احمد النجلي



اتيق المجدري



عبد الله فرحان



ماهي الدامر



محمد السودي



جلال الدامر



انور السيد



هادي السيد

1955

JUNE 1 : BOURGUIBA'S TRIUMPH

A thick crowd gathers on the docks at the port of La Goulette. Bourguiba is moved, waving his white handkerchief to greet the people who have come to welcome him — no fewer than half a million Tunisians.

On June 1, 1955, negotiations for autonomy were concluded in Paris and the text was ready for final signatures on June 3. Bourguiba took the boat for his triumphant return to Tunis, which was memorable in more than one respect ! Three and a half years before,





he had been arrested by a Resident General - Jean de Hautecloque - who Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic, referred to in his memoirs as an imbecile. Bourguiba had been confined to a residence in Tabarka, then removed to the Galite Islands, then to the island of Groix in France, before being sent closer to Paris by Pierre Mendes France and housed in the Chateau de la Ferte at Amilly, then in Chantilly, before living freely in Paris. Each time he was moved, it corresponded to either heightened tension or a return to detente between France and the Neo-Destour. Even before Mendes France became president, Bourguiba would be in his debt. This intelligent and courageous man understood that you had to tackle the problem like he had done with Indochina. He had

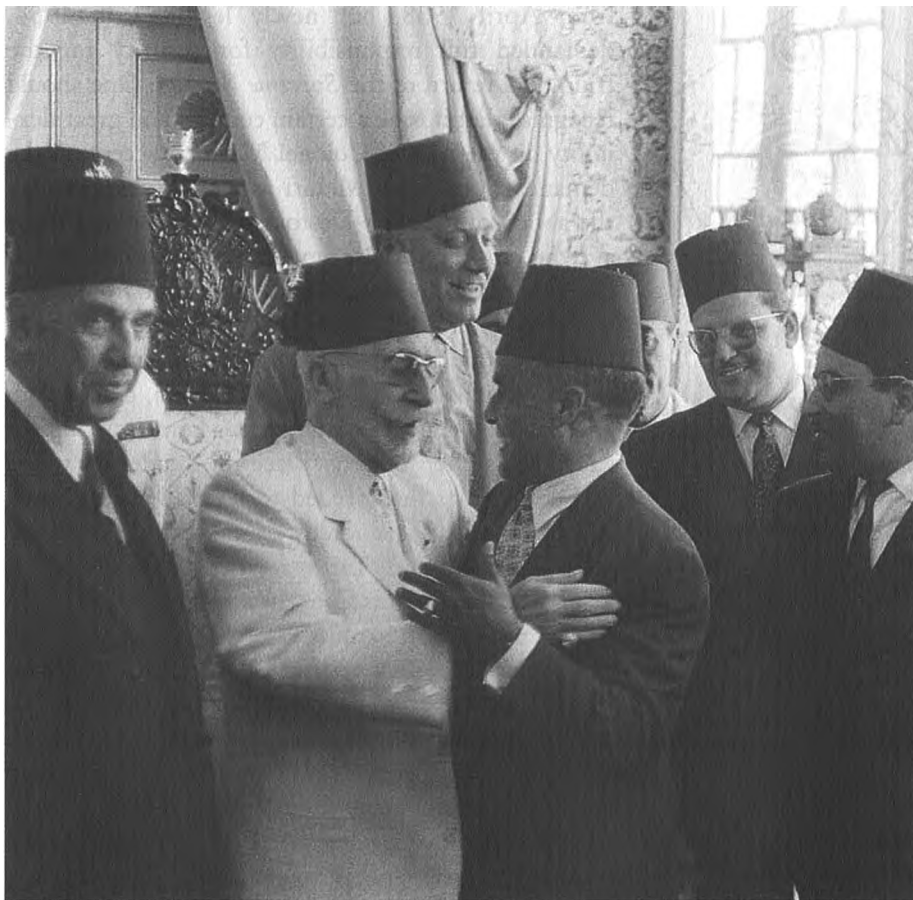
Bourguiba walks down the gangway of the Ville-d'Alger.

To his left is Mongi Slim, and behind him is Tahar Ben Ammar (wearing a fez).

begun to reflect on what needed to be done for Tunisia while he was still in Geneva in full negotiations about Indochina. Bourguiba's return was a direct result of Mendes France's support from July 1954 to February 1955 as well as, from February to June 1955, that of his successor, Edgar Faure. At each obstacle, the nationalist leader and *Supreme Warrior* Bourguiba gave a hand to help things along. The success of June 1955 belongs to Bourguiba.

It's important to remember that Sultan Mohamed V was still in Madagascar and the escalation of events in Algeria (we're not yet talking about war) had only begun eight months earlier. The conflagration in North Africa illustrates an obvious chain reaction : 1952 in Tunisia, 1953 in Morocco and 1954 in Algeria. Internal autonomy had been considered as much as the protectorates could hope for. Bourguiba returned to his country having achieved the maximum. To him it was not the goal, but a key to the future. They did not have independence yet, but in his statements, he never hid that this was his objective. So from both the Tunisian and French perspective, it was a question of creating real autonomy before preparing for the next step. As for Algeria, considered as three departments, its future, for the French, was bound to France 1

On entering the Gulf of Tunis, the ferry carrying Bourguiba found itself being escorted by fishermen from the region of Bizerte, Tunis, Cap Bon, the Sahel, Sfax and Jerba, hurrying to take part in what was happening. A dense crowd filled the old quay at La Goulette. Bourguiba was moved. He waved his white handkerchief from the bow of the boat to acknowledge everyone that had come to greet him. Everyone who was anyone in Tunis, from all faiths, was there. A stage was prepared in the old warehouse so he could address the crowd.



Bourguiba's return and the scheduling, itinerary and security for the procession were meticulously negotiated by Taieb Mehiri, Director of the Neo-Destour, along with Colonel Meric, the senior official designated by the French Residency (he would later become General and had many good memories of Tunisia). France controlled all of the security in Tunisia, and the "Red Hand", the French terrorist group, benefitted from real complicity with the police ; it is necessary to understand that the Neo-Destour, an illegal party

After leaving La Goulette, but before arriving in Tunis, the motorcade takes a detour via Carthage: Bourguiba's first visit will be to see Lamine Bey in his palace.



A pennant heralding: "A day of celebrations, the day the Supreme Commander returned", dated 1374 in the year of the Hegira.

*Opposite page:
After a short speech made in the grip of emotion from the rostrum at La Goulette, Habib Bourguiba climbs aboard a Land Rover surrounded by the leaders of his party and his security team. Foreground: M. Masmoudi, M. Slim and T. Mehiri. Bourguiba's return, as well as his schedule, route and security for the motorcade, were carefully negotiated with the French authorities by Taieb Mehiri (director of the Neo-Destour).*

from April 1938, but newly legalised in 1954, demanded full responsibility for security for the triumphal return of the *Supreme Warrior*. One should recognise that it took a certain courage and great flexibility on the part of Colonel Meric to accept all the demands from Taieb Mehiri as well as acknowledge the ability of the Neo-Destour to organise and manage the crowds. It's also important to remember that the road that runs alongside the train line from Tunis to La Goulette did not exist at that time and from Carthage, one had to pass through Aouina to enter the city via Bab el-Khadra, Bab-Souika, the Casbah and Bab Menara where Bourguiba's home was, a place called from then on, the Place-du-Leader. It was a very long route that needed to be made secure each step of the way. Hundreds of thousands of people from all the provinces came to welcome the Zaim, the leader! Camel herders from the south, horsemen from the centre, Fellagas, scouts, sportsmen and groups of the Young Destourians used to accompanying processions all took part in organising the logistics.

Everything was meticulously prepared.

After a short speech full of emotion on the platform at La Goulette, Habib Bourguiba got into a Land Rover surrounded by Party leaders and security and headed to Carthage to greet the Bey in his palace. This was a historic meeting between the man who represented the will of the people and the man who found himself at the head of a state mismanaged for three quarters of a century. How would the people identify with the new state ? We will see two years later. People who were at the scene, including members of the Royal Family, were wondering. Each had their hopes and illusions. Didn't France record in a number of provisions of the Conventions that they would continue to assure the defence and security of the country *and the dynasty* ?





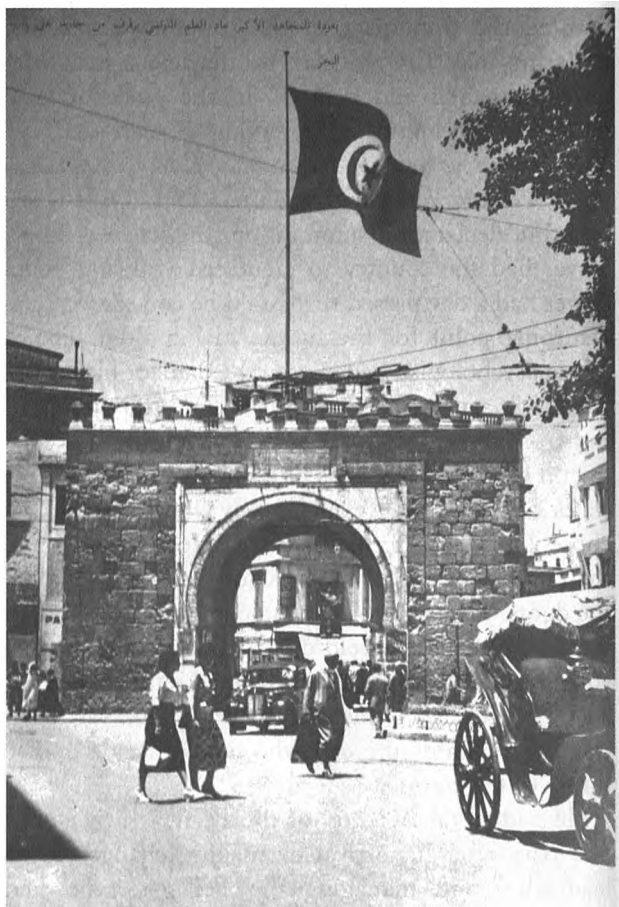
For the moment, everyone was caught up in the joy. The procession headed toward Tunis, and several times Bourguiba got out of the car to get onto a specially prepared white steed, putting on the straw hat of the cavalymen of Zlass. Everyone in this colourful crowd buzzed in unison, and it was a day blessed with sunshine. The Arabic newspapers were also celebrating. The editor of *Assabah*, the famous Hedi Labidi,

devoted the front page of the paper to a headline declaring that “On this day, the tenacious man who never despaired and believed in the grace of God returns to the homeland deserving of such sacrifice” *fAl-yawma ya'udu ila-l-Watan al-mufadda Arrajulu assamid alladhi lam yay as min ravwh lllah I*”). It was a beautiful declaration summing up the journey taken. Never had the country so identified with one man. Never had a day passed that could be considered such a turning point for the future. Habib Bourguiba, a subtle psychologist, had chosen the date for his return, keeping it separate from events around the signing of the Conventions. He was not returning with a contract. He was returning as himself, and as the orchestrator of events. This explains why while in power, he chose 1 June as the national day. He repeated more than once that this day was the one which opened all the doors. When the police had come to arrest him on January 18, 1952, he told them, “This is the last time you are going to arrest me !” His final return was a triumphant Roman homecoming. Bourguiba was from this day forwards the one who would decide on the future of the country.

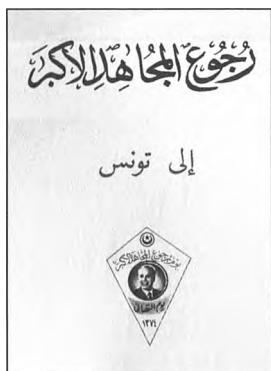
He had to take control of the Party, which he did two days after his arrival by making changes to its leadership and managing the Fellagas, who had escaped all means of control. He put the preparations for the Neo-Destour Congress in the hands of those he trusted, making Abdallah Farhat the head of the group. An astute politician, Bourguiba had understood that not being backed up (which was improbable in this summer of 1955) by Salah Ben Youssef could prove dangerous. But what would give the final blow to the Conventions for Autonomy was not Youssefism (which would develop violently in December), but - and we can't stress it enough — Morocco ! Indeed, during November 1955 while Bourguiba was using his

Never had Bab el-Khadra been so full. The crowd gathers on the terrace and fills every corner. The motorcade drives through as if through a triumphal arch.

The final picture in the photo album published in 1955 to welcome the June 1 return : the Tunisian flag replaces the French flag on Porte Bab-Bhar.

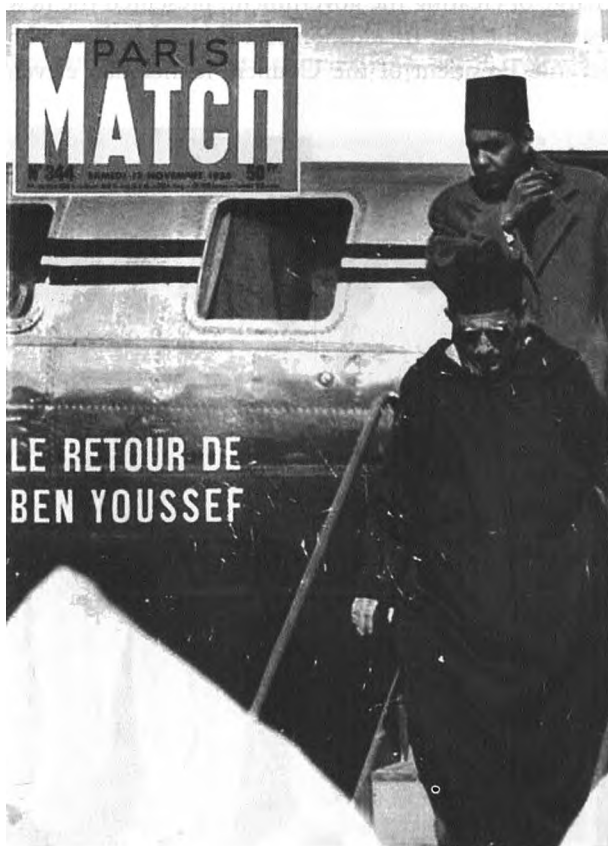


Title page of the photo album published in 1955: The Supreme Warrior Returns to Tunis.



prestige to promise the idea of internal autonomy to his Party and to the Tunisian population at large, France made a gesture meaningful to Tunisia with Morocco's Sultan Mohamed V being sent from Madagascar to La Celle-Saint-Cloud. As France started to discuss the return of Sultan Mohamed V to his native Morocco, France discovered that he was now demanding full independence - which France then accepted ! The Moroccan government was created not by negotiating internal autonomy, as happened with

Tunisia, but with terms and conditions around putting in place independence as the Sultan had insisted on. He returned to his country on November 18, 1955 and this is the date currently celebrated there as Independence Day. Imagine the effect of this on relations between Tunisia and France. Salah Ben Youssef was jubilant, but, in the face of difficulties and threats to his life in Tunisia, he decided to leave the country again in January 1956. The new government of Tahar ben Ammar, created to implement autonomy, now had to open negotiations for independence.

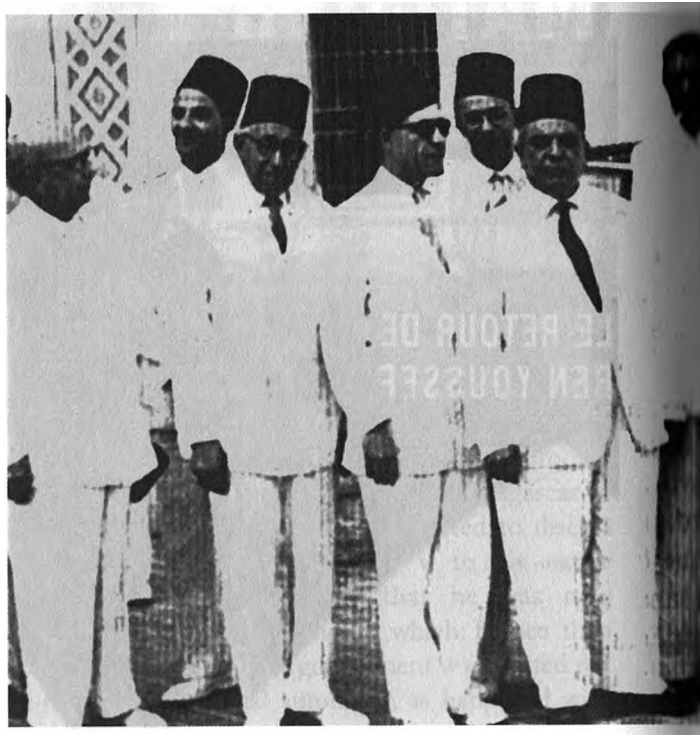


The return of Ben Youssef (Sultan Mohamed V) on the front page of Paris Match in November 1955. Behind Ben Youssef is his son, the future King Hasan II.

1956

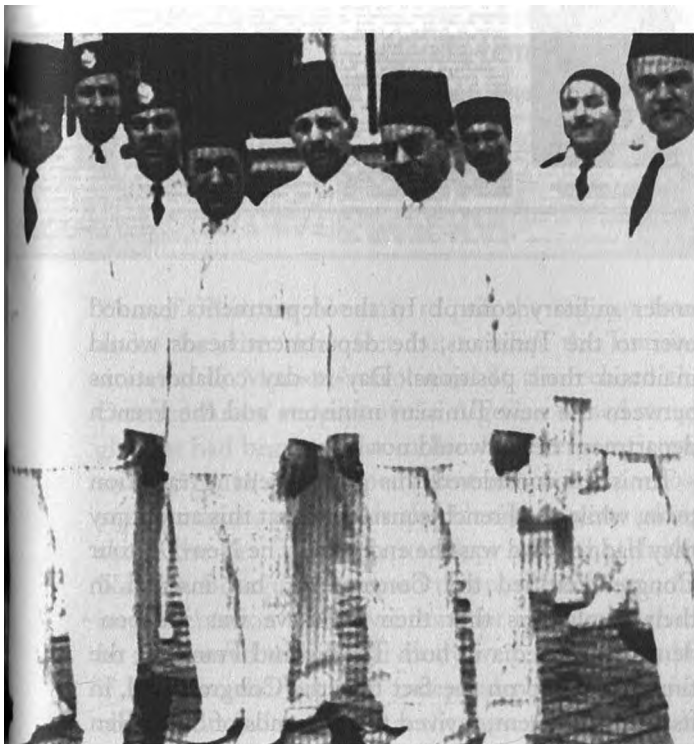
MACH 20 : INDEPENDENCE AT LAST !

On September 17, 1955, Tahar Ben Ammar, in charge of creating the government, presented the new team to the Bey. In addition to a Prime Minister who became President of the Council, it included eleven



ministers of whom seven were Neo-Destour : Mongi Slim - Home Office, Kadhém Ben Achour (magistrate) -Justice, Mohamed Badra - Agriculture, Hedi Nouira - Finance, Mohamed Masmoudi - Economy, Jallouli Fares - Education, Dr Sadok Mokadem - Public Health, Ezzedine Abassi — Public Works, Fathi Zouhir - Social Affairs, Chadly Rhaim - PTT, Albert Bessis - Urban Development and Construction.

The names for the departments were new. The government was responsible now for turning autonomy into what would become the Tunisian authority ; according to the original terms of the Conventions, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Security Services would remain managed by the French. The Resident General became High Commissioner. The South remained



The second government formed by Tahar Ben Ammar on September 17, 1955 included a majority from the Neo-Destour party.

[illegible]

Tunisians considered this government a transition team, while the French considered that this autonomy they had reached was the end itself. The Neo-Destour Congress ratified the Conventions, but insisted in their resolutions that their objective was independence. The media in both Tunisia and France at the time picked up on the fact that the Congress had, in its final statement, revived the demands of Salah Ben

SOIR

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NISIE

BEN AMMAR

pour Paris

Un Cheik assassiné

Oubla. — Le cheik de Koudouba, village jennin de la zone d'Alger, a été assassiné dans la soirée du 19 mars par deux individus qui l'ont tué à coups de fusil. Les deux auteurs du crime ont été arrêtés par la gendarmerie. L'un des auteurs, un nommé M. B., a été condamné à la prison à perpétuité. L'autre, un nommé M. C., a été condamné à la prison à perpétuité. Le cheik de Koudouba était un homme très aimé de son peuple. Il avait été élu cheik par ses compatriotes. Il avait fait beaucoup de bien pour son village. Il avait été assassiné parce qu'il était trop aimé.

A ORAN

Contre les grèves politiques

Oran. — Une manifestation a eu lieu à Oran, le 19 mars, pour protester contre les grèves politiques. Les manifestants ont été dispersés par la police. Les grèves politiques sont considérées comme une atteinte à l'indépendance du pays. Elles doivent être interdites.

A coups de haitère

la jeune femme lente

d'assommer une bouliquière

Tunis. — La fille de un des auteurs d'un crime a été arrêtée. Elle a été accusée d'avoir participé à la tentative d'assassinat. Elle a été condamnée à la prison à perpétuité. Les auteurs du crime ont été condamnés à la prison à perpétuité. Le crime a été commis à Tunis, le 18 mars.

M. Mongi Slim souriant...



Pour bien affirmer le problème de Chypre

Démonstration grecque ou Conseil de l'Europe

Bruxelles. — La légation de Grèce à Bruxelles a organisé une démonstration pour attirer l'attention sur le problème de Chypre. La démonstration a eu lieu le 19 mars. Elle a consisté en une conférence de presse. Les Grecs ont demandé que le Conseil de l'Europe s'occupe du problème de Chypre. Ils ont dit que le problème de Chypre est un problème européen. Ils ont dit que le Conseil de l'Europe doit intervenir.

Youssef. This was not only to pull the rug out from under the other side's feet, but to adapt the Tunisian situation to Morocco's evolution. It also echoed the Oriental Arabs' support of the Algerian armed struggle that had begun a year earlier. Furthermore, it was an echo of the non-aligned countries' position, whose representatives present at the Congress were asking about the best approach to adopt with the United Nations. Bourguiba accepted this new challenge ; the implementation of Conventions for autonomy which he guaranteed with Edgar Faure were only acceptable if Morocco did not gain independence or if Tunisia obtained its independence at the same time. Bourguiba



Tahar Ben Ammar signs the French-Tunisian protocol in Paris granting Tunisia its independence. Bahi Ladgham is on his right.

encouraged Tahar Ben Ammar to return as head of the government with the objective of convincing the French to resume negotiations. He even endorsed Bahi Ladgham, the new number two in the Neo-Destour, as soon as this could be achieved. Later, in a speech, Bourguiba would refer to the difficulty of retrieving “the silk from the thorns”.

Five months later, on February 27, negotiations for independence began, with Tahar Ben Ammar, Mongi Slim and Bahi Ladgham, who three days earlier had been named Vice-Prime Minister. This happened with increasing French and Youssefist Fellagist terrorism in Tunisia in the background. The police remained passive during the public actions of French protesters who went so far as to burn the French flag in front of the Residency, and the police made no effort to arrest the French who were behind this and other attacks, but targeted Tunisian personalities and acted forcibly against Tunisians when the victims were French, even if it wasn't clear who was guilty. The army was still tracking the Fellagas in the South. At

the same time, negotiations were concluded with Morocco and independence was granted on March 2, 1956. France totally refused to repeal the Treaty of Bardo and tried to get interdependence accepted before independence. Charles-Andre Julien underlined that the President of the French Council, Guy Mollet “almost provoked an end to everything [just] at the moment when developing a protocol (for Tunisian independence) appeared to be complete, by demanding limitations in terms of external affairs, security and national defence” (*ibid*, p. 204). A meeting between Alain Savary, Secretary of State and Bahi Ladgham and Masmoudi furthered the positions of the negotiators, but not that of Mollet. Bourguiba came to the rescue ; not seeing eye-to-eye with Mollet on March 6, he found a more receptive audience in Christian Pineau, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ben Ammar resumed discussions with Mollet. Finally business was concluded and the Protocol for Independence was signed on March 20, 1956.



*Bourguiba, Mongi Slim,
Hassen Belkhoja sitting
next to Guy Mollet.*

**V. FROM INDEPENDENCE
TO REVOLUTION**

1956/2011

SOVEREIGNTY ONCE AGAIN !

In the introduction, we hinted at the issue faced by historians trying to tackle the modern period, when due to their position they have a limited perspective. So here we are at the threshold of this new era. An independent Tunisia ? When did it occur ? In 1956 ? Bourguiba himself insisted in his speech and official declarations that on March 20, 1956, formal independence would happen. The latter was not an easy task. Some said that independence was not finalised until 1964, when colonial land was nationalised and Tunisia was returned to Tunisians. However, this was preceded by other no less important events, such as the withdrawal of occupying troops in two waves, 1958 and 1963. The date of 1956 has been maintained as the symbolic date, but it is important not to lose sight of the efforts to reach this point, and indeed the human sacrifices made (like in Bizerte in 1961) to put the theory into practice.

Can one look at what has happened since with an unbiased view ? Bourguiba, the father of independence and founder of the Republican State, only died in 2000 and the memories are still fresh. It requires us to take a step back in order to judge his achievements in terms of institutions, economy, Arab and international relations. Additionally, Bourguiba's direct governance only lasted from 1956 to 1970 in reality.

His conception of power, his attitude vis-a-vis the judicial system, his handling of the army, his positions regarding Tunisian women, his difficult relations with De Gaulle, Nasser, Ben Bella and Khaddafi, and his distinctive approach on the future of Palestine ; all of these questions need to be treated with care before making a judgement on what really is "*Bourguibism*". It is true that during his time of direct governance, Bourguiba delegated, but without totally abandoning, his authority in terms of economy, education and managing a unique party. However, after 1970, seventeen years went by where we saw power shared with five Prime Ministers and a growing influence from his immediate entourage because of the state of his health. It is then premature to make a true appraisal. Those actors who are still living have a legitimate right to defend their actions. Historians will wait to accumulate the facts.

The previous observations are still relevant as regards to what then followed in the country for the twenty-three years of Zine-el-Abidine Ben Ali's presidency. What is the best way to assess the changes that happened ? The ideal would be to be able (as in sci-fi movies) to go into the future to have a complete view on what happened at the end of the 20th century.

With the end of Ben Ali's presidency, it would be easy only to see the dark side of it. It was clearly a police state where not only did the Ministry of the Interior create a state within a state, but even this department saw themselves being circumvented by some autonomous security organisations that only reported to the Head of State. Tunisia subscribed to nearly all the international acts regarding human rights, but in practice, these rights were flouted. Also, what the regime would be most often reproached for was the absence of freedom of information and the

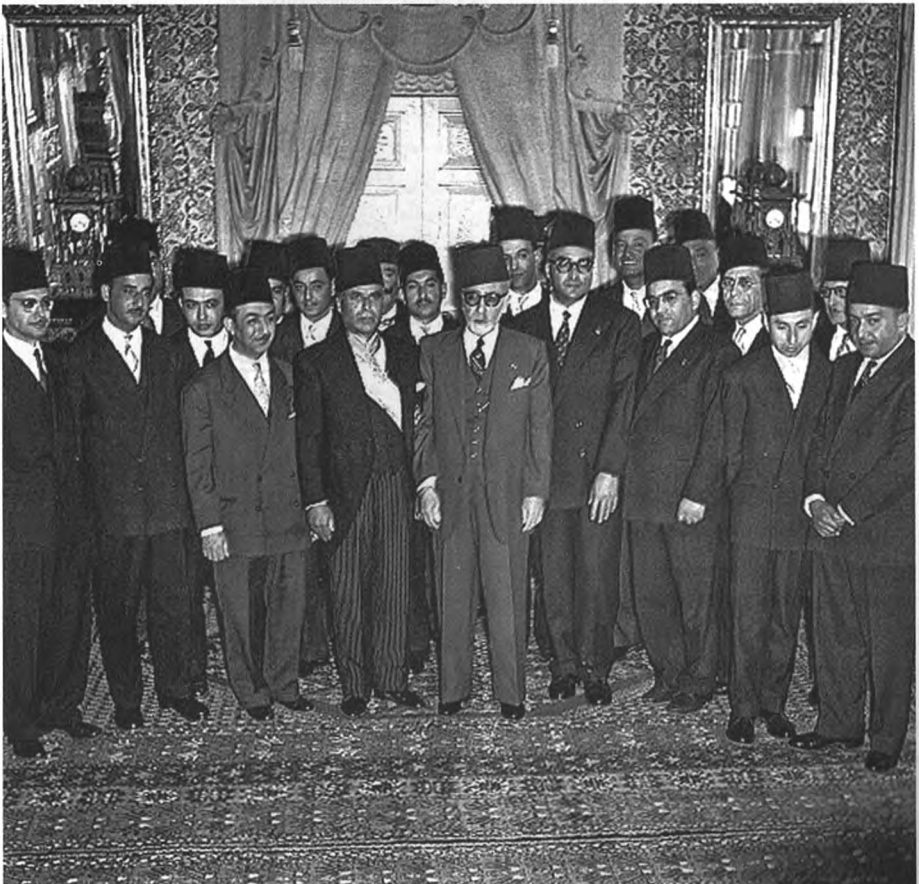
Decree sealed by Lamine Bey on December 29, 1955 convening a National Constituent Assembly for April 8, 1956.



1956 : BOURGUIBA BECOMES PRIME MINISTER

- March 20 : Elections for a Constituent Assembly Bourguiba is elected President.
- April 9 : First meeting of the Constituent Assembly.
- April 14 : Bourguiba becomes Prime Minister and in spite of French protests, assumes responsibility for Foreign Affairs and Defence.
- August 13 : The Code of Personal Status is enacted, revolutionising the position of women.

The government formed by Bourguiba on April 14, 1956. Front row, left to right: Ahmed Mestiri, Taieb Mehiri, Mongi Slim, Habib Bourguiba, Lamine Bey, Bahi Ladgham, Mohamed Masmoudi, Mustapha Filali and Ferjani Bel Haj Ammar.



وزارة العدل



من عبد الله سميحة الشوكلي عليه المرفوع جميع المصور الى المحاكم
اشاء باي صاحب المملكة التونسية صدور المرفوع الى المحاكم
رئيس المرافعة في المحاكم الخاصة والعامة اعادة اطلاقها على المرافعة في جميع
التي في ١٩٤٣ (١٨٧٦) المعلقين تنظيم سيرة المحاكم الشرعية بالحاضرة وبالدواجن
وعلى ان المرافعة في جميع المحاكم المعلقة تنظيم السلطة العمومية تنظيم مرفوعة كما في
امرنا المرفوع في ذي الحجة ١٣٧٥ (١٩٥٦) -
وعلى ان المرافعة في ذي الحجة ١٣٧٥ (١٩٥٦) المعلقين تنظيم السلطة العمومية لتنظيم
من غير المسلمين واليهود .
وعلى ان المرافعة في ذي الحجة ١٣٧٥ (١٩٥٦) المنع ليعملون من قبل المرافعات المدنية .
وعلى الرأى الذي ابداه مجلس الوزراء .
وبناء على ما عرض وزيرنا الكبير رئيس الحكومة .
اصدرنا امرنا لهذا بما يأتي :

١- المصلح الاول - النصيحة المشورة فيما بعد المتعلقة بالاحوال الشخصية جعلت وتاليف واحد
باسم " مجلد الاحوال الشخصية " .
المصلح الثاني - يجوز العمل باحكام هذه المجلد وتطبيقها ابتداء من غرة جانفي ١٩٥٧ و ان
يكون لها تاثير على الماصح الا ان النوازل التي ما زالت جارية وتاريخ غرة جانفي ١٩٥٧ سواء من حيث
التي قدمت قبل غرة أكتوبر ١٩٥٦ او بعده تبقى خاضعة للاحكام القانونية المعمول بها وتاريخ صدور
هذا الامر اني تفصل بوجه يأت .
٢- المصلح الثالث - بصحة مرفوعة يبعث المتقاضيون على تعيين بالنسبة للاحوال الشخصية
الى القواعد المعمول بها وتاريخ صدور هذا الامر كما يبقون راجعين بالنظر في هذه المادة الى المحاكم
الاصيلة .

والمقاضيون من غير المسلمين والاسرائيليين يتقون خاضعين ومادة الشخصية الى احكام امرنا المشار
اليه المرفوع في ذي الحجة ١٣٧٥ (١٩٥٦) -

٣- المصلح الرابع - تطبق مع ذلك مجلد الاحوال الشخصية على المتقاضيين المشار اليهم في المصلح
المتقدم الذين قاموا بطلب الاشياء حسب الشروط المبينة بالمصلح الخامس الذي
وتنسب هذا التطبيع وجوبا ونسب الصيغة التي تحولت للطلب اولد ان كانت ارسلت
على البناء الذي لم يتقدموا وكان عمرهم دون العشرين سنة كاملة .

٤- المصلح الخامس - كل ما اقتضى يجب ان يكون موضوع نصيحة للدواجن او ايضا بلا الحالة المدنية
المعلقين بلا اثره القائم بالنسبة وفيه هذا النصيحة بدفته بعد ذلك ووجه مضمون منه المحس

عدد ١٤ - ٥

1957: THE REPUBLIC

-July 25 : The monarchy is abolished and the country is declared a Republic. Bourguiba is entrusted with the presidency and the powers that were exercised by the Bey !



*Opposite page :
Decree sealed by Lamine
Bey on August 13, 1956
(counter-signed by Prime
Minister H. Bourguiba)
promulgating the Code
of Personal Status.*

*One of the first occasions
when Bourguiba posed
for an official portrait
(not selected) as President
of the Republic. The
portrait that was
approved, without a hat
but with a bookcase in the
background, drew directly
on the French model.
Photograph by Sam
Levin.*

الإعلان الرسمي للجمهوريات التونسية



المجلس القومي التأسيسي

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نحن فواب الأمة التونسية أعضاء المجلس القومي التأسيسي
بمقتضى ما لنا من تفويض كامل مستمد من الشعب
وتدعيما لأزكان استقلال الدولة وسيادة الشعب
وسهرا في طريق النظام الديمقراطي الذي هو وجه المجلس
في قسطه الدستوري.
نتخذ باسم الشعب القرار التالي النافذ المفعول حالا.

نلغي النظام الملكي الغاء تاما .
نعلن ان تونس دولة جمهورية .
تكلف رئيس الحكومة السيد الحبيب بورقيبة بمهام رئاسة
الدولة على حالها الحاضر ريثما يدخل الدستور في حيز التطبيق
ونطلبو عليه لقب رئيس الجمهورية التونسية .
تكلف الحكومة بتنفيذ هذا القرار وباتخاذ التدابير اللازمة
لصيانة النظام الجمهوري كما نكلف كلّا من رئيس المجلس
والأعضاء العام لمكتب المجلس والحكومة بإبلاغ هذا القرار
الى الخاص والعامة .

اولا :

ثانيا :

ثالثا :

رابعا :

اصدرناه في قصر المجلس بباردويوم الخميس في ٢٦ من جويلية ١٩٥٧

وفي ٢٥ جويلية ١٩٥٧
على الساعة السادسة مساء

جلالي فارس

رئيس المجلس القومي التأسيسي

TUNISIA IN THE ALGERIAN WAR

— February 8, 1958 : The Tunisian village of Sakiet Sidi-Youssef is bombarded by the French Air Force. Tunisia files a complaint with the UN. Anglo-American mediation. The French army is evacuated from Tunisian territory with the exception of Bizerte and the South.

- September: Installation of a temporary government for the Algerian Republic (GPRA) in Tunis.



*Opposite page:
The abolition of the
monarchy and the
introduction of the
republican regime feature
on the front page of the
Official Journal of
July 26, 1956.*

*Massacre at Sakiet III.
Oil on canvas by the
French painter Andre
Fougeron, condemning
the carnage at Sakiet
Sidi Youssef in 1958.
Tate Gallery, London.*

JUNE 1, 1959 :THE CONSTITUTION

Direct elections held and Bourguiba elected President of the Republic. Deputies elected for the first National Assembly (*Majlis Al-Oummd*).



*Jallouli Fares, president
of the National
Constituent Assembly,
presents the text of
the Constitution to
Bourguiba.*

1961: THE BATTLE OF BIZERTE

July : Increasing the length of a runway on the air force base, a unilateral decision by France, provokes Tunisian opposition and a blockade. General De Gaulle gives orders to free the base by force. A battle follows and the French army occupy the city, leading to hundreds of Tunisian deaths and considerable destruction. A new complaint is filed with the UN. The city is finally evacuated by French troops, and the base abandoned two years later.

A funeral ceremony for the war victims of Bizerte takes place in the main square in Tunis cash ah on July 24,1961.



Following the previous day's signing of the Evian Accords, the ceasefire in Algeria makes the frontpage of Le Figaro on March 19, 1962. In Tunis, Ben youcef Ben Kedda, head of the GPRA (the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic), announces: "I order all troops of the ALN (National Liberation Army) to lay down their weapons. "Algeria's independence will be declared on July 5,1962 following the referendum on self-determination held on July 1, 1962.

1962: ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE



1963 : FRENCH TROOPS EVACUATE BIZERTE

MAY 12,1964: NATIONALISATION OF COLONIAL LAND

1967/1969/1970 : A SUCCESSION OF ILLNESSES FOR BOURGUIBA

After a serious heart problem in 1967, the President contracts jaundice in 1969, then collapses into a psychotic manic depression that will worsen in 1970. The cause could have been the failure of the economic policies which he was personally engaged in at the beginning of the sixties. The position of Prime Minister is created in 1969 and is the acting power during the times when the Head of State is absent. It goes first to Bahi Ladgham, then in 1970 to Hedi Nouira, in 1980 to Mohamed Mzali, in 1986 to Rachid Sfar and in 1987 to Zine-el-Abeddine Ben Ali.



*Hedi Nouira (1911-93),
prime minister from
November 1970 to
April 1980, when he
implemented a "liberal"
style of economic policy in
a break from the socialist
tendencies of the 1960s.*

JANUARY 1974 : FAILURE OF A UNION BETWEEN TUNISIA AND LIBYA

Bourguiba and Kadhafi sign a makeshift (and fruitless) union between Tunisia and Libya at Jerbas Ulysse-Palace Hotel.



1975 : HABIB BOURGUIBA BECOMES PRESIDENT FOR LIFE

1978 : RIOTS AND CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN THE LABOUR UNIONS AND POLICE

- The army intervenes to reestablish order.

Special edition of Ash-sha'b, the newspaper of the UGTT trade union, from January 25, 1978, announcing a general strike for the next day.



1980 : THE GAFSA AFFAIR

- A commando unit trained and armed in Libya, infiltrating via Algeria, settles in Gafsa with plans for guerrilla activity. When discovered, this sets off a battle with the Tunisian army, which has deep consequences for the political situation in Tunisia and its relations with its two neighbours.

1983 : TREATY WITH ALGERIA

- A treaty of friendship and fraternity is signed with Algeria, which had been opposed to the short-lived union between Tunisia and Libya
- Riots are provoked by the two-fold increase in the price of bread
- Thousands of Tunisians are expelled from Libya and the borders between the two countries are closed.

Following the “Bread riots”, a state of siege reigns in Tunis, January 1984.



1987: NOVEMBER

- A medical commission determines that President Bourguiba is unable to continue to perform his duties as president and he is relieved of his post. The presidency, according to the Constitution, is transferred to Prime Minister Zine-El-Abidine Ben Ali. A number of observers call this a “medical coup d’etat”.

- December 16 : Creation of a Constitutional Council.

- December 29 : The State Security Court and the position of Attorney General are suspended.

- April 23 : Law on associations.

- May 3 : Law on political parties.

- July 25 : Amendments to eight articles of the Constitution are made that would suspend presidency for life and the automatic succession to head of state.

- November 7 : Signature of a National Pact between political parties, socio-professional organisations and the League for Human Rights.



*November 1987.
Bourguiba's portrait is
taken down, to be
replaced by the picture
of Ben Ali.*

1989 : UNION OF THE ARAB MAGHREB

February 17 : Treaty signed at Marrakech by the heads of state from Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, creating a constitution for a union of the five countries.

1990:

- June 10 : Reform of electoral law followed by other reforms that lead to the entry of opposition parties into the Chamber of Deputies in 1993. They will have limited representation.

1991:

— January 7 : Creation of the High Committee for Human Rights.

1992:

— August 13 : New legal advances for women's rights that will continue in the future and create equality for the sexes and the participation of women in the country's institutions. Ten years later the Nationality Code will be revised to allow a Tunisian woman, in the case where they are married to a foreigner, to give her nationality to her children.

1995:

-Tunisia partners with the European Union with an eye towards a common market.

2003 :

— December 5 : Meeting in Tunis of the first Summit of the 5+5 (the five Maghreb countries and the five European countries on the western coast of the Mediterranean).

— December 10 : Meeting in Geneva of the first World Summit on the Information Society, with the second phase taking place in Tunis.

2005:

- Meeting in Tunis of the second part of the World Summit on the Information Society.

2009:

- Inauguration of the Rades-La Goulette Bridge and Enfidha Airport, following on from other projects such as the Olympic Stadium at Rades, improvements in the Taparura zone in Sfax, and the extension of the highway from Bizerte to Gabes.

- Election of Ben Ali for a new term of five years. As soon as this term begins, a campaign is organised for his re-election in 2014 !

Postage stamp, part of a series issued in March 2011 in honour of Bouazizi and the Revolution.

2010:

- December 17 : A drama takes place that sets off a revolution that will embrace the entire country. Mohamed Bouazizi, an unemployed man from Sidi

Bouazid in the centre of Tunisia, exasperated after having had his fruit stand confiscated by a representative of the municipality, sets himself on fire in front of the governorate headquarters. The people of the city react sharply to the tragedy, which is followed by other protests in Regueb and Menzel Bouzaïene in the same constituency. The repression of the demonstrations provokes more extensive protests in the neighbouring governorate of Kasserine. The cycle of protests followed by repression will set off chain reactions in the entire country from north to south, leading to 219 deaths, 510 wounded and enormous property damage according to the UN.



2011:

-January 14 : After some shallow attempts at rectifying the situation, dismissing the government, making concessions and declaring that he will not run for president in 2014, Ben Ali leaves the country, leaving a power vacuum. The Constitutional Council takes action and declare Foued Mebazaa, President of the Chamber of Deputies, Interim President on January 15. He is charged with organising elections.



Screenshot of the iTELE news channel taken on the evening of January 14, 2011, announcing the departure of President Ben Ali.

— October 23 : Election of a new National Constituent Assembly charged with creating a new Constitution.

— An interim government, led by Beji Caid Essebsi, a former minister under Bourguiba, creates an independent authority (the ISIE, Instance supérieure indépendante pour les élections, Independent High Authority for Elections) to organise elections. For the first time in the history of the country, no one party will have an absolute majority. The Ennahdha Party, with Islamist leanings but calling for a civil state, wins the most seats with 89 from a total of 217. They form alliances to govern.

What began as a personal tragedy, provoked by the unemployment of educated or qualified young people, became a true revolution removing the head of state, calling for the abolition of the regime and the instillation of a second republic.

Overleaf (double page) : Tag cloud depicting the keywords of the Revolution. In the centre, the slogan of the demonstration of January 14, 2011 in Tunis: "Get out". ARR.

أنا فهمتكم
 الإنتخابات
 مظاهرات
 فرنسا
 عصابات سليم عمامو
 أحمد ونيس حرية التعبير
 الشغل إستحقاق
 الفصل 57
 العفو التشرع
 RCD
 قناضة
 انفلات امني
 DE
 الاتحاد الشعب
 أمن
 طارق المكي
 UGTT
 محمد الغنوشي
 قبلي
 الدستور
 عماد الطرابلسي
 الحرس الرئاسي
 السيد بوزيد
 حزم
 الحرقا
 صفاقس
 العلمانية
 المساجين
 الحوض المنجمي
 تحويرات وزارية
 غازات
 سوسة
 ميلشيات
 لا للطرابلسية
 راشد الغنوشي
 المكناسي
 لجان شعبية
 فؤاد المبرز بن قردان قفصة
 علي بن
 صخر الماطري
 القيروان
 إرادة الحياة
 أحمد ابراهيم الفصل 56 حكومات
 المافيا
 قتل
 لجان

القصر الرئاسي أبو القاسم الشابي
اللائكية

محمد البوعزيزي

حالة إسثنائية

الرئيس الحكومة المؤقتة

فايسبوك

أحداث معزولة آثار

الحجب

الإعلام

الرقاب نابل

GAGE الجيش الوطني

بلحسن الطرابلسي القذافي

الزين هرب النهضة

إيطاليا
خبز وماء

البطالة

عياض بن عاشور

نظام برلماني

14 حرق جانفي 2011

إعتصام

الدبلوماسية

ليلي الطرابلسي دوز

المنصف المرزوقي

حالة الطوارئ

الإنتفاضة

السعودية

علي السرياطي

كمال مرجان

التجمع قابس

ليبيا

شهداء

نظام

القانون هو الفيصل

APPENDICES

I. NAMES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Punic Names

The Punics of Carthage kept the system for naming people that was being used in their country of origin, Canaan. This system, which can be found in the Bible as well as with the Arabs, consists of identifying someone by their first name, which is sometimes followed by their filial relationship indicated by *Ben* and then the first name of the father. This is what we find with people named on votive stones. Hannibal can be identified by Ben Abd-Melqart (son of Hamilcar) and a Hannon Ben Bod-Eshmoun. Unfortunately in historic accounts many are only known by first names : Magon, Hanno, Hamilcar, etc.

For historians, this system has many disadvantages :

The list of first names is limited and without additional details it is easy to confuse different individuals.

As with all Eastern peoples, first names are very often theophoric and establish a relationship with a god. Yet the pantheon is limited. One can vary the liaison with the divinity (Abd for a man and Amatu for a woman, Ger, Azr, Bod, etc), but the lack of variety remains. This is not a unique situation and the States that have taken the habit of registering their citizens have enabled ancestry to be clarified in one way or another by the references to a title of nobility, a responsibility, an occupation, a place or even a physical characteristic. We see an example of this with Hannibal the Rhodian (who was originally from the island of Rhodes), but the example is rare among the Carthaginians.

Our knowledge of the history of Carthage is largely based on Greco-Roman documents. We have not been spared distortions due to transcription errors. Zichr-Baal (Baal's Treasure), married to Elissa, became Sicherbal, or even Sichee, Azr-Baal (Supporter of Baal) which became Hasdrubal (Asdrubal in French). By adding one letter, *d*, Ger-Sukun (affiliated with

Sukin) became Giscon with the - r - disappearing. *Saphon-Baal* became *Sophonisba* with the addition of the letter r. It is not always possible to correct these because we don't have inscriptions in Punic characters for all the names. However, transcription in Latin or Greek characters gives us an indication of the vowels which don't exist in Phoenician (a system based entirely on consonants).

Below is a list of names taken from the *Grammar of Stanislaw Segert*, a specialist in the Phoenician language (Munich). It goes without saying that this list is not exhaustive. We have corrected the names as best we can, basing them on the vowels present in the Greek and Latin transcriptions. We have also taken care in the text, when citing the name of someone, to be specific about who they are in order to avoid confusion between different versions of Hanno, Hannibal, of Hasdrubal and Giscon.

Adam, Adon-Baal, Azitawadday, Ahiram, Akbaratu (f), Am-Ashtart (f), Amatu-Baal (f), Amatu-Ashtart (f), Aru-Milki, Arash, Arasht (f), Ashmoun-Khales, Ashmoun-Yaat, Ashmoun-Azr, Ashmoun-Amos, At-Baal, B-Baal, Bod-Ashmoun, Bod-Ashtart, Bod-Tanit, Baal-Hana, Baal-Yaten, Baal-Mik, Baal-Fda, Baal-Salem, Baal-Shamer, Bar-Jed, Barca, Gabaru ou Jabr, Hi-Milkn, Han-Baal, Yarrd (f), Yadaa-Mlk, Yahu-Mlk, Yatun-Baal, Magon, Mahr-Baal, Mlk-Yatun, Mik-Ashtart, Mnhim, Abd-Adoni, Abd-Elonim, Abd-Mik, Abd-Mlqart, Abd-Shams, Abd-Tanit, Azr-Baal, Sid-Yatun, Shaul, Samaa-Baal.

The Suffixes of Dynasties

Historians have taken the habit of naming dynasties of eastern origin in the manner inherited from Greco-Roman mythology (Atreides, Nereids, Lagides). They add the suffix - *id* to the proper name. For example the dynasty of Idris became the Idrissids. Curiously, they don't use this same method for European dynasties. The Capetians, the Hohenzollern or the Windsors are not called the Capetids, the Hohenzollids or the Windsorids ! Also, sometimes the suffix - *id* is replaced by the suffix - *ite* or - *ate* either for adjectival or phonetic reasons. This institutionalised practice in European historiography doesn't help the reader who is not familiar with oriental texts to understand the true name of the dynasty. Oriental texts use the plural of the root word : for example '*Abbassiyun* and not *Abbassids*. Thus, one needs to know that when they are talking about the Barcids,

they are talking about the family of Hamilcar Barca, that the Magonids belong to the Magon dynasty, that the Alids are the descendants of Ah Ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law to the Prophet, Muhammad. To help the reader keep up with the multitude of proper names, we give in the text the name of the person at the origins of the family and in the glossary, the historical references for the dynasties.

Plural of Berber Tribe Names

Arab historians keep the Berber plural of proper names that end systematically with the vowel *a*. Europeans often apply the plural in their language : they write for example in French, *Zenetes*, *Lev'etes*, and *Zouaves* for *Zenata*, *Louata* and *Zouaoua*. However, sometimes they use the Berber plural for talking about the Sanhaja, the Lemtouna, the Barghwata and the Mekkassa. Some authors, while using the Berber plural, treat it as if it is singular, adding an *r* to make it plural. So, they write *Hawaras*, *Kutamas* and *Masmudas*, which can make things confusing for readers who are not aware of how the plural is indicated. To avoid this problem, we are using the Berber plural without the *r* and writing the singular with the letter *I*: for example, *Zenata* with *Zenati* being singular, *Hawara* plural, *Hawari* singular, *Louata* plural, *Louati* singular and so forth.

II. GLOSSARY

A

ABBASIDS : A dynasty of Caliphs that followed the Omayyads in Damascus in 750. They were linked with Al-Abbas Ibn Abd-Al-Muttalib, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad Ibn Abd-Al-Allah Ibn Abd-Al-Muttalib. A descendant of the Prophet named Abu-Hachim chose Muhammad Ibn Ali, the great grandson of Al-Abbas as heir apparent. This, in the eyes of the Abbasids, legitimised the succession to the head of the Muslim Empire of the descendants of Al-Abbas, at the expense of the descendants of Ali and Fatima, who in turn rejected it. The new dynasty, with its strongest supporters in the east in Persia and Khorasan, chose to settle in a new city, Baghdad, in Mesopotamia (Iraq). They reigned until the Mongol invasion led by Hulagu in 1258. A representative of the dynasty was integrated by the Mamluks of Egypt, and a new lineage of Abbasids without real power would remain in Cairo until 1517 when the Ottoman sultans took away their power and made Istanbul the capital of Islam.

ABDALWADS or ABDALWADIDS : A dynasty of rulers also called the Zayyanids, who were descendants of Yaghmurasen Abd Al-Wad Ibn Zyan, a Zenata chief. They reigned at Tlemcen from 1236 to 1550, extending their territory little by little over all of the central Maghreb. They resisted the Marinids from Fez, the Hafsids from Tunis, the Deys from Algiers, the Spanish and the Saadians from Morocco. Their name is also written as *AbdAl-Wadid*.

AFRICA: This is a word that comes from the Latin suffix *-ica* added to the root or *Afri*, which we are not sure of the meaning of, but it refers to the population in the vicinity of Carthage. Afterwards, it was used to refer to the territory of Carthage that the Romans ruled in the 2nd century.

Africa became *Ifriqiya* for the Arabs before the word was applied to the entire continent.

AGHA: In Turkish this can mean oldest brother (in the case of *aghabey*) or a feudal chief. In history, it was a title used by military chiefs serving under the authority of a Dey or a Bey (Agha of the Diwan, Agha of the Casbah, for example).

AGHLABIDS: A dynasty founded in *Ifriqiya* by Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab which reigned in Kairouan from 800 to 909 as Abbasid Caliphs.

AGUELLID : King in Berber.

ALMOHADS : In Arabic, *Al-Muwahhidun*, meaning the Unitarians. It was a dynasty founded by Imama Al-Mahdi Muhammad Ibn Tumart in the Moroccan High Atlas Mountains among a confederation of Masmouda Berber tribes, with one branch, the Hintata, being the initiators. Their lieutenant, Abd Al-Mumin Ibn Ali, a Kumi Berber from Algeria, allied with the Hintata chief by marriage, was the true founder of the dynasty. The Almohads fought against the Al-Moravids in 1130, crushing them, and then leaving on a trip to conquer Morocco. They achieved success in 1147 and went on to assume power over all of the Maghreb and *Ifriqiya* in 1160 as well as a large part of Muslim Spain.

ALMORAVIDS : In Arabic, *Al-Murabitun*. A dynasty founded by Abd-Allah Ibn Yassin, an ascetic who came from Sijilmassa in the Saharan Atlas Mountains. He settled on an island on the coast that is now part of Mauritania, founding a ribat where he preached and prayed (hence the name *Murabitun*). From there, he and his followers mobilised the Lemtouna tribe from the desert and left in 1055 to conquer Morocco, where they founded Marrakech and extended their territory in the central Maghreb to Bougie in 1082 and southern Spain in 1086. Their reign ended in 1147 when driven out by the Almohads.

AM : *People* in Phoenician. The word seems to designate the Assembly in Carthage, like the Senate (similar to the British House of Commons).

AMOKRANE : Prince or chief in Berber.

ARIUS, ARIANISM : Arius was the name of a priest in Alexandria (256-336) who rejected the idea of the existence of the divinity of Christ, in the 3rd century when the Catholic creed was not yet totally defined. His doctrine was condemned by the First Council of Nicaea (325), which decreed the declared the creed of the Trinity. Arianism, considered heretical by the Catholics, had many followers in Africa and among the upper echelons in the Roman Empire. The Christian Vandals adopted Arianism and found themselves up against Catholics, notably in Africa.

AYYUBIDS: A dynasty founded by Salah-Ad-Din Al-Ayubi (Saladin) in Egypt after the Fatimid reign ended in 1171. The Mamluks ended this dynasty in 1250.

B

BAB ALI, or Sublime Porte : The name given to the sultan's seat in Istanbul. *Porte* (door in French) probably comes from the fact that the hall in which the Caliph sat was at the entrance of the Top-Kapu Palace. Ali means majestic, emanating from oneself.

BACHI: In Turkish, *Ba/i*, with the pronounced /sh/. It means head, and is a reference to a chief or commander in many compound nouns.

BACHI-BOUZOUQ, : Or *basibozuk* (pronounced *bashibuzuK*). Unregistered soldiers in the Ottoman army, lacking discipline, and sometimes even deserters.

BANI GHANYA : A branch of the Almoravids who were against the Almohads conquering Morocco and Muslim Spain, and who declared themselves independent in the Balears Islands in 1131. They later tried their luck in Algeria. The Bani Ghanya dynasty caused much trouble for the Almohads and the Hafsids in the central Maghreb and *Ifriqiya* for a century.

BEY: A Turkish title of nobility given to the rulers in Tunisia, but also accorded to the kings in Egypt and Jordan until the mid twentieth century.

BEYLERBEY : Literally the Bey of Beys, or Bey-in-Chief. This was made a part of the Bey's title in Tunis and was also used for a long time by the great Ottoman governors in the Maghreb, such as Ulj Ali and Kheireddine.

BEYRAQ-DAR: In Turkish, *bayraktar*. Flag-bearer.

BOULOUKBACHI (or BULUKBACHI): In Turkish, *bolilkbasi* (pronounced *beulukbashi*). Troop leader. A title given to superior officers in the Turkish militia in the Maghreb (16th-17th centuries). In Tunisian, it's *boulakbeche*.

BYZACENA: The portion of Roman Africa that corresponds to central Tunisia, the Sahel to Gabes and the coast to Theveste (Tebessa). The historian H.H. Abdelwahab believed it to be a twisting of the word, *Muzagha*, or land of the Amazigh.

C

CANAAN : The name given in ancient times to the area between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean Sea, which includes several well-known cities such as Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Hebron, Ashkelon, Jericho and to the north, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon and Ugarit. The Greeks gave the name Phoenicia to the coast from Mount Carmel to Taurus. The name comes from the murex, a mollusc that has a purple dye, used in clothing for noblemen and ladies. The cities along the coast traded exclusively in this purple dye. The Carthaginians in their texts always referred to Canaanites, not Phoenicians.

CARAMANLI: A family of Turkish origin that governed Tripolitania during the 19th century. It's also spelled *Karamanli*.

CIRCUMCELLIONS: They were literally cellar prowlers, poor, hungry, sometimes roving friars ; nomads who attacked farmers' reserves in times of scarcity. This term is especially meant for members of a social movement in Africa at the end of the fourth and the start of the fifth centuries, who are often confused with the Donatists.

CITE : In Latin, *civitas*, a city administered by its own authorities. At first, only Rome had this status which entitled its free inhabitants to be Roman citizens ; then, the *right to civitas* was, extended to other cities on the Italian peninsula as Roman power spread. After their conquests especially in Africa and Gaul, there were two types of cities enjoying the *right to civitas*: Roman colonies, and those where the right was only accorded on an individual basis to the magistrates in charge. Emperor Caracalla in 211 extended the *right to civitas* to all the Empire's inhabitants.

CONSUL, PROCONSUL : Annually elected officials in Rome after the end of the monarchy in 508 BC. Within each colony, assemblies consisting of a hundred citizens had one voice each to elect two consuls for the following year. At first, only the patrician class had the right to be consuls, but later the tribunes of plebians received it. In 367, all free plebians received the right to participate and potentially be elected as consuls. It became usual to elect one patrician and one plebian as the consuls. Once out of office, the consul could receive a command post or be assigned as head of a province, when they would be named *proconsul*. This is how Africa ended up with magistrates in charge and Tunisia then carried the name of Proconsular Africa. The title of consul did not disappear with the establishment of the empire, but lost its importance. The real source of executive power came from the emperor. Under Tiberius (14-37 AD), the

consuls were no longer elected but appointed by the Senate. The function itself disappeared in 534 in the western part of the Empire and in 567 in the eastern half.

D

DAWLATLI, DAOULATLI: Or in Turkish, *Devletli*. This was a variation on the title of Dey in Tunisia which the Beys only used for the head of police in the capital. In Turkish, it means a man of the State.

DEY: In Turkish, *Dayi*. Literally, maternal uncle, this title was affectionately given to the heads of Ottoman militias in North Africa. The title was carried by the military chiefs of Ottoman garrisons in Tunisia and Algeria. The Beys in Tunis added it to their titles (for example, Pasha Bey Dey). The Deys of Algiers maintained the title until they were conquered by the French.

DIVAN, DIWAN : An Ottoman military council in the Maghreb, commanding militias, but sometimes granting themselves collective executive powers allowing them to remove a Dey or a Bey.

DONATIST, DONATISM : Donatus Magnus (also Known as Donatus of Casae Nigrae) was an African bishop who, following the persecution of the Christians under Emperor Diocletian, disagreed with the official Church of Carthage because he rejected the authority of the priests who had given up their book of prayer to the imperial power. In 311 he refused to recognise Mensurius as Bishop of Carthage. He was popular in Africa and his ranks grew through the 4th century, in spite of condemnation by the Synod of Arles. The Donatists were fought by Augustine (the future saint) at the Conference of Carthage in 411. Their beliefs were predominant among the Circumcellions to the point where the two movements were often seen as one, social and religious.

E

EULJ, OULOUI or ‘ILJ, ULJ : A word of Arabic origin that means a strong man, like a siege machine. It was used during the Ottoman Empire and notably in the Maghreb to designate a European corsair who had converted and was now working for the Sultan. Another meaning, in the feminine - *Ulja* or *Ilja* - is the beautiful, blonde European captive who

was incorrectly referred to as an odalisque, which in Turkish means chambermaid.

EQUESTRIAN ORDER : In Rome this was a privileged class made up of cavalry, and citizens who were not part of the class of senators but citizens of the first order with 400,000 sesterium. They could move from the Equestrian Order to the Senatorial Order upon appointment.

EXARCH: This refers to two military governments created by Emperor Maurice, in Italy in 584 and Africa in 591. The exarch assumed the function of patrician and benefitted from the powers of a viceroy. When the Arabs arrived in Africa (*Ifriqiya*), they found themselves up against the Patrician Gregory.

F

FATIMIDS : A dynasty of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad by his daughter Fatima, and of the Shiite branch, the Ismailians. They successfully reigned over most of North Africa, beginning in 909 with Kairouan as their capital. They founded Mahdia in 916 and after conquering Egypt in 969, they left it, leaving part of Africa to be governed by the family of Buluggin Ibn Ziri As-Sanhaji. The Fatimids extended their power into Syria before being driven out by the Seldjoukid Turks who had fought over Palestine with the Crusaders. Heading back to Egypt and having lost the Maghreb in the middle of the 11th century, the Fatimids saw their power diminish until Saladin, the Prime Minister of the last of their Caliphs, ended the dynasty in 1171 when Egypt fell under the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad.

GH

HABUS (plural *Abbas*) or **Waqf** (plural *awqaf*) : In Muslim jurisprudence, the right of the authorities to transfer the inheritance of a subject to a charity or to one family in particular. The system was eliminated in Tunisia after independence, but it continues in some Muslim countries.

HAFSIDS : A dynasty founded in 1230 in the Maghreb by Abu Hafs Umar from the Hintata tribe, first serving under the Almohads, but later becoming independent. They reigned over Tunisia and a great part of the Maghreb for three and a half centuries. They had five great sultans among

twenty-seven in total before the dynasty ended when the Ottomans occupied Tunis in 1575.

HAMMADITES : Hammad Ibn Buluggin Ibn Ziri (died in 1028) was given the government of the central Maghreb by his nephew Badis Ibn Al-Mansur Ibn Buluggin. He lived first in Msila, the administrative centre of the province, then in a Fort that has carried his name throughout history, *Kalaa des Beni Hammad*, south of Setif and which he declared independent. Under siege from his nephew in the Fort, he only survived due to the sudden death of Badis. His successor, Al-Muizz Ibn Badis, lost interest in the central Maghreb where the Hammad dynasty then prospered. They extended their power to Tunis, and when they settled there in the 12th century, the family of the Bani Khorasan (in Tunisian, the family of Sidi Boukhrissane) also became an independent dynasty.

I

IDRISSIDS : A dynasty descending from Ali Ibn Abi Talib by his son Hasan and established by Idris the First in Morocco in 788, thanks to the support of his mother's tribe, the Awraba Berbers. They were first based in the region of Volubilis and then Fez, which was chosen by his son, Idris II. The Idrissid princes reigned until 928, when they fell victim to Kharijite insurrections, Umayyad advances from Cordoba and finally the Fatimids.

IYALA: A meaningfull Arabic word used in the Maghreb to designate the large provinces governed by Deys or Beys, notably in Tunisia, translated in French as *administratif par regence*, and in English as governed by a regency.

J

JANISSARIES : In Turkish, *Yeniçeri*. At first they were servants recruited from among the villagers in the interior of Anatolia, then from the provinces around the Ottoman Empire. They were constituted into a corps of available troops, a sort of professional army. In the Maghreb, they were most often descendants of people who had converted or from the Koulughli, who were mixed-race children of Janissaries and Tunisian women.

K

KAAB (singular *Kaabi*, plural *Ku uh*) : An Arab tribe, a branch of the Bani Sulaym, very active in Arabia before moving to Egypt and then to the Maghreb where they arrived in the 11th century with their cousins, the Bani Hilal. The Bani Yacub, Bani Ali, Awlad Muhahlil and especially, the Awlad Bellil, played a role during the reign of the Hafsid in the 14th century, all originating from this Arab tribe.

KABIR: The meaning in Phoenician is the same as in Arabic ; old. It is used to speak of the elders, such as the Patricians among the Romans. It seems to have been used as a term for the senate in Carthage.

KAHLA : In Turkish, *Kahya*, meaning steward or butler. The term was often used in Tunisia for different professions during the Ottoman period before simply becoming a reference to the Caid's assistant.

KALBI: The Kalbis were Arab descendants of Kalb Ibn Wabra, a great tribal chief from northern Syria who gave his daughter, Maysun, in marriage to the first of the Umayyads, Mouawiyah Ibn Abi Sufian. From there, the Kalbis served during the entire Umayyad dynasty's reign in the government at Damascus. They were also persecuted by the Abbasids. Later, they were allied with the Fatimids, whose influence was strong in Syria, where their hidden imam was living. The Fatimids gave the government of Sicily to them in the 10th century when they left *Ifriqiya* for Egypt, and certain factions began working for the Omayyads in Cordoba.

KHAZNADAR: Turkish word meaning the guardian of the treasure of the state. Treasurer General.

KHEDIVE : A title given by Ottoman sultans to the governors of Egypt, equivalent to viceroy. The first *khediv* was Ismail Pasha in 1867, followed by Tawfiq and Abbas Hilmi. In 1914 with the arrival of the English at war with the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptian leaders stopped using *khedive* and called themselves sultans. This was the case for Hussein Kamel and Fuad. Fuad changed his title again in the 1922 accord with England, calling himself King Fuad I.

L

LAMTUNA : A Berber tribe from the Western Saharan Maghreb that supported the Almoravid dynasty. They covered their faces in a way similar to that of the Tuareg. For that reason, they were often referred to in texts as "masked" or *Al-Mulathamun*.

LEGATE: In Roman hierarchy, this was the representative of the Consul whose powers included negotiating with the enemy or the governor of conquered territory.

LIMES : In Latin, you pronounce the -s-. The fortified borders of a territory established by Roman authority used to hold back incursions from rebel or nomadic tribes.

M

MAKHZEN : A word used in the Maghreb to describe the state administration in the service of the ruler. It is still used in Morocco to signify the administration that directly serves the king. In Tunisia, it was used for the law enforcement officials working for the Caids : the *Mkhaznis*.

MAMLUK: At first they were the Turkman and Circassians bought by the Ayyubids of Egypt in the 13 th century to make up the auxiliary ranks to exclusively serve the ruler (this is where the word *mamelouk* comes from - owned as a property). They were the ones to put an end to the Ayyubid dynasty in 1250 and take over as kings. Two groups of leaders were elected by their peers, not necessarily coming from the same family, and they would rule Egypt one after another. There were the Bahri Mamluks, the most famous being Baibars, and the Burji Mamluks who reigned until Egypt was annexed by the Ottoman Empire in 1517. In Tunisia and Algeria, the word maintained its Turkman or Circassian meaning; bought to work for the reigning Bey. However, their proximity to the Bey as well as his military and civilian advisors, plus marriages with the daughters of the riding family, gave them a certain nobility.

MANICHAISM : A doctrine developed in Persia by Manes, or Mani (216—77) that professed that the universe was governed by a permanent opposition between Good and Evil. He was executed by the King of Persia, Bahram 1st, but Manichaeism spread to the point of rivalling Christianity in the Middle Ages in Europe. Saint Augustine was a Manichaeist before converting to Catholicism. The Bogomils (in the Balkans) and the Catharists (in France) were too. In the Muslim world they were called *Manawiya*, and followers were accused of *7.andaqa*, heresy or non-belief and were often put to death.

MASMUDA : A Moroccan tribe from the High Atlas Mountains. The name comes from the Mahdi Muhammad Ibn Tumart, founder of the Al-Mohades, of which one branch, the Hintata, would give birth to the Hafsid dynasty.

MAURETANIA: The name given by the Romans to the western part of the Maghreb to distinguish it from Carthage, Africa and neighbouring Numidia. The Roman Mauretania of Ceasar was central Algeria and Mauretania Tingitania (from Tangier) in the north of Morocco. The word was used later when the French colonised the areas of the Sahara bordering on Sub-Saharan Africa, but with a slight change in spelling : Mauritania.

MERINIDS : Moroccan dynasty originating from the Zenata Berbers who came to power in 1266 by overthrowing Caliph Al-Mohade Al-Murtadha, after having occupied Fez in 1251. The Merinids reigned until the princes in the main branch of the dynasty were driven out in 1465 by the Bani Wattas or Wattasids, another branch of the family. This group reigned until 1541 when the Saadians took over.

MIDRARITES : The Banu Midrar were Berbers from the Miknassa tribe who adopted a strict form of Kharijism known as Sofrism and founded the Kingdom of Sijilmasa in 757 in the desert part of the Atlas Mountains in southeastern Morocco. They were defeated by the Fatimid General Jawhar under the reign of Al-Muizz (953-75) before being permanently driven from the Talfilalt region by a Zenati chief serving the Umayyad kingdom of Cordoba in 976-7.

MUNICIPIUM : In Latin, *municipe civium romanorum*. This was a settlement or centre without the rank of a city, but already considered Roman. The people living there were either Roman citizens or not, but the latter could become Roman citizens if given administrative municipal posts.

MZARQUIA : Plural of Bou Mizraq (wielding clubs). This was the lowest class of soldiers recruited from the population, similar to the Bachi-Bouzouks in the Ottoman forces.

N

NEBUCHADNEZZAR : Nebuchadnezzar II, King of Babylon (605-562 BC), who took Jerusalem after victory over the Egyptians and ruled all of Canaan, extending his kingdom from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. It was during his reign that in order to free themselves from the pressure of invaders, Tyre asked Carthage to watch over the trading posts in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

NUMIDIA : Name given by ancient Latin historians to the territory west of the region of Carthage, which today forms most of Algeria. There were many different Numidias : that of the Maesulian Berbers whose

capital was Cirta (Constantine) ; the Masaesyli Berbers whose capital was Riga (near Oran) ; and the other Numidias that were reduced in size after Roman expansion to central Algeria, whose authority was given to princes descended from Massinissa, trained in Rome. Their borders moved as time wore on. Under Massinissa after the Second Punic War, Eastern Numidia included a portion of Tunisia all the way to Gabes. After Syphax was defeated, Western Numidia was divided and changed many times. The origin of the name Numidia is unknown. Historians agree that it has nothing to do with the word *nomad*.

O

OCAK : In Turkish, it's pronounced *odjak* and means hearth. For the Ottoman army, it meant a place around the fire where a company's troops would eat together. The meaning evolved to designate the garrisons in a city, such as the oak of Beja or of Le Kef. It is also used in French texts to designate the Algerian authorities, such as the Ocak of Algiers. During the colonial period, the name was reserved for the Sapahi troops belonging to the Caids, or the French civil controllers.

OMAYYADS : The first hereditary dynasty in Islam (661-750) with Damascus as its capital. It was founded by Muawiyah Ibn Abi Sufian, a relation of 'Uthman Ibn Affan, the third successor of the prophet, and whose ancestor was called Omeya. When Othman was killed in 656 in Medina at the end of a revolt and conspiracy, Muawiyah, the governor of Syria, opposed the Muslim community's choice as successor, Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, because he had not saved Othman from the rebel siege and then gone to war against him. This is known in Muslim history as *Al-Fitnatu-l-Kubra* (the Great Discord) that, after many incidents, led to the assassination of Ali in 661 by a group of his own supporters, the Khawarij or Kharijites (the dissidents) who did not accept the arbitration agreement reached between him and Muawiyah, which in their view, weakened his legitimacy. Muawiyah won against his adversaries, but those loyal to Ali (in Arabic *Shi'a*, meaning supporters) began an opposition movement, claiming legitimacy to Muslim heritage in what became known as Shiism.

P

PASHA, PASHALIK : A Turkish title given to generals, dignitaries, ministers, provincial governors and admirals in the Empire. The Pashalik was the Pasha's domain. The title of Pasha remained in Tunisia for the rulers, in Egypt as a title of nobility, in Jordan as the equivalent of governor of a city and in Morocco as the name of a sub-prefect.

PATRICIAN : An honour accorded by Roman emperors to high level administrative officials from the Senate who were given significant responsibility, such as managing a large province.

PEREGRINUS : In the Roman Empire, this was a foreigner who was not a Roman citizen but who was free. In the *Peregrini municipia* in Africa, the Peregrini automatically became citizens after taking on municipal functions.

PHENICE : Name given by the Greeks to the coast of Canaan.

Q

QARMATIANS : A movement of Ismaili Shiites begun by Hamdan Qarmat in 890 at Wasit in southern Iraq. From there he remained in a citadel in Mardin in Syria, then created an independent state in Bayrayn (Bahrain) on the eastern coast of Arabia, approximately where Qatar is today. Hamdan's son conquered Mosul in northern Iraq in 930 after inciting a Bedouin insurrection in Syria. The movement grew very large, and in 930 the Qarmatians invaded the Hejaz, entered Mecca, stole the Black Stone set into the Kaaba and brought it to Qatar. What was previously seen as an Ismaili trend became an independent social and most likely ethnic movement on the orders of their hidden imam in Syria. They welcomed the Zanj, who had risen up in the 9th century and been defeated in 883, shortly before Hamdan Qarmat appeared. The Fatimids, in power at the time in the Maghreb, tried in vain to bring this movement under control. They fought each other once the Fatimids settled in Egypt. The Qarmatians disappeared in the north with the loss of Mosul to the Kurds, and in Arabia because of the Turks hired by Baghdad.

QASTILYA : Ancient name for the Jerid region in Tunisia.

R

REYES DES TAIFAS : Or kings of the clans. This was an expression adopted early on by historians to have the chiefs of newly independent Andalusian provinces after the dissolution of the Omayyad Kingdom of Cordoba. The Arabs called them *Muluk At-Tauaif*, and the Spanish, *Reyes des Tafas* because they gave themselves monarchical titles even though their power did not extend past their city. However, some members of these princely families had a glorious destiny, like the Bani Abbad from Sevilla. First the Almoravids and then the Almohads occupied the majority of Andalusia and put an end to the independent principalities, but some emirs, sometimes thanks to help from Christians, remained in power. The Bani Nasr (the Nasrids) allied with Christians on the east coast, and later the Bani Ziri in Grenada resisted the Reconquista until 1492.

RUSTAMIDS : The name Rostom (Rustam) is Persian, but in the Maghreb it was the name of a Kharijite chief who had been driven out of Tripoli, tried to settle in Tunis and then finally ended up in Tahert in Algeria in 810. The Rustumiyun (Rustamids) resisted against the Aghlabids and the Idrissids before being beaten by the front-line Fatimids in 909.

S

SAAD IANS SAADI : A Moroccan dynasty that first took power in Marrakech in 1425, and retrieved it from the Wattasids by taking Fez in 1549. However, the Wattasid king was placed back on the throne by the Ottomans from Algiers. With the death of the last Wattasid, Abu-l-Hasan in 1554, they were truly victorious and reigned from Marrakech, during which time the Atlantic coast was being invaded by the Portuguese and the Mediterranean coast by the Spanish. It was a contested reign that endured rebukes from religious movements for not having fended off invaders. It lasted until the Alawites from Tafilelt came and the last Saadian was assassinated in 1659.

SANHAJA : Berber tribe whose territory lay in central Algeria. The Fatimids employed them, undoubtedly so as not to remain dependent on the Kutamas from Constantine, but also to act as a buffer against the Omayyads from Andalusia and the Idrissids from Morocco. When the Fatimid Caliph left for Cairo, he entrusted the government of the

Maghreb to a tribesman, Buluggin Ibn Ziri As-Sanhaji. The Sanhaja were populous and as time passed one could distinguish between the northern Sanhaja and the Saharan Sanhaja, who extended their territory, it appears, all the way to the banks of the Senegal River.

SHOPHET: This Phoenician word means the chief elected to rule, and the *Shophtim* appeared after the Magoni monarchy. In Hebrew and in the Bible, it is the word for what the Europeans translated as “Judges”. In Arabic, by replacing the sound - *f*- by the sound - *b* it becomes Sibṭ (plural -*As bat*), which means the twelve tribes of Israel. It was also used in Arabic to refer to the two sons of Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, Hasan and Husayn. In Carthage, the assemblies elected two suffetes each year. This was the highest position a man could reach in his political career. Hannibal was elected a suffete after the Second Punic War.

SIPAHI : The Turkish name for the cavalry corps. In Tunisian, it’s Sbahi and in the French army, it was Spahis.

SUBLIME PORTE : See Bab Ali.

T

TANZIMAT : The reforms Istanbul mandated in the 19th century in an attempt to modernise.

TULUNIDS : Dynasty of Egyptian governors in the 9th century.

U VW YZ

ZEUGITANA : The northern part of Tunisia stretching from Bona (Bone, Annaba) in the west to the Gulf of Hammamet in the south.

ZIRIDS : See Sanhaja.

ZAWA: Zouaoua in Arabic, Zouaves in French and English : Berber tribe from Petite Kabylie, a branch of the Kutamas.

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*Cover photos : from left to right,
Elissa-Dido (Louvre Museum, Paris),
Hannibal (Archaeological Museum, Naples),
Kheireddine (Military Museum, La Manouba),
Habib Bourguiba (Palace of Carthage).*



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